An Ethnographic Study of Chinese Business Expatriates in Tanzania

A thesis submitted for the degree

Doctor of Philosophy

By

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To

My Parents

Hongqing Miao & Ying Li

And My Grandma

Kaiying Luo

致

我的父母

缪红庆 & 黎颖

我的外婆

罗开英

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DECLARATION

I confirm that this is my own work and the use of all material from other sources has been properly and fully acknowledged.

Signature:

Date: 08.03.2023

Abbreviations

AE – Assigned Expatriate

BRICS – Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa

PCN – Parent Country National

HCN – Host Country National

IB – International Business

IHRM – International Human Resource Management

OCSC – Overseas Chinese Service Centre

OECD – Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

PI – Private Investors

ROI – Return on Investment

SAMB – State Asset Management Bureaus

SIE – Self-initiated Expatriate

SOE – State-owned Enterprise

SOECG – State-owned Enterprises Affiliated to the Central Government

SOELG – State-owned Enterprises Affiliated to the Local Government

WEIRD – Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, Developed

Abstract

'China in Africa' has generated significant debates in the media and academia. However, there is limited understanding of those individuals who choose to work and live in Africa. This ethnographic study was designed to explore the lived experience of Chinese expatriates in Tanzania from an emic perspective. By living and working in the Chinese community for seven-month, the researcher investigated the background of Chinese expatriates, their motivation for taking the international assignments, and most importantly the key issues that are relevant to their experience.

The study shows that Chinese expatriates in Tanzania generally see their overseas experience as an 'investment' - an investment that above all seeks to maximise economic efficiency. They usually prioritise family-oriented well-being over individual-oriented well-being. It is to some extent associated with their less affluent family background and less educated background. Petty corruption is a major problem encountered by Chinese expatriates in Tanzania. Through a careful examination of the conditions and processes under which petty corruption occurs, the researcher discovered the complex power dynamics in the day-to-day interaction between Chinese expatriates and locals, showing that the economic privilege of Chinese expatriates is accompanied by political vulnerability, which leads them to trade economic advantage for political convenience. Language is another important issue that has influenced the daily interaction between Chinese expatriates and locals. When language was used as a resource (linguistic capital), it was invested and exploited by expatriates. When language was treated as an identity, its symbolic power served both as a protection for expatriates and a criterion for their segmentation to local clients. Moreover, Language differences put both expatriates and locals in a vulnerable position by increasing the power imbalance and causing trust issues.

This is the first ethnographic study to investigate the individual experience of Chinese expatriates in the African context from the perspective of international human resource management. It also explores an issue rarely discussed but relevant to expatriates in that context - petty corruption. This study expands our understanding of expatriates from emerging markets who work in less developed regions, extends and develops the push and pull theories in motivation by enriching each element and introducing throw and drag factors to understand repatriation, and challenges the conventional focus on high-status expatriates and shifts the attention to the middle-status and low-status expatriates. It also challenges the preconceived and untested assumption of 'powerful' or 'bullying' China that weakens the role of African agency in the interaction. Last but not the least, this study contributes to the existing literature by integrating Bourdieu's theory of habitus, field and capital with institutional theory to analyse the interplay between social structures and institutional contexts in shaping expatriates' behaviour in the context of Africa. This study has some practical implications for organisations operating in a similar context, and its findings can be applied to certain stages of the expatriation cycle. It also provides some real-world values for individual expatriates who decide to work and set up businesses in Africa.

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1 Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

On the 28th of May 2022, The Economist published a special report named 'China in Africa' which included seven articles, discussing China's ambitions and activities in Africa from business, economic, media, political and military perspectives. This PhD thesis is a timely response to the global enquiries about China's actions in Africa. While the majority of such studies in academia focus the discussion on macro or meso levels, trying to understand the phenomenon from the behaviour of the Chinese government and Chinese enterprises (e.g. (Adisu et al., 2016; Cheung et al., 2012), little research has paid attention to the issues on a micro level. Who chose to go to Africa, what motivates them and what their lives are like on that continent remains not just mysterious but even controversial. This ethnographic study, adopting seven-month participant observation and in-depth interviews, was designed to explore the lived experience of Chinese expatriates in Tanzania, and identify key issues or challenges for the relevant stakeholders. It aims to present a real picture of the Chinese in Africa by providing vivid stories and thick descriptions.

This chapter will provide an introduction to the study by discussing the background and context of the study and from that developing the research problems that I addressed in this study. I will clarify my research aims and objectives, and the research questions. Finally, the significance of the study will be discussed.

1.2 Research background

1.2.1 Sino-Africa relationship- from past to present

Understanding the historical ties between China and Africa will help us draw a clear and complete picture of why China invests, launches aids projects, and offers debt relief in Africa, as it will provide a broad context to situate my study.

China has become the largest investor in Africa (Panitchpakdi, 2010), with its investment crowding out that of Africa's traditional partners, such as the USA and Germany (Donou-Adonsou & Lim, 2018). Over the past decade, the China-Africa Development Fund has helped many enterprises enter Africa in agriculture, manufacturing, mining, infrastructure and industrial parks (Sina, 2017). China's FDI in Africa (flow) surged from US$ 75 million in 2003 to US$ 4.2 billion in 2020 (CARI, 2022).

China's involvement with Africa dates to the 1950s when China tried to win recognition in the international arena by supporting African countries, as an element of its government aid projects (Mlambo et al., 2016). From the mid-1990s large state-owned enterprises (SOEs) and private companies started entering the manufacturing sector in Africa, involving resource-based and infrastructure investments (Gu, 2009). Sino-Africa relationship had a breakthrough in 2000, after the first Tri-annual Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), a Ministerial Conference that was held in Beijing. Almost ten years after the first edition of China's African Policy was announced, a new edition was published in 2016 to enhance Sino-Africa cooperation. Industries such as manufacturing, agriculture, infrastructure, finance, energy, and marine economy are all included (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, PRC, 2015). It is believed that the Belt and Road Initiatives (Sina, 2017) announced in 2015 will continue to encourage cooperation between China and Africa. Literature review papers on international human resource management have provided information on the main streams of global HRM (Brewster & Suutari, 2005), key issues related to international assignment (Brewster & Scullion, 1997; Brewster & Suutari, 2005), and overall picture of different research topics over time (Cooke, Wood, Wang, & Veen, 2019). Debates between different paradigms (e.g., IHRM vs. CHRM), different directions (e.g., convergence vs. divergence), and different theories (e.g., institutional theories vs. organisational behaviours theories) are usually discussed in the context of western countries or developed economies.

So far, Cooke et al. (2019) have done a relatively comprehensive review of IHRM in MNEs covering methodologies, research themes, and research locations. Qualitative interviews still play a dominant role in this field, but there has been an increase in macro studies with quantitative methods. One explanation might be that gaining access to data collection in MNEs becomes more difficult so researchers choose secondary data from international organisations or institutions, such as OECD, UNCTAD and World Bank (Cooke et al., 2019). Of the 293 papers researched six are ethnography, representing only 2% of the total (Cooke et al., 2019). In terms of research themes, HRM practice has been favoured by scholars, with 103 out of 324 papers on this topic appearing in top journals from 2000 to 2014, followed by headquarters-subsidiary relations and strategic HRM & business studies.

One possible reason for the decreasing interest in expatriation study - which is still debatable - might be that the majority of research has been done in western firms and their internationalisation is mature and solid as a result of decades of development. For example, the USA received the most attention as the home country with the UK as the host country (Cooke et al., 2019). The increasing investment from emerging markets (e.g., BRICs: Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) requires a shift of focus from developed countries to developing countries for the latter might experience unique models of internationalisation (Cooke, 2009; Kamoche & Siebers, 2015; Wang, Fan, Freeman, & Zhu, 2017). It is believed that expatriation will win back its attention in this context.

1.2.2 Chinese expatriates in Africa

One of the most serious critiques of Chinese enterprises in Africa relates to labour issues. For example, Chinese MNEs bring a large number of semi-skilled and unskilled workers from home, decreasing the employment rate of local people (Cooke, 2014; Cooke, Wood, et al., 2015); they provide minimum labour standards or violate national employment law in Africa (Cooke, Wood, et al., 2015). Whether they are anecdotal or real, such stories can be found easily in Western media. But few scholars have done empirical studies to develop a deep understanding of the phenomena. For Chinese MNEs in Africa, their HRM is usually less strategic and more administrative, low-cost with short-term plans (Cooke, Wood, et al., 2015; Horwitz, 2015; Wood et al., 2014), or it could be argued that this is also a type of strategy. It is unclear how different this is in the policies of MNEs from other countries, but it might be attributed to the fact that China is among the latecomers in internationalisation and lacks the requisite experience. Thus, they usually adopt a trial-and-error manner; even at the risk of their reputation (Cooke, Wang, et al., 2015). Gadzala (2010) points out that one of the characteristics of the Chinese overseas business is co-ethnic (co-national) employment at both state-owned and private companies. In other words, Chinese MNEs usually adopt ethnocentric approaches which place parent country nationals (PCNs) in key executive positions in subsidiaries (Horwitz, 2015; Zhong et al., 2015)

Managing expatriates in Africa is a big concern for both Chinese MNEs and IHRM scholars. In general, many Chinese expatriates are socially isolated, living in a compound and even being equipped with a chef from China to take care of their diet so that they have fewer contacts with local people (Cooke, Wang, et al., 2015). Such discriminate treatments not only make it harder for expatriates to adjust but also create more conflicts between host country nationals (HCNs) and PCNs. Some Chinese MNEs, indeed, tend to adopt semi-military management with centralised control and strict discipline (Cooke, Wood, et al., 2015; Rui et al., 2017). For example, expatriates are checked every night to see if they come back to their accommodation on time, to prevent them from drinking or gambling, given an assumption that gambling might affect working attitudes and productivity (Rui et al., 2017). Moreover, some companies transferred money and bonuses directly to the account of their partners or other family members so that the expatriates had little money for gambling (Rui et al., 2017).

There are several monographs on China in Africa, which are based on fieldwork, and have enhanced our understanding of the phenomena. In her book *The Next Factory of the World: How Chinese Investment is Reshaping Africa*, Sun (2017) generally holds a dialectical but positive opinion about China's investment and its effects. She found that the majority of such investment is a commercial act led by market players, rather than a political action led by the Chinese government. She also argued that the accusation of using a large number of Chinese lacks robust evidence. Similarly, another Chinese researcher touched on the 'tantalizing' subject of 'China in Africa'. Lee (2018) started from the enquiry of Chinese capital to the management of Chinese firms in that continent. After years of ethnographic work in Zambia, Lee (2018) found that Chinese expatriates' life was organized by the principle of collective asceticism or 'eating bitterness' (enduring hardshi; 吃苦), with individuals sacrificing their time and even health to work for the betterment of the family left behind in China. Unlike Sun and Lee, the focus of Lam (2018) is on the Chinese state-owned enterprises (SOEs), investigating the globalization process of Chinese SOEs in West Africa. She questioned the popular media icon of ‘a totalitarian China state’ and challenged the idea of linear, static and binary power dynamics of powerful China and weak Africa. Although those three books are all based on a period of fieldwork or ethnographic observation, they explored the phenomenon from different angles and dug out different issues. This is due to the different expertise of those three researchers (business consulting and sociology). They all have shed light on my ethnographic study in Tanzania.

1.3 Defining expatriates

1.3.1 Definition of expatriates

One problem in existing studies on expatriation is a lack of clarity on the concept of expatriates (McNulty & Brewster, 2017). In this study, the theory-specific definition of expatriates from McNulty and Brewster (2017) will be adopted:

> *legally working individuals who reside temporarily in a country of which they are not a citizen in order to accomplish a career-related goal, being relocated abroad either by an organization, by self-initiation or directly employed within the host-country (p.46).*

Several points are illustrated in the above definition: 1) Expatriates are distinct from non-business expatriates: The definition highlights that expatriates are individuals who are employed by an organization and are temporarily residing in a foreign country for a career-related goal. This means that expatriates are distinct from non-business expatriates, such as tourists or refugees, who may also temporarily reside in a foreign country but are not there for work-related reasons. 2) Expatriates are engaged in international mobility: The definition emphasizes that expatriates are individuals who are temporarily residing in a foreign country. This highlights the importance of the geographical dimension of international mobility, which is a key aspect of expatriation.. 3) Expatriates are non-citizens of the host country: The definition specifies that expatriates do not hold citizenship in the host country. This is an important aspect of expatriation because it highlights the fact that expatriates are outsiders in the host country, which can have implications for their social and cultural integration. 4) Expatriates can be self-initiated or assigned by companies: The definition highlights that expatriates can be either self-initiated or assigned by companies. This means that expatriation can be either a voluntary or involuntary process, depending on whether the individual chooses to relocate or is asked to do so by their employer.

Another problem in the expatriation study is that there is no clear boundary of levels among expatriates. Most scholars tend to refer only to those who possess managerial positions as expatriates - since most of the research has been conducted on assigned expatriates, who usually possess senior positions and/or high pay, it is taken for granted that expatriates are of high status: there is even a rather casual assumption that the term ‘expatriate’ applies to high-status (usually white, western) internationally mobile individuals and ‘migrant’ can be used to cover all those who do not fit those categories (Al Ariss & Crowley-Henry, 2013): an assumption not warranted by any objective analysis of the meaning of ‘expatriate’. On the other hand, using the term ‘expatriate’ for both highly skilled and unskilled labours, whilst more accurate, may cause confusion given the focus on high-status expatriates in management studies. Three levels of expatriates are categorized, namely high-status expatriates (top management), middle-status expatriates (professions) and low-status expatriates (such as construction workers and drivers).

1.3.2 Differentiating migrants and expatriates

Until the global COVID-19 pandemic, migration involved ever-increasing numbers of people and geographic points. It is difficult to determine specific waves of migration (or motives of migration) since migrants come from different social and ethnic groups (Przytuła, 2015), however, it seems clear that in the twenty-first century the number of migrants increased significantly[1], the number of countries from which migrants come has increased, and the number of countries to which they are going has decreased: there has been a concentrated funnelling of migrants from a wider range of sending countries into a narrower range of developed countries (Castles, de Haas, & Miller, 2014; Li, Isidor, Dau, & Kabst, 2017). Prior to the pandemic, an estimated 272 million people globally resided in a country different from the one in which they were born (IOM, 2020). We return to the definitional issue in our research suggestions. Against the backdrop of this development, IB scholars have begun proposing a redirection of IB research to include the study of migration as a pressing 'grand challenge' (Buckley, Doh, & Benischke, 2017; Hajro, Caprar, Zikic, & Stahl, forthcoming).

The terms migration and expatriation are sometimes used interchangeably in mobility studies (Andresen et al., 2012), just as, in popular parlance, expatriates are assumed to be white, educated and sophisticated and migrants are assumed to be brown-, black- or yellow-skinned, uneducated and poor (Al Ariss & Crowley-Henry, 2013). The increasing diversification of types of migration (King, 2012) makes definitions complex and controversial: definitions by,

[1] Definitions change, and registration of international migrants has improved over recent decades (Fransen & de Haas, 2019), so some scholars have suggested that numbers of migrants in the past may have been higher than official estimates (de Haas, Czaika, Flahaux, Mahendra, Natter, Vezzoli, Villares-Varela, 2019). In broad terms, the total number of international migrants has increased at a pace roughly equal to that of the world population.

for example, the United Nations and the OECD are designed for national legal purposes and include everyone living in a country other than the one they were born in[2]. Research into migrants has been carried out in the disciplines of sociology, anthropology, population geography, political science, and economics and each of these schools uses definitions that are appropriate to them. These definitions may not always be appropriate for business scholars.

The concept of migration focuses on the status of geographic change of an individual - the physical movement across national borders (Agozino, 2000; Boyle & Keith, 2014). The UN defines a migrant as "any person who changes his or her country of usual residence" (UN DESA, 1998, p.17) regardless of the person's legal status; the motive of the movement and the length of stay; and whether the action is voluntary or not (UN, 2020). In this sense, some scholars use migrant as an umbrella term including both self-initiated expatriates (SIEs) and assigned expatriates (AEs) (Andresen et al., 2012), as well as students, and retirees. A recent report (IOM, 2020) emphasises that there is no universal agreement on the definitions of a migrant. Multiple understandings mainly depend on the policy and analytical contexts. For example, in international human resource management studies, Baruch, Dickmann and Bournois (2013) refer to migrants as those who have already obtained local citizenship, believing that the main factor differentiating migrants from expatriates is that the latter does not hold permanent residency of the host countries – though they can become migrants if they

[2] The official United Nations bodies tend to define international migration as the movement of people away from their place of usual residence and across an international border to a country of which they are not nationals (IOM, 2015). *While high-status expatriates have been covered in the IB literature, there is a dearth of research addressing the issues raised by the vast majority of migrants, those who, in everyday parlance, will settle in their new country.*

gain local citizenship. Such a categorisation puts a lot of people into the 'expatriate' category who would not see themselves or be seen by others as expatriates.

Baruch and colleagues (2013) distinguish different types of international assignment from various dimensions, such as time spent, the intensity of international contacts, breadth of interaction, legal context, international work instigator, the extent of cultural gap and specific position. Al Ariss (2010) drew attention to the host-home countries' dynamics when differentiating migrants and expatriates. For example, he assumed that migrants might often move from less developed countries to developed countries and, less logically risk confusing migrants with refugees (see below) that they are forced to leave their home country because of the job crisis back home.

The definitions noted so far, and the popular misconception that 'expatriates' only refers to those high-income earners or high-position holders in multinationals, while migrants come from a background with lower status is of little use in management or international business studies. McNulty and Brewster (2019) argue that for business and management studies expatriates are best defined as people living and working for a temporary period in a country not their own, and note that middle-status expatriates, or professionals, and low-status expatriates, such as construction workers and drivers (see Haak-Saheem & Brewster, 2017), are also temporary workers in a country other than their home; and hence could be seen as expatriates.

Based on a review of literature, Przytula (2015) summarised several demarcation criteria for the terms 'migrant', 'AE' and 'SIE'. The most relevant criteria in relation to migrants are (1) the motive for working abroad. Migrants usually change their country of origin due to economic, political and religious reasons. It is important to note that SIEs nowadays tend to have similar motives for moving. (2) social and economic adaptation in a host country. The degree of adaption and integration is supposed to be greater for migrants in contrast to expatriates, which might be also supported by the institution (e.g. the local government). (3) intention of staying abroad, closely associated with the last criteria (4) citizenship and national identity. The stay of migrants might be unlimited or long-term with the intention to live in the new country permanently. They very often change their citizenship and aim for the legalisation of their stay.

To further understand expatriates and their sub-groups, this thesis primarily differentiates them from migrants who change their country of usual residence with the intention of staying there permanently or at least until they retire.

1.3.3 Differentiating AEs and SIEs

McNulty and Brewster (2017) conceptualise the expatriate concept in the business literature in relation to IHRM research and identity four boundary conditions as a set of features. Apart from what has been discussed in the previous section, such as length of stay (temporary nature) and status of citizenship (non-citizenship of host countries), McNulty and Brewster (2017) also indicate that a business expatriate must be working. Here we expand the definition from employees to include those who initiate entrepreneurial activities (business owners) – expatriate entrepreneurs. Another condition is that expatriates, as well as not being citizens should obtain legal rights to work in their host countries. Current business and management studies of AEs and SIEs reveal that expatriates are always associated with a dependent work context (Biemann & Andresen, 2010; Doherty et al., 2011; Suutari & Brewster, 2000).In the following parts of this thesis, the term ‘expatriate’ will be used to denote expatriates in this business sense only.

For many years, international assignment (international career) studies focused on assigned expatriates (AEs) as the research was usually conducted through MNEs (McNulty & Brewster, 2017). In the early expatriate literature, scholars unconsciously yet consistently refer to expatriates as meaning organisationally assigned workers (Aycan, 1997; Harrison et al., 2004). It has been argued that AE plays a vital role in filling important positions in subsidiaries, transferring knowledge, controlling overseas offices, coordinating subsidiaries and providing development opportunities (Edström & Galbraith, 1977; Suutari & Brewster, 2000). But they can also be problematic. They are expensive; they may have limited understanding of local business context and inadequate local language skills (Furusawa & Brewster, 2018); there are issues of family adjustment, dual careers and education for children (Ehnert & Brewster, 2008; Haslberger & Brewster, 2008; Puck et al., 2008; Tarique & Caligiuri, 2009); there are challenges in the reintegration of former expatriates (Suutari & Brewster, 2003; Tung, 1998).

As the job market is becoming increasingly international, global recruitment becomes more accessible with the assistance of the internet, and the development of technology makes mobility easier, the importance of SIEs as a part of the global workforce is becoming gradually apparent (Suutari et al., 2018). Scholars believe that SIEs are an effective alternative for AE in certain respects, maintaining the advantages of AEs (e.g., easy communication with headquarters and provision of valuable skills) and reducing the disadvantages (e.g. cost, limited understanding of local culture and language, and repatriation issue) at the same time (Furusawa & Brewster, 2018).

It is until the late 90s that scholars started drawing attention to this group of international workers. Suutari & Brewster (2000) first identified self-initiated expatriates as those who make their own way abroad. Nowadays, the term 'self-initiated expatriates' (SIEs) has been widely adopted for this group.

Studies show that a problem with conceptualising AEs and SIEs is that there is no consistency in the literature regarding their definition (Andresen et al., 2020). Scholars usually understand SIEs as individuals who proactively choose to leave and start their careers abroad by themselves, whereas the transfer of AEs is initiated by the company (Peltokorpi & Jintae Froese, 2009; Suutari & Brewster, 2000). In terms of motivation, SIEs have personal motives such as self-development, while AEs mainly leave to accomplish a company-related goal and improve their career prospects (Peltokorpi, 2008). Unless they fall into the category of 'officials' (working for international public or third sector organisations such as the UN, the EU or the Red Cross), SIEs are responsible for their own overseas careers without direct support from the organisation of their home countries (Zhang et al., 2021). By the same logic, their repatriation is often not supported by an organisation either (Przytuła, 2015). SIEs usually do not have a pre-determined length of stay (Suutari & Brewster, 2000) while AEs generally have an agreed time frame for their staying (Peltokorpi & Jintae Froese, 2009). It is important to note that such status is fluid, for example, AEs might choose to stay longer after they complete the initial contract, and SIEs might stay permanently if they obtain local citizenship. In terms of organisation, SIEs are usually employed by local businesses, small international and foreign private firms, while AEs are often sent by giant multinational companies (Selmer, Suutar & Brewster, forthcoming).

By comparing thirty-three definitions of SIEs from thirty-two literature, Cerdin and Selmer (2014) found that there are substantial variations in them. For example, the most notable factor "self-initiative" does not appear in every definition. Apart from that, they also noted that sponsorship (associated with employers), company assistance (support for relocation and repatriation), flexibility (freedom of choice regards to where and when going to, for what position) and the status of expatriates (relatively high skilled and professional) were emphasised in some definitions. Such an attempt of explaining expatriates in various ways is helpful to build up the theoretical foundation for the subject. But there are also some problems. For example, freedom of choice is often associated with self-initiative, however, it is not a trait that is specific to SIEs. AEs might be able to choose which subsidiaries to go to and decide when to get on board. And the label "high skilled and professional" should not be treated as a unique character. In fact, it is not uncommon for SIEs to undertake a relatively low-status casual role that might below their qualifications and abilities, while AEs are often sent by their employers to fill "mission-critical" roles (Selmer, Suutar & Brewster, forthcoming).

Andresen et al., (2012) argue there are two necessary conditions when differentiating SIEs and AEs: who makes the decision of foreign employment (current work contract partner or new work contact partner) and who takes the first formalised action (organisation or individual). For example, if the first formalised action (the initiative) is taken by the organisation, and the decision to employ the expatriate is made by the current employer, this person is categorised as AE. In contrast, the decision to employ SIE is usually made by a new work contract partner in the host country and the first formalised action is taken by themselves.

However, such a dichotomous approach is not sufficient to understand AEs and SIEs. In reality, these two boundaries of conditions can be blurry or intertwined. For example, if someone applied for a job knowing that they will be sent to a subsidiary once on board, will they be categorised as an SIE or an AE? In this situation, the individuals are the ones who take the first formalised action (applying for an overseas job), however, they are offered a contract with a new employer, who will support the relocation. On the one hand, they should be treated as SIEs as they show a high initiative to work abroad; on the other hand, they should be categorised as AEs because they are sponsored by an organisation.

Conventionally, the definition of SIEs suggests relatively high initiative. However, Andresen et al., (2020) argued the initiative of SIEs should not be taken for granted as that level of personal initiative can be very different among SIEs groups. The converse can also be said that the level of personal initiative varies widely within the group of AEs. In a word, AEs can have the same or an even higher initiative of working abroad in comparison to SIEs. Initiative is the key factor in differentiating SIEs and AEs (Cerdin and Selmer 2014; Suutari and Brewster 2000). But we should also note that this criterion should be applied together with other elements, such as time of stay and company assistance, so that we can understand different types of expatriates more accurately.

Suutari and Brewster (2000) were the first to propose that SIEs are not a homogeneous group and explore further between subgroups. Even till today, they are still calling for attention to sub-categories, such as officials (people working for public sectors), local professionals (people who were assigned by organisations but decided to stay after they terminated their contract) and young opportunists (Selmer, Suutari & Brewster, forthcoming). Studies show that, when compared with AE SIEs are, on average, younger, have a higher percentage of females (Suutari & Brewster 2000), are more flexible in changing organisations (Bossard & Peterson, 2005; Stahl & Cerdin, 2004; Stahl et al., 2002), more likely to be opportunists (Suutari & Brewster, 2000), stay longer (Doherty et al., 2011), have greater motivation in learning local culture and language (Peltokorpi & Jintae Froese, 2009; Suutari et al., 2018), are better connected in the host country (Mäkelä & Suutari, 2013), and are less career development orientated (Carr et al., 2005). Moreover, scholars found a high percentage of expatriates are SIEs (Peltokorpi & Jintae Froese, 2009) and they are growing faster than AEs in terms of rate and scope of mobility (Alshahrani & Morley, 2015).

Since there are no universally agreed definitions of AEs and SIEs, or the definitions are ambiguous, some scholars carefully conceptualise these terms in their work. For example, Howe-Walsh and Schyns (2010) emphasise that SIEs in their paper only refer to those who give up their position before they move abroad, rather than those who are having a career break in a foreign country. It, at least, suggests that there are two forms of SIEs in terms of pre-career conditions. It is relevant to HRM because whether or not they have obtained a job offer before moving might affect the degree of initiative and motivation.

Since the nature and purpose of an international assignment are becoming increasingly complicated, there will be a range of new roles and career paths for expatriates emerging (Collings et al., 2007). Scholars should be more careful to conceptualise those terms (AEs and SIEs) in their work.

1. It is important to note that those definitions or characters of SIEs and AEs in current studies may just reflect the sample polled. This is also why there seems to be a lack of consistency in their findings. This thesis will analyse a group of Chinese expatriates (including AEs, SIEs and expatriate entrepreneurs) in a context (in Tanzania) that has rarely been explored so far. It will contribute to the overall expatriation studies by adding to the "data pool".

2. Initiative should be further clarified in context. We often take it for granted that SIEs have a higher initiative of moving and working abroad, while AEs are initiated by their companies. Since the initiative is highly associated with individuals' motivation, it suggests that SIEs might adopt a proactive approach toward relocation, and they persevere through obstacles and setbacks to achieve their when working abroad (Andresen et al., 2020). It could be argued that all international mobility requires initiative on the part of those who move, but some forms may or may not require more.

3. Traditionally, assigned expatriates are sent to fill important positions because of their professional skills (technical or management), thus, in many cases, they represent a group of people who are relatively educated, skilled and advanced in their career (Andresen et al., 2020). SIEs are generally treated as a group of highly educated professionals that can add value to the talent pool by bringing a set of technical and management skills (Cerdin & Brewster, 2014; Cerdin & Selmer, 2014). One problem with such findings is that they are usually generalised from studies of big MNEs, whether in Western countries or Eastern countries. Very few scholars tend to draw attention to expatriates in less developed areas, or lower levels of expatriates. This thesis will fill in the gap by studying middle-status expatriates coming from an emerging market to work in relatively small companies in a developing country.

Another problem in the expatriation study is that there is no clear boundary of levels among expatriates. Most scholars tend to refer only to those who possess managerial positions as expatriates - since most of the research has been conducted on assigned expatriates, who usually possess senior positions and/or high pay, it is taken for granted that expatriates are of high status: there is even a rather casual assumption that the term 'expatriate' applies to high-status (usually white, western) internationally mobile individuals and 'migrant' can be used to cover all those who do not fit those categories (Al Ariss & Crowley-Henry, 2013): an assumption not warranted by any objective analysis of the meaning of 'expatriate'. On the other hand, using the term 'expatriate' for both highly skilled and unskilled labours, whilst more accurate, may cause confusion given the focus on high-status expatriates in management studies. Three levels of expatriates are categorized, namely high-status expatriates (top management), middle-status expatriates (professions) and low-status expatriates (such as construction workers and drivers).

1.4 Research problem

The growing influence of China as a key player in outward foreign direct investment (FDI) has attracted academic interest in topics related to international human resource management (IHRM) in Chinese multinationals. Often these studies contrast IHRM in Chinese MNEs to that in the WEIRD (Western, educated, industrialized, rich, developed) countries (Henrich et al., 2010), or sometimes just to the Anglophone countries: The USA (Z. Peng et al., 2017), the UK (X. Fu et al., 2018; Khan et al., 2018; Shen et al., 2005; Shen & Edwards, 2004; Zheng & Smith, 2018), or Australia (Fan et al., 2013; M. M. Zhang & Fan, 2014; Zhu, 2018)

Among the studies, there has been a focus on international staffing (Cooke et al., 2018), knowledge transfer and reverse knowledge transfer (Osabutey & Jackson, 2019; Z. Peng et al., 2017), and the management of expatriates and local employees (Jackson, 2014; Jackson et al., 2013; Jackson & Horwitz, 2018; Kamoche & Siebers, 2015; Nabil Khodeir, 2016; Rui et al., 2017; Wood et al., 2014; Xing et al., 2016). While these studies have contributed to our awareness of distinct IHRM practices of Chinese MNEs operating in Africa, deeper enquiries of key factors that lead to such practices deserve further scholarly attention.

Based on a review of current literature, several gaps have been identified:

1) Research area. Although scholars from social science, political science, economic science and international business background have raised attention to 'China in Africa', HRM scholars have just started trying to catch up. Among the limited research on Chinese HRM in Africa, the focus is primarily on management practices at a macro or meso level. The strategic policies of a nation or a company are surely important. But the actual implementation of a strategic plan is determined by the performance of each individual. Therefore, an exploratory study of the lived experience of Chinese in Africa is urgently needed. Who are those people? What is their background? Why do they pursue a life or a career there? What really matters to them in their daily life? And what bothers them in their daily interaction? Those questions sound simple but we don't seem to have clear answers yet.

2) Research scope. A deeper, more detailed, open study will facilitate our in-depth understanding of the relevant phenomena. For example, the increasing attention paid to self-initiated expatriates helps us understand the motivation, behaviour and performance of this group of people. The tradition of studying high-status expatriates with prestigious social status and high incomes in senior positions gives us a clear picture of those people. However, for an under-explored phenomenon or context, I argue that studying without preconceptions may help us identify more critical issues. Moreover, for a less understood field, perhaps an undifferentiated study will improve our understanding of the nature of that phenomenon. Therefore, an exploratory study should be open to the choice of scope. We do not know yet who are more significant players in Africa: expatriates from SOEs or private firms? High-status expatriates or low-status expatriates? Assigned expatriates or self-initiated expatriates?

3) Research context. Country-specific studies are necessary for investigating Chinese MNEs in Africa. Much of the existing literature focuses on Africa at a macro level, ignoring its regional or national differences. Adisu and his colleagues (2016) suggest that country-based analyses will enable an understanding of the unique history and culture of each African country. When it comes to the micro or individual level of studies, such as expatriates, the importance of country-specific context is more prominent. This is because the effects of the host and home country will combine and form specific dynamics that could further influence the decisions and behaviours of expatriates.

4) Research methods. Ethnography as a research method has long been used in studies in the social sciences. In the business discipline, it has been adopted to tackle marketing and organisational issues. Although it has started attracting attention from IB and IHRM scholars, very few of them have implemented research using such a time- and energy-consuming approach. So far, the most noticeable ethnographic studies on expatriation come from Lauring and Selmer, who conducted fieldwork on Danish business expatriates in the expatriate compound in Saudi Arabia. Two papers have been generated from the three months of participant observation (Lauring & Selmer, 2009, 2010). However, their work generally focuses on the life of expatriates and their spouse within the compound and limited information has been given to the life outside of that context. Thus, a more comprehensive ethnographic study is needed to further investigate the variety of life and situations in a foreign environment.

1.5 Aims and objectives of the study

Given the lack of in-depth understanding of Chinese expatriates in Africa, this study aims to explore the lived experience of Chinese business expatriates in Tanzania. Due to the nature of the ethnographic study, my initial research objective was designed to be wide and open to avoid any pre-assumptions before entering the field. The general enquiry is: what are the most critical or relevant issues to the Chinese expatriates in Tanzania? Current literature has shown us that cross-cultural adjustment, social support, family support, integration into local communities, language proficiency and pre-departure training (Nawyn et al., 2012; Peltokorpi, 2008; Selmer, 2006; Tarique & Caligiuri, 2009; M. M. Zhang & Fan, 2014) are all relevant to the experience of expatriates to some extent. Can those be applied to Chinese in Tanzania as well? What else might have not been identified and what's new in this context? To answer those questions requires an extended period spent in the field. As the observation progressed, I found that in order to understand the behaviour of this group of people, it is essential to figure out their background as it is closely related to their choice of accepting an international assignment. Most importantly, what motivates them to leave their home country and set up a new life in Tanzania? Gradually, two specific phenomena have caught my attention – corruption and language issues. Being an insider (or participant), I experienced petty corruption in my daily life and witnessed how it affected my fellows' experiences. Being a researcher, I have noticed the recurrence of codes related to these two issues. Therefore, petty corruption and language issues have been identified as two main themes in the thesis.

In the same vein, my research questions have evolved and been specified as my fieldwork progressed. They have been confirmed as below:

1. What is the background of those Chinese who work in Tanzania?
2. How does such background shape their motivation to work in Tanzania, and how does it further affect their experiences in the field?
3. What are the key issues or challenges to the relevant stakeholders, how to make sense of them and their impact on expatriates' life?

In summary, then, five objectives of this ethnographic study have been identified. First, to gain an insight into the personal quality and pre-experience (e.g., economic capital, social capital and cultural capital) of Chinese expatriates in Tanzania, Second, to identify the factors that motivate Chinese individuals to live and work in Tanzania, and to explore how these factors interact with their background. Third, to discover how motivation is relevant to expatriates' experience. Fourth, to explore the machnism behind petty corruption and language choice, Fifth, to understand how petty corruption and langauge barriers affect the experience of expatriates and their relation with locals.

No research can be done outside of its contextual setting. In particular, micro-level studies such as ethnography cannot encompass all the scopes and situations available. Thus, it is particularly important to clarify the scope and context of this exploratory study. Since expatriation and migration studies have been often elaborated in the context of global mobility, these two types of research sometimes overlap or intersect. In this thesis, Chinese immigrants in Tanzania will not be included in the main discussion and the focus will be given to those who work and live there temporarily without obtaining local residency. Furthermore, the internal differentiation of expatriates is also given importance in this study. As is shown in the title, the fieldwork was conducted around business expatriates, excluding non-business expatriates. Therefore, the definition of business expatriates from McNulty and Brewster (2017) has been adopted as it clearly theorises them as those employed by an organization, which is different from non-business expatriates such as tourists, refugees or sojourners.

1.6 Contributions of the study

This study is significant in terms of its theoretical and practical contribution to the existing body of knowledge on expatriation studies. It expands our understanding of expatriates from emerging markets who work in less developed regions. IB and economic scholars have been following 'China in Africa' for a long time. It is only in recent years that IHRM scholars have started to pay attention to those Chinese expatriates working and living on that continent. While the majority of such studies discuss the management practices of expatriates, this study enriches our knowledge of Chinese expatriates in Africa from a micro perspective, providing a thick description of their daily interaction. It discovers a rarely researched topic in cross-cultural adjustment among expatriates - the adaption to and resistance to the institution. In this study, this refers to petty corruption, a micro-level of bureaucracy.

This study challenges the conventional focus on high-status expatriates and shifts the attention to the middle-status and low-status expatriates. Compared with expatriates with high income and prestigious status, middle-status and low-status Chinese expatriates are the key players in Africa in terms of their number and depth of integration. The background, motivation and behaviour of those groups of expatriates have been explored, which expands the scope of expatriates' studies and complements the expatriate research family.

It also extends and develops the push and pull theories in motivation (Baruch, 1995; Carr et al., 2005). It re-examined each category of the factors and enriches them in a new context. It gives importance to the unique dynamics formed by the effects of the country of origin and country of the destination.

This study contributes to the existing literature by integrating Bourdieu's theory of habitus and field with institutional theory to analyse the interplay between social structures and institutional contexts in shaping expatriates' behaviour (or decision) in the specific context of Africa. By using Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and field, this study analyses how Chinese expatriates in Tanzania are socialized to adopt certain practices and behaviours towards languages and petty corruption, and how these practices are influenced by the institutional context they operate within. Building on institutional theory, this study then analyses how formal and informal rules within Tanzania shape these behaviours and practices, and how Chinese expatriates navigate these rules to maintain their position within the field.

In terms of methodology, this research is one of the few expatriation studies that have adopted ethnography and it is also the first expatriation study where the researcher was fully immersed and even invisible on site, spending more than half a year living and working with expatriates to conduct participant observation. It is significant in terms of methodological innovation and depth of fieldwork.

Not only does this study addresses the current shortage of research in this area, but also provides real-world value to organisations operating in that context. Firstly, in the strategic planning stage, the framework provided in this study could guide HRM staff to analyse the effects from both host and home countries and further identify the possible challenges of recruitment. Secondly, in the selection stage, this research could offer HRM staff information to refer to, for example, I note that by looking at employees' backgrounds and motivations, it is easier to determine which people are better suited for an assignment in that context. Thirdly, in the preparation stage, this research could guide HRM staff to choose targeted training and knowledge briefing, such as equipping them with basic language skills and reminding them to be aware of the local institutional environment. Last but not least, this study encourages HRM staff to value the effects from home and host countries (drag and throw factors) even after expatriation, which would be helpful for HRM staff to retain expatriates until they complete their international assignments.

This study also provides some real-world values for individual expatriates who decide to work and set up businesses in Africa. First, expatriates should familiarise themselves with the 'corrupted' environment in the host countries. Second, whether for work or life, expatriates should pay extra attention to language issues. Learning the local language will not only equip expatriates with communication skills but will also save them from being put in a vulnerable position in both work and life domains.

1.7 Structure of the thesis

This thesis consists of six chapters, and summaries of each chapter's purpose and content are presented below.

In chapter one, the context of the study has been introduced. The research objectives and problems have been identified, and the significance of such research has been elaborated.

In chapter two, the existing literature will be reviewed to identify key debates, problems and gaps in expatriations studies of Chinese in Africa. Expatriation studies related to motivation, corruption and languages will be discussed. Theoretical framework from Bourdieu will also be provided.

In chapter three, the adoption of a qualitative, inductive research approach will be justified, and the broader research design of ethnography will be discussed, including the researcher's reflection on the journey and the limitation.

In chapter four, three themes will be identified – expatriates' motivation, petty corruption, and language issues. And findings of each theme will be presented with rich data and vivid stories.

In chapter five, research questions will be answered. The findings will be interpreted and evaluated to show their relation to the existing literature. The interconnectedness of research themes in this study will be discussed.

In chapter six, summaries of key findings will be presented and research questions and aims will be addressed. The contribution and limitation of this study will be discussed, followed by recommendations for future research.

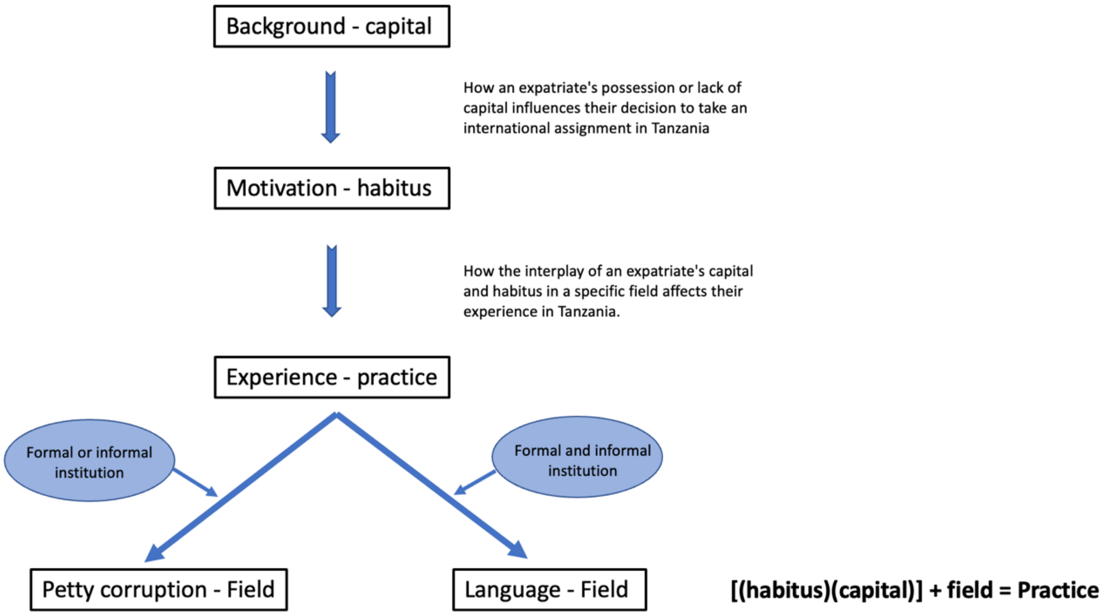

Figure 1 Theoretical map of the sutdy

2 Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will first review China's presence in Africa with its strategic motivations, as well as how this phenomenon is perceived by the public. I will then discuss Chinese MNEs in Africa from both IB and IHRM perspectives. It will be followed by a discussion on how Chinese expatriates are managed and how expatriates are defined in academia. Furthermore, I will review studies on three topics that are relevant to my research findings respectively: motivation of expatriates, corruption and language issues.

2.2 China's presence in Africa

In 2021, the bilateral trade volume between China and Africa reached 254.2 billion US dollars, a year-on-year increase of 35%. Among them, China imported 105.9 billion US dollars from

Africa and exported 148.3 billion US dollars to Africa, representing a year-on-year increase of 43.7% and 29.9%, respectively. China has maintained its position as Africa's largest trading partner for 13 consecutive years (Ministry of Commerce, PRC, 2022).

In 2022, China's direct investment in all sectors in Africa reached 4.23 billion US dollars (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2022), increased by 12.8% compared to the previous year. The chart below illustrates that Chinese FDI flows to Africa have surpassed those from the U.S. since 2013 (CARI, 2022).

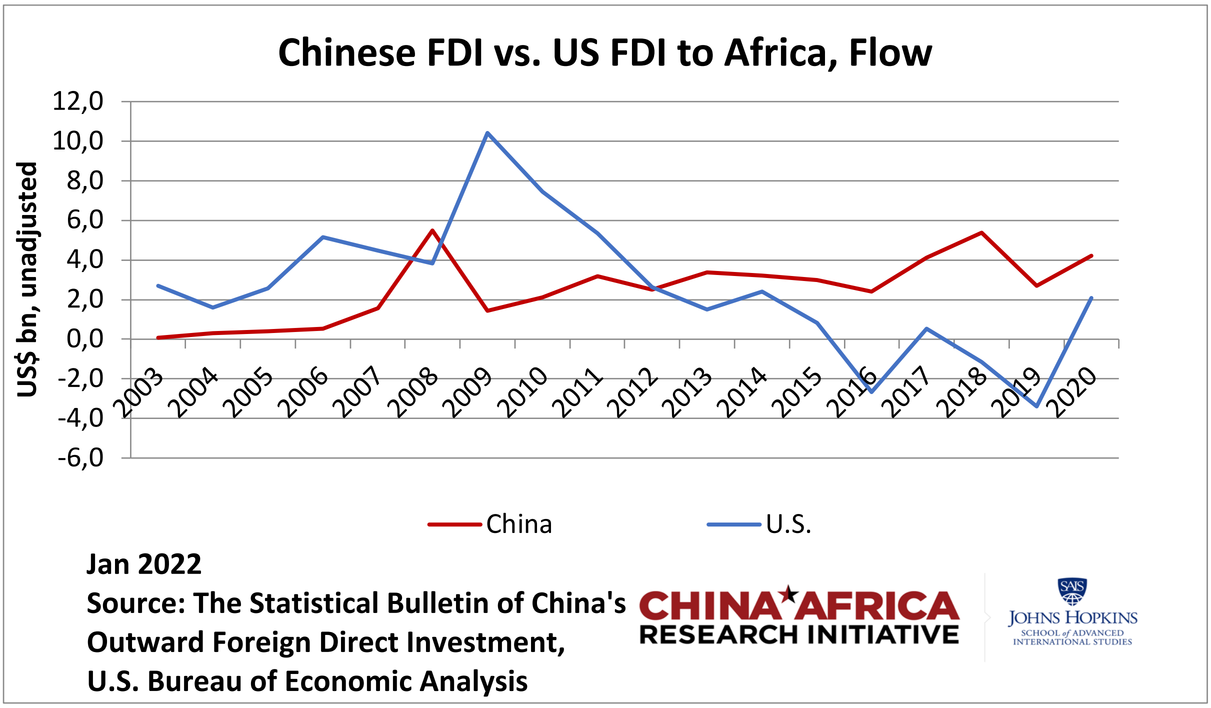

Figure 2 Chinese FDI vs. US FDI to Africa, Flow

2.2.1 China’s strategic motives in Africa

Location advantages in host countries attract multinational enterprises (MNEs) to engage in FDI (Verbeke, 2013). There is a common perception that rich natural resources such as oil and other minerals are the main driving forces for FDI in Africa (Asiedu, 2006). China has experienced three decades of economic growth and the expected growth in the future indicates an increasing demand for natural resources (Davies, 2009). For example, Ramasamy, Yeung and Laforet (2012) explained that since 2009 China has become the largest market for passenger cars, which means oil and energy are urgently required for the development of the industry. By studying the correlation between Chinese FDI flow and natural resources investment, Wood and his colleagues (2014) found that Chinese MNEs invest in Africa in order to secure access to natural resources to meet domestic Chinese demands, which is consistent with the existing literature. Data from 2003 to 2007 also show that the resources-seeking motive of Chinese FDI in Africa is quite distinct, with statistical significance in energy and mineral output variables (Cheung et al., 2012). It is interesting to note that China is a latecomer in resource-extractive industries in Africa compare with western investors. One interpretation from Cheung and his colleagues (2012) is that China is trying to catch up with other foreign investors in the resources extraction sector in Africa.

Although Africa is blessed with natural resources, the continent is plagued with uncertainties and risks. Does China hold a perverse attitude to risk (Buckley, et al., 2007)? Cheung and Qian (2009) found the Chinese investment is unaffected by risk, and Ramasamy and colleagues (2012) argued that the Chinese even seem to be attracted to politically risky countries with weak political systems. Weak institutions are linked to higher levels of corruption, which normally has a negative influence on FDI (Habib & Zurawicki, 2002). More specifically, there are examples of Western companies withdrawing from countries with weak institutions, to avoid the related pressure and difficulties (Desai, Foley, & Hines, 2004). However, EMNEs may have had to survive similar bureaucratic pressures at home, so are more experienced and flexible in dealing with corruption and political constraints (Khanna & Palepu, 2006). As a consequence, Chinese MNEs may be more competitive in corrupt markets and understand that corruption is a double-edged sword that might give the company the chance to buy its way out of some burdensome regulations (Wood et al., 2014). Interviewees in Chinese state-owned mining companies in Africa confirmed that they build positive relationships with local authorities by giving them money, placing their friends or relatives in management positions, building roads and schools, lending transportation and providing gifts (Cooke, et al., 2015). These are seen as ‘normal’. It has also been argued that the political connections between China and countries that are ‘other developing countries’ give Chinese MNEs bargaining powers there (Buckley et al., 2007).

Any arguments about investment being attracted to politically risky countries are muddied by the overlap of countries that are both corrupt and have natural resources (Kolstad & Wiig, 2012). Western MNEs, too, operate in countries with high levels of corruption (Wood et al., 2014). Kolstad and Wiig (2012) argue that the data on FDI from Buckley et al. (2007) and Cheung and Qian (2009) only reflect approved investments rather than actual investment and might be biased: Publicly approved investment and less visible investment may have different characteristics. It may be therefore that the weaker institutions are in the host country, the more Chinese investment is attracted by that country’s natural resources; conversely, the larger the county’s natural resources, the more Chinese investment is attracted to weak institutions. Weak institutions and large natural resources interactively affect Chinese outward FDI.

While some scholars believe Chinese firms investing in Africa primarily aim to get access to natural resources (Frynas & Manuel, 2007), others do not find substantial evidence for that proposition (Cheung & Qian, 2009). Instead, market-seeking is found to be the key motive for Chinse FDI, in particular, to promote domestic exports (Buckley et al., 2007). Apart from the co-effect of rich resources and poor institutions, another important result Kolstad and Wiig (2012) find is that Chinese FDI is attracted to large markets. China's fast-growing export industry requires it to find new markets beyond the developed economies, and Africa appears to have a huge but undeveloped market with great potential (Cheung et al., 2012). However, Wood's finding suggests that emerging markets are less likely to use Africa as an export base and when they target less competitive markets they focus on local market share (Wood et al., 2014). For example, the presence of Chinese telecom giants Huawei and ZTE (Zhongxing Telecommunications Equipment) in Africa follows China's 'go-out' policy to gain local markets as their strategy to compete in the global market (Agbebi, 2018). Besides, they found that the local market might not be the only interest of emerging MNEs in Africa, they might also be interested in exporting their African products to other markets.

Some scholars challenge the idea of a single motive for Chinese FDI in Africa. They believe that multiple motives, multiple strategies and multiple players led China's road to the continent (Brautigam, 2009). Africa has a huge but undeveloped consumer market combined with rich natural resources, which offers a great complement to China (Xu, 2014). According to (Gill et al., 2007), China needs Africa: for resources to achieve its development goal, for markets to sustain its fast-growing economy, and for political alliances to support its ambition to be influential globally. More specifically, Brautigam and Xiaoyang (2011) state that investment has been used as a commercial and political channel for the Chinese government to build diplomatic bridges across countries which will benefit other projects that might be in China's national interest. This is also why there is a huge debate about the deep involvement of the Chinese government in FDI in Africa, as it arouses concerns about national security risks for host countries (Deng, 2013).

2.2.2 Different voices towards China’s presence in Africa

There is increasing concern about the nature of Chinese investment in Africa: is it win-win cooperation or win-lose competition? Ado and Su (2016) critically assessed 41 academic journals on China's presence in Africa from 2001 to 2011 and found that a great deal of work shows negative results, particularly with regard to local economic development and social development. For example, China is exporting manufacturing products with very competitive prices in African markets, which has been argued has led to the deindustrialisation of Africa (Mlambo et al., 2016). Specifically, it leads to the closure of factories, unemployment, and low-income issues. According to Alden (2006), in South Africa, due to Chinese competition in the textile sector, 60,000 workers are unemployed directly and 200,000 indirectly. In Nigeria such numbers reach 350,000. In addition, ‘bad behaviour’ on the part of Chinese SOEs in Africa has been reported, such as labour rights violations, environmental pollution, and criminal activity (Xu, 2014). Other critiques have focussed on aid projects, with a noninterference policy from the Chinese government, which has been accused of ignoring human rights abuse in some countries (Mlambo et al., 2016). Thus, some academics and western media tend to perceive China's presence in Africa as neocolonial (Jauch, 2011).

However, Ado and Su (2016) argue that there seems to be a lack of empirical evidence to support such negative views. Most of those views come from low-quality journals, and journalists in the business press or magazines (Wang, 2012). A limited number of papers with interest in China’s presence in Africa have been published in specialised international business (IB) journals. Instead, most papers are published in Chinese or African journals with no international ranking or worldwide accessibility. Reports from journalists are argued to be prejudicial and unreliable and based on anecdotal information. They are mainly western-centre writing for those audiences who feel threatened by the Chinese economy (Ademola, Bankole, & Adewuyi, 2009).

Some studies have identified any positive effects of China's presence in Africa. Most Africans think highly of China and the evidence comes from studies conducted by both Afrobarometer (Sanny & Selormey, 2021) and The Economist (Epstein & McDermott, 2022). Donou-Adonsou and Lim, (2018) found that Chinese FDI improves the standard of living in Africa from 2003 to 2012. In terms of income, the effect of Chinese FDI in Africa is nearly twice as large as that of American FDI. While some scholars claim that Chinese MNEs use a huge amount of expatriates and rarely employ local workers or offer training to local staff, Agbebi (2018) found positive results from an in-depth qualitative study of Huawei. As a part of its corporate social responsibility, Huawei has launched plenty of education and training programmes for both employees and non-employees in African countries: for example, 1000 Girls in ICT Training programmes and ICT For Change-Nigeria 2000 Youth ICT Training. In the former programme, successful trainees from the final stage were even sent to the headquarter in Shenzhen, China for a one-week training session. So far, more than 50,000 people have been trained at Huawei's training centre in Abuja, Nigeria. It is important to note that, as a telecommunication giant, Huawei might not be a good representative of most Chinese MNEs in Africa. However, it at least shows us the determination of Chinese MNEs to engage in local development by following the central government's initiative.

There also remain contrary opinions about China's presence in Africa among locals, especially among local governments, local academics and media. Makoye (2014) warns African countries to be careful as China is using them as testing grounds for products they might not be able to sell elsewhere. Local consumers complain about the poor quality of Chinese goods. They label those goods ‘Zhing-Zhong’ and ‘Fong Kong’ in Zimbabwe and South Africa respectively (Agbebi, 2018). A study by Manyeruke (2006) revealed that Chinese goods of poor quality have higher replacement rates than local products from the perspective of Zimbabwean female consumers, with some products even asking for ‘no guarantee’, ‘no refund' and ‘no return’.

In contrast, national leaders in general embrace the Chinese model and welcome Chinese MNEs to invest in China (Adisu et al., 2016). The following narratives about a Nigeria human rights activist Ndubisi Obiorah might reveal the conflicting mentality of some African locals:

> *…Ndubisi told me that part of him welcomed China’s interest: “You remember,” he said, “a few years ago, The Economist did a cover story on Africa: ‘The Failed Continent.’ My friends and I, we talked about that for weeks. It was depressing: ‘Africa, the failed continent!’ And now China comes, and they are talking about business, about investment, about win-win cooperation.” He smiled a bit ruefully: “Who knows? Maybe this change will be good for Africa.” (Brautigam, 2009, p. 2)*

China wins a great amount of credibility among some local authorities for two reasons. First, as a developing country, it shows the world its success in fast economic development and reduction of poverty (Brautigam, 2009). Second, as a country which used to be colonised rather than colonising others, "China has an advantage of not having a colonial hangover" from local perspectives (Brautigam, 2009, p. 10). However, there seems to be no conclusion to the debate about whether the cooperation between China and Africa is a win-win situation or a win-lose situation. Thus, (Ado & Su, 2016) suggest it is necessary to differentiate the types of investors when discussing the Sino-Africa relationships. Miao (2021) argues that MNEs with different ownerships embrace different motivations when stepping into African markets. Consequently, their strategies and business practices (e.g. HRM practice) will vary based on the nature of the firms. In addition, different sectors, industries, and geographical characteristics should be taken into consideration in such an analysis.

2.3 Chinese enterprises in Africa: from the perspective of IB

2.3.1 Characteristics of Chinese investment in Africa

There are four main characteristics of Chinese investment in Africa (Liu & Ge, 2018). First, China’s investment base in Africa is low, but it is growing rapidly. Especially from 2010 to 2014, the average annual growth rate of China's investment in Africa is 25%, while the growth rate of Western countries in the same period is about 10%.

Second, various industries are widely distributed. Construction, mining, and manufacturing are the major sectors. In terms of the number of firms, up to 2014 China had established 3,031 foreign companies in Africa, of which 1,029 were involved in manufacturing projects (Ministry of Commerce, 2017). However, Gu (2009) argued that those figures from the Ministry of Commerce might not capture the reality. According to a senior Chinese official interviewed by her, a lot of private companies might not register with local governments, and this number could be ten times more than has been published.

Third, the proportion of investment in resource-based economies has dropped significantly, and investment in non-resource-based economies has grown more rapidly (Liu & Ge, 2018). This supports the argument in the previous chapter that China’s investment in Africa does not just focus on natural resource extraction.

Fourth, private enterprises have become the mainstay of China's investment in Africa. In 2002, only four of the 21 Chinese non-investment companies counted by the Ministry of Commerce were private companies. In 2013, the proportion of private companies investing in Africa reached 53%. In 2017, according to a survey from the McKinsey Group, among more than 10,000 companies in eight host countries invested by China 90% of them were private companies (Sun, Jayaram & Kassiri, 2017). It is also important to note that China's investment in different types of African countries has different characteristics. For example, for middle-income countries, China's investment is mainly in South Africa and the investment industry is more prominent in the technology-intensive and service sectors. In oil exporting countries, they mainly take the approach of mergers and acquisitions. In low-income and poor countries, the labour-intensive manufacturing sector accounts for a larger proportion.

2.3.2 Chinese enterprises with different ownerships

Ownership has been discussed by many scholars in understanding the nature of Chinese enterprises since the simple dual-category (SOEs vs private firms) is not enough to capture the characteristics (Chen, Firth, & Xu, 2009; Gu, 2009; Ramasamy, Yeung, & Laforet, 2012; Wegenast & Schneider, 2017; Xu, 2014). Chen et al (2009) group China's listed companies into four types by tracing the identity of large shareholders: firms controlled by state asset management bureaus (SAMBs), state-owned enterprises (SOEs) affiliated to the central government (SOECGs), SOEs affiliated to local government (SOELGs), and private investors (PI). Ramasamy et al (2012) merged SAMBs with SOELGS as the former have also undertaken OFDI affiliated with provincial or city government. Furthermore, Kaplinsky and Morris (2009) argue that further qualifications are required for the terms 'state-owned' and 'private' as the boundary between them are not clear, which is a unique feature of Chinese economic development. Kaplinsky and Morris (2009) further explain that many 'state-owned enterprises' act as channels for private gain. That is to say, profits are partially captured by key individuals who are not official owners of the companies. Similarly, the returns and decisions of many apparently ‘private’ companies reflect the direct decision-making power of national institutions, especially provincial governments. It is noteworthy that in China ‘private’ means the state holds less than 50% of the shares. Another reality is that government officials might also have their own companies, but in a “private capacity” (Kaplinsky & Morris, 2009. P552). They make use of the *guanxi* (关系) connection through their government positions. Nolan uses “ownership maze” and “vaguely defined property rights” to explain the characteristics of such a situation (Nolan, 2004, p.169). Kaplinsky and Morris (2009) agree with Nolan that ownership in China is a complex and dynamic mix of property rights. But this might increase the difficulties for scholars studying Chinese enterprises.

Chinese State-owned companies were the pioneers in entering Africa. They are usually larger and enjoy greater support from the central or local government compared to private companies. It is easy to overlook the fact that the ‘state’ is not a single entity (Xu, 2014). Several government agencies promote China’s participation in Africa, each with its own mission. For example, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Africa identifies the national interest and makes a connection with local government, cooperating with the Ministry of Commerce. The State-owned Assets Supervision and Administration Commission was established in 2003 to be responsible for managing and increasing the value of state assets. It is also the owner of central SOEs. State banks such as the China Development Bank (CDB) and the Export-Import Bank (Exim) are required to assist Chinese enterprises to expand overseas. Apart from helping with infrastructure projects, CDB also created an independent subsidiary in 2007 to encourage and support Chinese enterprises to invest in Africa - the China–Africa Development Fund (CADFund). CADFund has invested in agriculture, infrastructure, manufacturing, industrial park, resource development, etc.

Some scholars believe that state ownership is harmful to listed companies (Wei, Xie, & Zhang, 2005). However, according to Chen et al (2009), SOEs turn out to have better performance. (There are, of course, all sorts of problems with the definition and measurement of performance). Given this caveat, the research finds that SOECGs perform best, followed by SOELGs. Private firms are not superior to SOEs but are slightly better than SAMBs. But SOEs also have relatively more operational constraints compared with private companies (Chen et al., 2009). For example, whilst private companies usually pay attention to immediate interests and ignore their social responsibilities, central SOEs are usually required to incorporate 'corporate social responsibilities' (CSR) into their plans (Xu, 2014). So why are there complaints about the 'bad' behaviours of Chinese SOE - such as corruption, human and/ or labour rights violations, environmental pollution and even crimes? Compared with the central government, the provincial and local government seems to pay less attention and are less enthusiastic about China-Africa relations (Gu, 2009).

To understand the contradiction between inappropriate behaviours and the objectives of the central government, Xu (2014) examined large central SOEs in the resources and infrastructure sectors. Surprisingly, she found that the central government in Beijing seems to have limited control of large SOEs, let alone those small enterprises affiliated to provincial or local government. When competing with large SOEs for projects, provincial SOEs may conflict with Beijing's strategic goals. But the central government has limited capacity to monitor those provincial or local enterprises. Besides, the commitment of large SOEs relies on small public and private contractors. Even though the central government encourages SOEs to 'go out', it has only tenuous control over those contractors (Xu, 2014).

The labour issue is highly controversial in Africa. There have been complaints about SOEs importing Chinese employees rather than creating job opportunities for locals, in particular in the construction industry. This issue attracted the attention of the central government. Former President Hu Jintao promised that the Chinese MNCs in Africa would increase the employment of local labour at the 5th Ministerial Conference of the Forum of China–Africa Cooperation in 2012. However, it is doubtful to what extent the promise would be kept by the central government considering the limited control capacity (xu, 2014).

Differently from large SOEs, private companies usually enter the African market by following their own path. Market-seeking motives drive them to maximize their interest (Zhang & He, 2015). According to Gu (2009), Chinese private companies in Africa usually have a 'Three-Jump' pattern of enterprise growth: Trading – Investing – Building industrial parks. Most companies started trading with Africa and it gradually led them to make the decision to invest there. From her fieldwork, Gu (2009) learned that most of these private companies initially established contacts with the Chinese diaspora in Africa before investing. Because of weak infrastructure supply, some firms have to source their equipment from China or other countries, which promotes the interaction between trading and investing. Finally, the spillover from gatherings of other Chinese enterprises encourages the decision to establish industrial parks. So far, there are more than 100 industrial parks built by Chinese firms in Africa, and most of them are still in construction (Zhang & Wang, 2017).

It is interesting to note that the province of origin differs from China's foreign direct investment in Africa. "China's private firms are highly concentrated in origin, as the majority come from several Chinese provinces and coastal regions: primarily Zhejiang, Guangdong, Fujian, Jiangsu, and Shandong" (Gu, 2009. P. 575). Among all the provinces in China, Zhejiang ranks first in investing in Africa. Up to 2014, there were 464 enterprises from Zhejiang Province invested in Africa with 459 projects. The total investment was more than $1.4 billion. As mentioned above, private firms establish contacts with the Chinese diaspora in Africa before investing. This gives firms from Zhejiang province an advantage, since they traditionally have a large number of business merchants in both China and abroad, called *zheshang* (浙商) in Chinese. In Europe, people call them 'Eastern Jews' (Li, 2016, p.7). Building an industrial park is one of the important business modes for large enterprises in Africa. In addition, they also form a strategic alliance with African companies through technology transfer. Entrepreneurial spirit might be the internal cause of the *zheshang*'s success, but it is also due to external support from the provincial government. The Department of Commerce in Zhejiang Province provides strategic consulting, personnel training, and legal aid to support firms to 'go out'. For example, in the 'Outline of the 13th Five-Year Plan for the National Economic and Social Development of the Province' published by Zhejiang government, it emphasises its participation in giant projects in Africa such as Congo (Brazza) Potash Fertilizer Production Base and China Strategy Holdings - Nigeria Oregon Industrial Park.

The paradox is that private firms are usually accused of not following the central government's strategic goals, neither paying attention to China-Africa relations nor interested in embracing CSR (Gu, 2009; Xu, 2014). while compared with SOEs, they seem to have a much higher rate of employing local people. Some of them have more than 90% of local Africans in their workforce. For example, Haitian Suitcase and Baggage Company in Nigeria has around 93% of local employees and the Songlin Company in Ghana has 91% (Gu, 2009). Considering the high costs of bringing workers from China, such as the higher wages, visa fees, accommodation, home passages, etc., the investor believes it is not a wise decision to use a large number of Chinese expatriates (Kamoche & Siebers, 2015). But for managerial positions, they are more willing to deploy Chinese employees due to the level of skills, cultural differences and language issues. However, the high usage of local employees does not necessarily lead to the high quality human resource management. Some small firms pay the local employees less than suggested by the Chinese government (Xu, 2014). Such profit-maximisation behaviour brings negative images of Chinese firms in Africa. As one Chinese businessman in Africa described, for some local African or ordinary people, they could not distinguish between state-owned companies or private companies and they only know you are Chinese (Gu, 2009). But private companies also expressed their embarrassment. Theoretically, the Chinese government is willing to work with private sectors in Africa to implement their policies. But few private firms feel included in reality in the overall project and strategy (Gu, 2009).

The development of industrialisation in Africa has promoted the emergence of industrial parks. Due to various limitations in finance, technology, and management, African countries are looking for international cooperation for achieving the goal of industrialisation. It is said that Chinese enterprises enter Africa by trading, contract engineering and exacting resources, and it will inevitably transform into a cooperation model of industry parks (Zhang & Wang, 2017). In 2017, more than 30 Sino-African industrial parks were in operation and another 70 were under construction. There are three main types of dominant investors in those industrial parks: SOEs affiliated to central, provincial and city government, private companies and business associations. Chinese enterprises play a dominant role in those industrial parks, with support from African governments in planning and operations. In general, the China-Africa joint industrial park is mainly based on Sino-Africa joint ventures, and most African governments require partial shares in the form of land and capital. Some industrial parks established a China-African Co-management Committee. In TEDA Suez Economic and Trade Cooperation Zone, Chinese enterprises own land property rights and management rights, while Touchroad

International Holdings Group even has administrative powers such as taxes and policing. Localisation appears to be a problem in both management and employment. A lot of local countries enact relevant laws which have clear requirements for foreign companies to hire local employees. However, there are some ‘bad genes’ (Zhang & Wang, 2017, p. 23) in the Chinese business culture which have some negative influences on such cooperation: eagerness for quick success and instant benefits (急功近利), ignoring of credits (忽视信用), disregarding moral principles in pursuit of profit (见利忘义). In addition, the centralised management style in SOEs and the family management style in private companies lead to management confusion and loss of income. To make matters worse, some Chinese enterprises have limited knowledge of the host countries, fight against the local visa system and retain illegal Chinese labour. Those behaviours have caused some tensions between Chinese enterprises and local government and communities. For investors, each department acting on its own (政出多门) and multi-channel management（多头管理）also make it difficult for them to follow different instructions.

So far, I have reviewed Chinese multinational enterprises from an international business perspective, including strategic motives and ownership of firms. It has been argued that both of these elements are critical as they fundamentally determine the human resource management strategies of expatriates at all levels (Miao, 2021). For example, most companies seeking natural resources are SOEs, and such operations require limited engagement with local communities. As a result, pre-departure training may not be considered in their IHRM practices. In contrast, market-oriented firms are mostly privately owned, and such businesses need to be more integrated into the local community. As a result, they are more likely to recruit HCNs or provide relevant training for expatriates.

MNEs with some international experience might give certain decision-making autonomy to subsidiaries and predominantly hire HCNs, which is perceived as a polycentric approach. Zhu (2018) found her case-study bank in Australia officially adopted a polycentric approach to staffing, but the locals it employed were primarily from a Chinese ethnic background. A similar issue was discussed by Khan et al. (2018) in their study of Chinese MNEs in the UK. They found boundary spanners, referring to those Chinese who were either educated or who have lived for an extended period in the UK, played an intermediary role between HQ and the subsidiaries. They were hired to facilitate coordination and design a more adaptable HRM system in the subsidiaries. Using HCNs could avoid problems of unfamiliarity with culture and language, high labour cost and high turnover of HCN managers. But it might also create a communication gap between HQ and subsidiaries (Shen & Edwards, 2004).

Another frequently used approach in Chinese MNEs is an ethnocentric staffing approach but with a strong polycentric tendency (Shen & Edwards, 2004). Those companies assigned expatriates to fill executive management positions in subsidiaries, but more middle-management roles were filled by HCNs. This additional approach suggests a tension between HQ autonomy and local responsiveness. However, it could be argued that this should not be categorised as an extra method, but rather as a transition in the process of internationalisation. As more international experience in employee management is accumulated, MNEs are more likely to shift away from the ethnocentric approach to other ones. Shen (2006) argues that changes in international staffing approaches, especially a change from the ethnocentric approach to the polycentric approach, are influenced by international experience. It is important to note that international experience here acts in a catalytic role rather than a determinate one. For example, with the increase in international experience in managing local employees, Chinese firms have been moving away from the ethnocentric approach toward a polycentric approach. In this sense, the above additional approach (ethnocentric approach with a polycentric tendency) should not be categorised as an extra method, but rather as a transition in the process of internationalisation. Similarly, it can be understood as being associated with stages of internationalisation. Firms at the early internationalisation stage tend to pursue an ethnocentric staffing approach, while firms at the global stage tend to adopt a polycentric policy (Shen, 2006).

Knowledge transfer is not unidirectional (Jackson & Horwitz, 2018). Being a latecomer in internationalisation, Chinese MNEs tend to see outward FDI in developed economies as a learning process by acquiring knowledge from expatriates, rather than exploiting existing advantages (Selmer, Ebrahimi, & Mingtao, 2002). Thus, reverse knowledge transfer (acquisition) from subsidiaries to HQ in China has attracted some scholarly attention (Fu et al., 2018; Peng et al., 2017). Zhang and Edwards (2007) call these phenomena reverse diffusion, and qualitative data from their study on Chinese multinationals proves that it plays a pivotal role in the internationalisation of management. Reverse diffusion mostly happens when MNEs operate their subsidiaries in countries that have dominant power in the hierarchy of economies (Edwards, 2004). Since companies had inadequate experience in international business, "localization was the primary mechanism for absorption and transfer" (Zhang & Edwards, 2007, p. 2161). Peng et al. (2017) found that if MNEs from emerging economies enter developed economies with strategic asset-seeking motivations, there will be more reverse knowledge transfer from foreign subsidiaries back to HQs, thereby contradicting a number of previous studies (Foss & Pedersen, 2002; Young, Huang, & McDermott, 1996). In addition, a high degree of HQ control in decision-making and operation will lead to a higher level of reverse knowledge transfer. Lastly, they found that the intensity of learning seems higher in the early stages of foreign operations and decreases as the business gets more stable.

With increasing outward FDI from China to other emerging economies or less developed regions, scholars have started paying attention to what Chinese MNEs can bring to those regions, compared with western counterparts. One insightful study comes from Rui, Zhang, and Shipman (2016), who discussed knowledge transfer from Chinese MNEs to Africa associated with recipient ownership. They introduce a relevance-based view into knowledge transfer and argue that knowledge relevance, rather than superiority, significantly enhances the competitive advantage of emerging markets. Chinese MNEs are sometimes criticised by western firms for their technically low-end products/ solutions at a lower price. Those Chinese MNEs simultaneously offer high-end solutions for many projects in other countries. While western firms challenge their quality and designs, Chinese MNEs care more about how well their solutions 'fit' in local countries. For example, in Sudan, it is better to build a small but compatible power plant for the general public to access electricity as the first step, rather than building a large and advanced one which might result in the power being cut off for more than twenty times a day (Rui et al., 2016). Due to the shortage of capital, African countries have a tendency to choose Chinese projects as the national situation requires them to 'do more with less' (Rui et al., 2016, p.720). But how is this technological knowledge, financing knowledge, managerial know-how and global market knowledge transferred from emerging market multinational corporations to Africa? For providers, the applicability, the assimilability and the affordability of knowledge directly influence the effectiveness of knowledge transfer. For recipients, their ownership plays a vital role in this process, depending on how they select knowledge, how scrupulous they are in cooperation, and how they synthesise knowledge. The study from Rui and her colleagues is a better explanation of how Chinese MNEs operate in the context of Africa and helps answer the question of what Chinese MNEs bring to Africa.

2.3.3 The impacts of traditional culture on HRM in China and Africa

Confucianism has received attention in the management literature related to China (Xing, Liu, Tarba, & Cooper, 2016; Yang, 2012; Yao, Arrowsmith, & Thorn, 2016). Influenced by Confucianism, China embraces a highly collectivism culture (Hofstede, 2001). It works together with particularism, paternalism, and authoritarianism to shape a Chinese style of people management (Farth and Cheng, 2000; Ip, 2009). Since group and collective interests are above individual interests, individual well-being is only realised as family or group goals are fulfilled. In this sense, the equality of employees might not be recognised in a firm as collectivism denies independent values to the individual (Ip, 2009). Firms might also sacrifice employees' rights for the interests of the company. For example, some small Chinese firms in Africa pay local employees less than suggested by the Chinese government (Xu, 2014). Family collectivism indicates similar ideas of self-sacrifice for family needs. One important element affecting international assignments is family issues (Yao, 2014).

On the one hand, Chinese people accepting an international assignment may sometimes be driven by family's welfare and reputation; on the other hand, declining international assignments may be due to the responsibility of taking care of parents, especially for the generation under 'One Child' Policy (Yao, 2014; Yao et al., 2016). It is socially expected to take care of aged parents as the pension system is weak and parental investment in offspring is a large expense in a family in today's China (Yao et al., 2016). Particularism refers to the practice that is based on personal relationships instead of individual ability and qualification, which could be used to explain the phenomenon of guanxi (关系) (Ip, 2009). That is why nepotism and cronyism are not unusual among Chinese firms. Scholars found that internal recruitment and promotion are favoured by Chinese MNEs, and they usually adopt the pre-selection process rather than post advertisements openly (Shen & Edwards, 2006).

Scholars have compared Confucianism with Ubuntu in the African tradition, arguing that they share some similar thoughts between the two cultures which might have significant implications for HRM practice (Horwitz, 2015; Jackson & Horwitz, 2018; Xing et al., 2016). Ubuntu is an old practice but one that has been introduced as a new management concept to improve labour coordination in organisations since the 1990s (Mbigi, 1997). Its core ideology is that *ubuntu ungamntu ngabanye abantu*, which means people are people through other people (Karsten & Illa, 2005; Mbigi, 1997). It indicates that people are defined through community and society, providing a solid philosophical base for the community concept of management (Karsten & Illa, 2005; Khoza, 1994). The humaneness of Ubuntu appears to be close to Ren (humanity) of Confucianism (Jackson, 2014; Jackson & Horwitz, 2018). 'Treating others as you would like to be treated; never imposing upon others what you dislike yourself (己所不欲，勿施于人)' (The Analects，论语) shows the core ideology of Ren in Confucianism. Another layer of similarities lies in highly collectivism between the two cultures (Horwitz, 2015; Xing et al., 2016). Both emphasise the importance of connection (guanxi, 关系) within groups and communities. If African and Chinese traditions share similar values, Chinese MNEs in Africa may confront fewer problems in people management.

But the reality is that Chinese enterprises in Africa have been criticised by both media and scholars for their ignorance of humanity (Jackson & Horwitz, 2018). One possible reason might be that the group boundary has been ignored in such a situation. Ren might only apply to inner-group members and those with Chinese guanxi; in the African ubuntu tradition, Chinese managers and colleagues are conceived as outgroup members as well (Jackson & Horwitz, 2018). Also, Ren is just one aspect of Confucianism. As was mentioned above, collectivism, particularism, paternalism, and authoritarianism produce synergistic effects to create Chinese culture. It means that the Chinese manager might choose to sacrifice local employees' interests and needs for the benefit of the company when there are conflicts between Ren and other ideologies. However, Mutabazi (2002) finds that ubuntu does apply to strangers to African communities as well. In this sense, Jackson and Horwitz (2018) proposed that cultural synergies between Chinese expatriates and African employees strengthen friendship and cooperation, and it might lead to mutual cooperation and learning at the organisational level on the condition that Chinese expatriates are equipped with cultural knowledge before starting their international assignment.

2.4 Managing Chinese expatriates

2.4.1 Expatriate management in Chinese MNEs

The role of expatriates

Expatriates play various roles in the internationalisation of MNEs. They help parent companies build irreplaceable and valuable human resources in subsidiaries (Khan et al., 2018). They work as a mechanism for knowledge transfer and knowledge creation (Bonache & Brewster, 2001; Kawai & Chung, 2019). They fill skill shortages in host countries (Shen & Edwards, 2004). One of the most common reasons for using expatriates might be enhancing HQ control both in administration and finance. According to Cooke (2014), there are several reasons for Chinese MNEs to use expatriates instead of HCNs in Africa. For example, they share similar culture and language with Chinese managers; they are more willing to work long hours or work over time in order to finish tasks before a deadline; they are generally highly skilled and can deal with multiple tasks; they are easy to manage as they usually live in the same compound; they are less likely to quit the job or adopt a confrontational approach when handling disagreements with the management.

Selection

Shen (2006) argues that the model of international recruitment and selection, mainly derived from Western MNEs, is generally applicable in a Chinese context. It suggests both firm-specific factors (such as international strategy, type or niche of the industry) and host–contextual factors (such as political factors and socio-cultural factors) affect MNEs' international staffing approach. For example, when it comes to industry, manufacturing firms tend to localise management using HCNs. In terms of social-cultural factors, Chinese firms prefer to recruit new graduates from universities directly while they recruit HCNs mostly by using agencies in their overseas subsidiaries. One affecting factor that has not been identified in this model is the motive of FDI. Miao (2021) argues that strategic motives (as well as types of company ownership) might affect how Chinese companies manage their employees in subsidiaries. It is assumed that if an MNE enters a new country with a market-seeking motive, it tends to engage more with local communities. For instance, Indian outward FDI has mainly sought markets. Thus, Indian MNEs make greater use of locals for unskilled work (Wood, Mazouz, Yin, & Cheah, 2014). Huawei's presence in Africa is also mainly driven by a market-seeking motive. This might be one of the reasons that 60% of employees of Huawei in Africa are HCNs (Cooke, 2012). In contrast to those Chinese MNEs in Africa whose main drivers are commodities (resource-seeking motive), they assign expatriates dominantly to highly skilled and managerial positions (Wood et al., 2014).

Chinese and Western MENs use both internal and external recruitment, but the latter only happens when there is difficulty to find suitable candidates inside the company (Feng & Jacques, 2016). In fact, Feng and Jacques (2016) find there seems always to be more candidates who are willing to be assigned to industrialised countries than is required. This is because of the attraction of the high salary, better living environment, high food safety and so on. In addition, young employees are often ready to work in countries with "bad conditions" considering the potential improvement of both salary and positions after repatriation. International assignments are usually compulsory when employees are asked. If they refuse, they might have to leave the company, sooner or later. However, this does not mean Chinese MNEs have no problems with selecting candidates with the right capabilities, such as the ability to speak host country languages and to adapt to the local environment. Shen and Edwards (2004) reveal that in the majority of the cases, the selection is made before the interview during 'work meetings' and the formal interview is just for assignment arrangement. This finding reflects the 'coffee-machine' system that Harris and Brewster (1999) suggest, which is common in western MNEs. It indicates that in reality expatriate selection hardly follows a strict and systematic process. Instead, decisions are usually made in an informal discussion.

Compensation

In terms of compensation, there is no distinct difference between Chinese MNEs and Western MNEs (Feng & Jacques, 2016). Chinese MNEs usually follow a host-based policy, and the salary structure contains a base salary, foreign service inducement or hardship premium, and allowances and benefits including pension plans, medical insurance and so on (Shen, 2004a). More specifically, the basic salary is determined by the parent company in China based on years of working and levels of position. Foreign service inducement might vary from country to country (host), but accommodation allowances are associated with local standards (Feng & Jacques, 2016). According to Shen (2004a), there are three other approaches to compensation in Chinese MNEs. While a contracted package approach is more concerned with the nature of the international assignment, a diplomatic-based one cares more about hierarchy. The last one is the host-based plus home-salary policy, where expatriates receive dual salaries from both home and host countries.

Training

Training expenses are regarded as costly and have been tightly controlled in Chinese enterprises (Zhu, 2018). Training provided by Chinese MNEs usually pays more attention to language and professional knowledge than intercultural skills. According to respondents, cultural knowledge such as how to behave properly in local countries would be very helpful but was not included in their pre-departure training (Feng & Jacques, 2016). For those who are sent to countries with dangerous conditions safety training is also provided. Compared to pre-departure training, Chinese managers prefer learning by observing or doing it on real sites (Zhang & Fan, 2014). According to them, the skills they acquired by visiting host countries could not be gained through indoor seminars. Jackson and Horwitz (2018) argue that motivation might affect the level of pre-departure training. When a firm is more market-seeking, it is likely that expatriates need to interact more with local communities. In this situation, more pre-departure training will be desirable. Meanwhile, with a political-seeking motive, firms are more encouraged to interact with local communities for mutual learning and cooperation, which will also lead to a higher demand for pre-departure training.

Based on data gathered from Chinese MNEs in the United Kingdom, Shen (2006) concluded that those firms usually denaturalized HRM practices such as training, performance appraisals, and employee relations while centralising recruitment, selection and reward, and compensation. In contrast, Cooke (2012) found Huawei is good at using local agencies for recruitment in its overseas operations. This outsourcing enables Huawei to leverage the expertise needed to effectively recruit local employees. Moreover, subsidiaries are able to develop rapidly without the need to build a full in-house HRM department. Similarly, ZTE uses agencies to help design HRM strategy, policies, procedures, performance management and even the employee handbook (Cooke, 2012).

Subsidiaries usually adopt distinct management approaches toward expatriates and local employees. For example, expatriates' performance is assessed by HQ with assistance from subsidiaries, while HCN's performance is assessed by the subsidiary HRM department (Zhu, 2018). The selection criteria for PCNs focus on morality and peer opinion, but the one for HNCs is mainly concerned with technical skills and experience (Shen et al., 2005). This is easy to understand as most PCNs are assigned expatriates and they are employees in parent companies which means they already meet the requirements for hard skills. In their study, Shen et al. (2005) found companies in the UK provided a high salary to local employees but fewer training and development opportunities. However, in another study, Zhu (2018) observed that MNEs in Australia incorporated a large amount of in-house and external training into the systems. This is because the government policy in Australia demands 1.5% to 2% of investment from payroll into training. Zhu explained that a host country effect together with a dominance effect (global best practice) shapes the HRM practices of emerging market MNEs operating in developed countries, which overrides the country-of-origin effect.

2.4.2 Expatriate management of Chinese MNEs in Africa

Rui and her colleagues (2017) found the Chinese expatriates in emerging markets have a high tolerance for hardship at both operation and management levels. Cost-effectiveness could be considered as their competitive advantage as they are cheaper than their Western peers but have higher levels of productivity compared to locals. Besides, they are disciplined, adaptive, obedient and flexible towards their duties. Companies usually adopt integrated management towards expatriates with strict discipline, centralised control, and collective support. Payment might be low, but companies try to motivate them with generous monetary incentives and some psychological incentives. Such a management style reflects a high level of collectivism in Chinese culture, which is influenced by country-of-origin factors.

Expatriate management has always been an outstanding issue for Chinese enterprises in Africa. According to Zhang and Wang (2017), in the beginning, in TEDA Suez Economic and Trade Cooperation Zone, the management team used assigned expatriates. The contract for working abroad was usually three years long. After three years, they would continue to work for the company in China and new expatriates would be hired. But this is very costly and work transfer between old and new expatriates causes some inefficiencies. Later, they adopted a rotation system. Two groups of people are hired to do similar jobs both in China and Egypt. Cooperation and communication between them are enhanced. For a certain period of time, those employees from China and Egypt will exchange their jobs to work in other locations. To some extent, it helps sustain the stability of employees but other problems appeared at the same time. Employees have to rotate between China and Africa frequently, and they do not have a stable working environment, which causes problems for both individual health and families. In the long term, staff turnover increases under such circumstances. Meanwhile, the rotation system limits the promotion of local employees and inevitably, Egyptian staff is not satisfied with this system.

Staff shortage seems a constant problem in nearly all industrial parks and economic zones, for both managerial talents and front-line staff (Zhang & Wang, 2017). Most Chinese companies lack talent cultivation and supply systems. Thus, Huajian Group is trying to build a vocational school in its industrial park in Ethiopia. In addition, they also organise visits for key technical staff from China to Ethiopia, giving instruction and training to local employees. Labour costs are high in Africa. Most African countries lack a basic education system, skills, and industrial workforce and training local employees for work is expensive. Usually, it takes months or even longer to train them before they can start the job. Meanwhile, there are always shortages of training centres and even trainers in the local countries. In addition, African employees have a strong awareness of safeguarding rights and trade unions have a powerful influence, which leads to a higher price in promotion, salary increase, and dismissal systems compared to the same situations in China.

2.4.3 Chinese expatriates in MNEs

Among the limited literature related to Chinese expatriates, three themes have been explored: motivation for international assignments (Yao et al., 2016; Feng, Cheng & Wang, 2017), cross-cultural training (Zhang & Fan, 2014), and adjustment & performance (Nadeem & Mumtaz, 2018; Selmer, Ebrahimi, & Mingtao, 2000; Wood & Mansour, 2010). Generally speaking, motivations for Chinese expatriates to take international assignments are similar to those of western countries (Yao et al., 2016). Feng et al. (2017) explored Chinese assignees' motivation from three needs, namely existence, relatedness, and growth. An interesting discovery is the avoidance motive, which refers to the action of taking an international assignment in order to avoid the deteriorating natural environment in today's China. Five out of 22 informants mentioned their preference for a better environment and only one complained about the bad condition of the host country. Unfortunately, the authors do not disclose geographic information on host countries and their informants are from a big MNE – the Bank of China. But it is assumed that this specific motive is contextual and cannot be inferred generally. From a cultural perspective, Yao et al. (2016) studied Chinese expatriates by considering the effect of Confucian values. Unsurprisingly, collective obligations to family, organisation, and society are important factors affecting Chinese expatriates' perspectives on IA. This result is consistent with the above arguments about the effect of Chinese traditional culture. For example, personal status is often associated with family reputation and social identity (Yao, Thorn, & Doherty, 2014). Thus, if people are still single in their late 20s or early 30s, it may bring some challenges to their life. That is why some expatriates expressed their worry in the narratives that they wished to finish the international experience and get back home to find a partner: exploring intercultural romance in the host country did not seem to be appropriate or desirable.

Chinese expatriates perceive international assignments as training opportunities (Zhang & Fan, 2014). As an emerging economy, China is a young player in internationalisation compared with Western countries. Expatriation is a mechanism for knowledge transfer and knowledge creation (Bonache & Brewster, 2001; Kawai & Chung, 2019). But in general, Chinese expatriates are more like learners rather than trainers from western countries who have adequate experience to transmit technical ability and tacit knowledge, or know-how (Zhang & Fan, 2014). In this sense, Chinese expatriates utilise international assignments as opportunities to gain skills.

Moreover, Chinese MNEs also make use of their investment abroad to develop expatriate 'pools', or connections, that might enhance their future foreign investment (Zhang & Fan, 2014). Similar results are found in Wang's doctoral dissertation that companies assigned expatriates as a means of training future executives. Such findings might be seen as some support for the view that internationalisation is a learning process (Selmer, Ebrahimi, & Mingtao, 2002). However, it is worth noting that such a conclusion is based on the study of Chinese MNEs in mature economics, e.g., Australia, and the United States of America (Wang, 2006). With the increase in Chinese investment in developing areas, the situation is supposed to be different. For Chinese expatriates in Africa, it could be seen as a vehicle for knowledge transfer from West to East, or North to South (Jackson & Horwitz, 2018). Taking telecommunication giant Huawei as an example, both firms and expatriates are playing a pivotal role in transferring explicit and tacit knowledge to local employees in Africa (Agbebi, 2018).

Many expatriation studies have attempted to demonstrate the important relationship between adjustment and performance (Kraimer, Wayne, & Jaworski, 2001; Takeuchi, Wang, & Marinova, 2005; Yavas & Bodur, 1999). The comparative approach seems to be favoured by scholars in adjustment studies related to Chinese expatriates. A study showed that business expatriates from western countries adjust better to Hong Kong both psychologically and socially than their counterparts from mainland China (Selmer, Ebrahimi, & Li, 2000), which is not expected as Hong Kong and mainland China share the same cultural values. Taking into consideration the similarities in cultural background, overseas Chinese expatriates (from Hong Kong and Taiwan) are also used by some western MNEs. But there is no positive finding to show overseas Chinese expatriates perform better than Western expatriates. A study found that Western expatriates prefer to use problem-focused coping strategies (tolerant, patient, responsible for problem-solving) while overseas Chinese apply more symptom-focused strategies, such as parent-country escapism (Selmer, 2002). These findings suggest that shared cultural values and background sometimes are not enough for adjustment to a new environment. There is also a study which compared Chinese expatriates in different geographic locations (Wang et al., 2017). The findings show that self-maintenance skills are important for Chinese expatriate managers working in the Middle East or Africa and having to adjust to tough work and living conditions. But for those who work in Europe or Australia, interpersonal and communication skills seem to be more important. Spouse and family support are also found to be pivotal for expatriates, which has received attention in the literature on Chinese expatriates (Wood & Mansour, 2010). A study indicated that those Western expatriates who adjusted better than mainland Chinese expatriates spent more time with their partners (Selmer et al., 2000a).

Moreover, if the accompanying partners are also working expatriates, the couple adjusted significantly better in both work and life. Unfortunately, one study by Selmer et al. (2002) showed that expatriates from mainland China were not allowed to bring partners and children on assignment to Hong Kong. Interestingly, scholars did not find any connection between partner support and adjustment among Chinese female expatriates (Shen & Jiang, 2015). Some may argue that this might be because female expatriates are usually young and single during their assignments (Forster, 1999). However, in the study of Shen and Jiang (2015) more than 80% of respondents were married, which indicated that they had family responsibilities. It might be worth mentioning here that unlike Western expatriates whose concerns are mainly spouses and children, Chinese expatriates also care for their parents' needs during their overseas journey (Yao, 2013).

In general, Chinese expatriates seem to hold a negative view of the impact of international assignments on their future careers. Yao et al. (2014) found that 28 out of 31 participants stated they would not accept another international assignment as they wished to be close to their families. But, most importantly, they believed their futures lay in China. That is why even though Chinese culture emphasises guanxi (关系), some expatriates did not proactively build networks in host countries as they thought such guanxi was just temporary and might not have an impact on their future careers back in China (Yao, 2014). Harris, Brewster, and Sparrow (2003) have similar findings that some skills gained in the host country might not be able to be transferred to the home context and thus exert limited influence on expatriates' career development. However, in the case of Chinese expatriates, it could be argued that those views were just assumptions by expatriates on duty. It usually takes time to see whether those connections or even skills are useful or not after they go back to China. In this sense, repatriation studies might be a good approach to test the usefulness of the capital they accumulate during their expatriation.

2.4.4 Chinese expatriates in Africa

Chinese expatriates are usually hardworking with high flexibility for working hours and tolerance for demanding requests (Rui, Zhang, & Shipman, 2017). For example, when there was the same task assigned, Chinese workers could finish ahead of a deadline, but local employees might delay the delivery (Gadzala, 2010). Moreover, shared culture and languages make it easier for them to communicate in the workplace (Cooke, 2014). Also, they are less likely to leave the job or confront management when there is disagreement (Cooke, 2014). On the other hand, the lack of qualified workers from host countries gives Chinese MNEs no choice but to use expatriates in some cases. In general, the shortage of human resources in Africa exists on various levels from craft-skilled workers to managers, while those skilled and well-educated ones are usually forced to seek opportunities abroad due to the limited choices in domestic markets (Cooke, Wood, et al., 2015). From the perspective of the home country, Cooke, Wood, et al. (2015) provides two possible reasons why it is difficult for emerging economy MNEs to hire people in Africa. One is their low level of strategic HRM capacity. The other one might be that for some their main interest in Africa is to overcome tariff barriers rather than accessing existing human and material resources (Wood et al., 2014).

As emerging economies, India and Brazil take a completely different approach to outward FDI in Africa, which lead to different HRM practice. Driven by market-seeking motives, India seems to make greater use of local workers and unskilled workers (Wood et al., 2014). This has supported the assumption from Jackson and Horwitz (2018) that the more market-seeking firms are, the more possibilities there are that expatriates will interact with local communities to create and nurture those markets. Brazil is considered to be the best example of contributing to education programmes and infrastructure development in Africa (Wood et al., 2014). In addition, Brazilian expatriates have great adjustment and social connections in Lusophone Africa due to the strong cultural affinities (Wood et al., 2014).

Managing expatriates in Africa is a big concern for both Chinese MNEs and IB scholars. In general, Chinese expatriates are socially isolated, living in a compound and even being equipped with a chef from China to take care of their diet makes them have fewer contacts with local people (Cooke, Wang, et al., 2015). Such discriminate treatments not only make it harder for expatriates to adjust but also create more conflicts between host country nationals (HCNs) and PCNs. One senior manager also expressed his helplessness in such a situation:

> *We do believe that integration and harmonization are important between the expatriates and the local workforce. But our priority at this stage is our expatriates' personal safety. If any serious [security] accidents happen to our expatriates, then the Chinese government and international media will make a big fuss about it. That will have a very bad impact on our overseas operations (Cooke, Wang, et al., 201, p.2755).*

Some Chinese MNEs tend to adopt semi-military management with centralised control and strict discipline (Cooke, Wang, et al., 2015; Rui et al., 2017). For example, expatriates are checked every night to see if they come back to their accommodation on time, to prevent them from drinking or gambling. As a manager explained, gambling might affect working attitudes and productivity (Rui et al., 2017). Moreover, companies might transfer money and bonuses directly to the account of their partners or other family members so that they have little money for gambling (Rui et al., 2017). It is believed such a management style won't help these firms to attract, manage and retain the younger generation. On the one hand, improved living standards in China mean the young have a higher aspiration for a career and might not be willing to work in harsh conditions while sacrificing family life (Rui et al., 2017). On the other hand, influenced by western culture, the young generation is more individualised and might challenge traditional corporate culture or 'inhuman' traditions (Rui et al., 2017).

2.5 Country of focus – Tanzania

2.5.1 History and culture

lying on the eastern coast of Africa, along the Indian Ocean, the United Republic of Tanzania was formed together with Zanzibar in 1964, 3 years after the independence of the British colony of Tanganyika. It is estimated that Tanzania is home to almost 130 tribes, with distinctive linguistic and cultural traditions (United Nations, 2005). Nevertheless, Tanzania stands out for its notable absence of ethnic tensions or conflicts, particularly in comparison to neighbouring countries. This can be attributed in part to the Ujamaa ("togetherness") policy of the late President Julius Nyerere. In Tanzania Mainland, Swahili is the national language and the medium of instruction in primary schools while English is the medium of instruction at the secondary school level (UNESCO-IBE, 2010). Originated on the East coast of Africa, not only has Swahili been shared among different tribes in Tanzania, it has also evolved into the lingua franca of East Africa (United Nations, 2005). It is a Bantu language with a diverse vocabulary that encompasses numerous loanwords from Arabic, Persian, Portuguese, and other languages. Although Swahili is the official language of Tanzania, English is used as the language of the courts and is also extensively utilized in business and higher education. This inevitably gives the language a strong attribute of dividing social classes or identities.

2.5.2 Economy and Business

Tanzania, classified as a lower middle-income country, had a GDP of $67.8 billion in 2021. In the same year, its per capita income was approximately $1,136 (World Bank, 2022). In 2021, the FDI inflow in Tanzania was 921.83 million USD, which accounted for around 1.4% of its GDP. The country's development has been prosperous over the decades due to various factors such as its strategic maritime location, abundance of diverse natural resources, rapid growth tourism, and socio-political stability. In particular, stable political and social environment has made Tanzania an attractive destination for foreign investment setting it apart from other African countries (United Nations, 2005). However, according to a recent investment guide from the Ministry of Commerce of China, the crime rate has been on the rise, due to various factors such as the influx of small arms, an increase in refugees, a deteriorating investment environment, and a low social employment rate. Incidents of theft and robbery have occurred, and the overall security situation has declined (Ministry of Commerce, PRC, 2021b).

The challenges faced by investors in Tanzania are not unique and are similar to those encountered in other developing countries with limited resources. These challenges include issues with infrastructure, human resources, and governance (United Nations, 2005). As the primary economic powerhouse in East Africa, Tanzania has always been compared with its neighbour and competitor Kenya.

Infrastructure in Tanzania is far from adequate. While the country's rail infrastructure is relatively better than that of Kenya, it still requires significant improvements. Electric power is a major issue in numerous areas, characterized by frequent outages and lower reliability compared to Kenya.

When it comes to workforce skills, investors have ranked it as a top priority for the government's attention. In 2020, the total labour force in Tanzania was 29.86 million people, with 80.4% of the population aged 15 years and above employed (World Bank Group, 2023).

Although Tanzania has a sufficient labour force, the majority of the population has low levels of education and skills (Ministry of Commerce, PRC, 2021b). In comparison with its East African Community (EAC) partners, particularly Kenya, Tanzania performs notably poorly in this area. In Tanzania, as well as in the majority of African countries, the paradox of the workforce is characterized by a shortage of skilled labour and inadequate training of local workers, while the employment of expatriates is costly and leads to an increase in business costs.

Bureaucracy is another concern for investors. Some government departments are bogged down by excessive bureaucracy, resulting in slow and inefficient processes. Corruption and taxation are identified as significant weaknesses in the country's investment climate. Petty corruption, in particular, is a pervasive problem among low-level bureaucracy (e.g., street-level bureaucracy), leading to significant inefficiencies and delays in business operations. As the report indicates, "corruption is not a problem on anything like the Kenyan scale, but petty corruption is persistent at various levels. (p.3)" (United Nations, 2005). However, it is worth noting that the report was published in 2005. During the presidency of the late President John Magufuli (2015-2021), there was a noticeable crackdown on corruption (Rahman et al., 2019). However, it remains unclear whether or how this affected the prevalence of petty corruption.
In the Chinese version investment guide published by its Ministry of Commerce (2021), governance was a major issued raised for attention. The judicial remedies in Tanzania are relatively weak, as law enforcement officials lack adequate skills and legal enforcement is not properly executed (Ministry of Commerce, PRC, 2021b). The guide specifically recommends that Chinese enterprises should prioritize the strengthening of education and management of their expatriate workers, with a particular emphasis on requiring them to improve their understanding and knowledge of local laws, regulations, and codes of conduct.

2.5.3 Sino-Tanzania relationship

China established diplomatic relations before the establishment of the country in the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. The construction of the Tanzania-Zambia Railway (Tazara) is a significant milestone in the relationship between China and Tanzania. China provided loans and technical support to Tanzania during the construction process, as well as trained numerous technical personnel for Zambia. The completion of this railway has had a profound impact on economic and trade exchanges between China and Tanzania, while also serving as a vital driver of economic development for countries along the railway line. Tanzania is China's largest aid recipient country in Africa (Embassy of the People's Republic of China, 2008) and it is also China's foremost ally in Africa (Wekesa, 2012). When China was questioned about its neo-colonial ambition in Africa, Mr Kikwete, the fourth president of Tanzania, defended China against such charges: "Africa needs a market for its products. Africa needs technology for its development, China is ready to provide all that. What is wrong with that?" (Wekesa, 2012). The long-standing friendly relationship between China and Tanzania has facilitated bilateral development in business, politics, education, and technology. In 2020, the bilateral trade with Tanzania amounted to $4.584 billion, an increase of 9.9% over the previous year; FDI in Tanzania (flow) is $108 million and signed contracted projects worth $1,164 million (Ministry of Commerce, PRC, 2021a). There is no exact official data on the number of Chinese people in Tanzania. The estimated number comes from *The Oriental Post*, a non-profit media institution which issues the only free Chinese-language newspaper in Africa: 30,000 - 50,000. Very few of them became Tanzanian citizens. That is to say, those 30,000 to 50,000 Chinese are mainly expatriates, not immigrants.

2.5.4 Foreign labours in Tanzania

In 2020, international migrants represented a relatively small share of Tanzania's population, accounting for only 0.7 percent. This share declined from 2.8 percent in 2000 and has remained stable since 2010. Tanzania hosted approximately 426,000 international migrants that year (Figure X). However, the official data of geographic distribution of non-citizens in Tanzania in recent years is yet to be obtained. The most updated data can be found from the Tanzania National Bureau of Statistics (2012) shows that most immigrants came from neighbouring countries such like Burundi, Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique and Rwanda. Outside of African areas, India (41,107) contributes the most to its migrant population, followed by China (22,758), the UK (19,186) and the USA (17.113). Among the 22,758 Chinese immigrants in Tanzania, 21,080 are between the ages of 15 to 59, which is typically considered the effective labour force. However, more current and detailed information is expected to be released soon in the 2022 Population and Housing Census report from the Tanzania National Bureau of Statistics.

Discrepancies in official data and non-official sources have raised questions about the actual number of Chinese laborers in Tanzania. While the Chinese government reported 3,150 Chinese labours by the end of 2020, non-profit Chinese media institution *The Oriental Post* claims the number to be significantly higher, ranging from 30,000 to 50,000. This discrepancy is attributed to the fact that many Chinese expatriates in Tanzania are not registered with the authorities, a situation that is also observed in Chinese enterprises across Africa.

Another issue facing Chinese expatriates in Tanzania relates to legal employment and visa regulations. Applying for a work visa in Tanzania can be expensive and time-consuming. The fees for a work visa, including both a work permit and a residence permit, can amount to USD 4000-5000. Additionally, the visa processing time is usually lengthy, taking around 3-4 months to complete (in practice it could be significantly longer). These factors can pose challenges for foreign workers and companies seeking to employ them in Tanzania. As a result, it is important to carefully plan and budget for visa-related expenses and timelines when considering employment or investment opportunities in Tanzania.

In order to promote job opportunities for Tanzanian citizens, the Tanzanian government has implemented regulations on the number of expatriates that investors can employ, as well as limits on the total validity period of work permits. Under the previous version of the Non-citizens (Employment Regulation) Act (2015), investors registered with both the Tanzania Investment Centre and the Export Processing Zone were only permitted to employ up to five expatriates, with a work permit validity period (total) of five years (It should be noted that single work permit for foreign workers can be valid for up to two years and can be renewed upon expiration). However, positive changes were made in 2021 (Non-citizens Act 2021), allowing investors to recruit up to 10 expatriates and extending the total validity of work permits to eight years. These changes reflect the Tanzanian government's ongoing efforts to balance the needs of foreign investors with those of Tanzanian citizens.

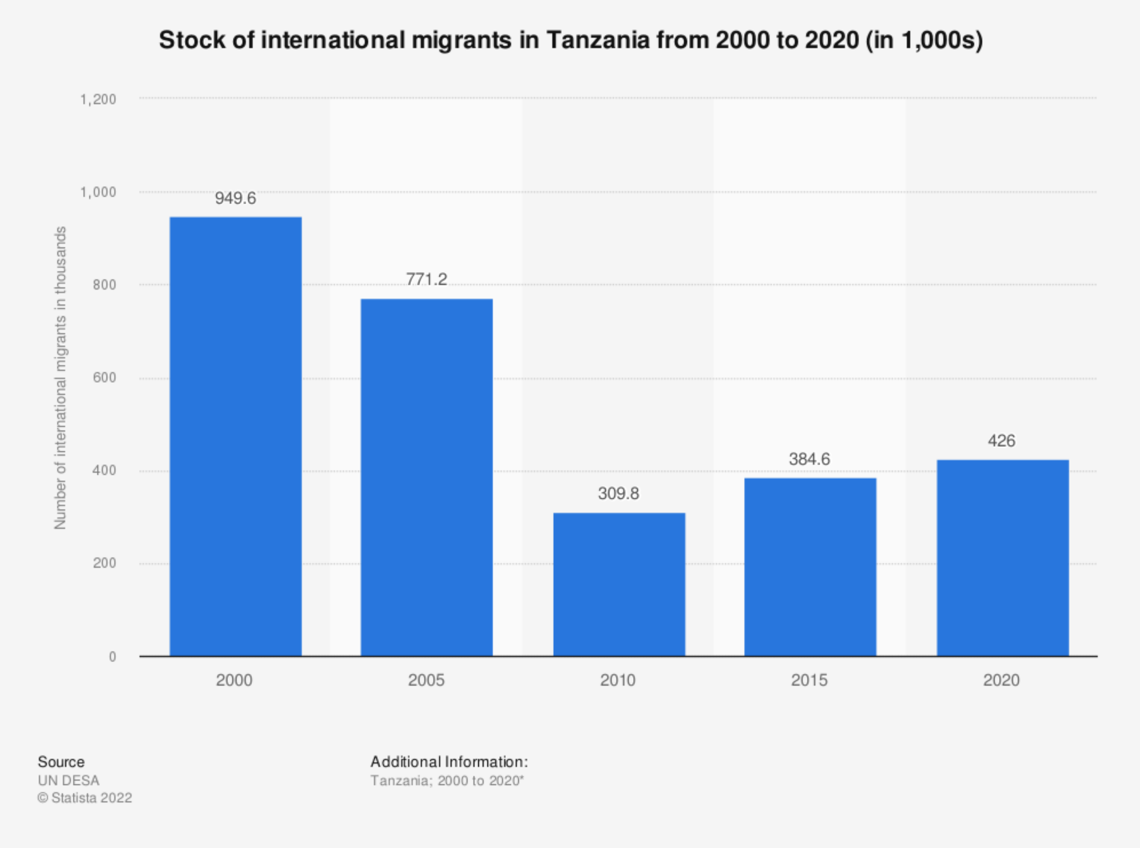

Figure 3 Stock of International migrants in Tanzania from 2000 to 2020

2.6 Defining expatriates

Until the global COVID-19 pandemic, migration involved ever-increasing numbers of people and geographic points. It is difficult to determine specific waves of migration (or motives of migration) since migrants come from different social and ethnic groups (Przytuła, 2015), however, it seems clear that in the twenty-first century the number of migrants increased significantly[3], the number of countries from which migrants come has increased, and the

[3] Definitions change, and registration of international migrants has improved over recent decades (Fransen & de Haas, 2019), so some scholars have suggested that numbers of migrants in the past may have been higher than official estimates (de Haas, Czaika, Flahaux, Mahendra, Natter, Vezzoli, Villares-Varela, 2019). In broad terms, the total number of international migrants has increased at a pace roughly equal to that of the world population.

number of countries to which they are going has decreased: there has been a concentrated funnelling of migrants from a wider range of sending countries into a narrower range of developed countries (Castles, de Haas, & Miller, 2014; Li, Isidor, Dau, & Kabst, 2017). Prior to the pandemic, an estimated 272 million people globally resided in a country different from the one in which they were born (IOM, 2020). We return to the definitional issue in our research suggestions. Against the backdrop of this development, IB scholars have begun proposing a redirection of IB research to include the study of migration as a pressing 'grand challenge' (Buckley, Doh, & Benischke, 2017; Hajro, Caprar, Zikic, & Stahl, forthcoming).

migrants has been carried out in the disciplines of sociology, anthropology, population geography, political science, and economics and each of these schools uses definitions that are appropriate to them. These definitions may not always be appropriate for business scholars.

Baruch and colleagues (2013) distinguish different types of international assignment from various dimensions, such as time spent, the intensity of international contacts, breadth of interaction, legal context, international work instigator, the extent of cultural gap and specific position. Al Ariss (2010) drew attention to the host-home countries' dynamics when differentiating migrants and expatriates. For example, he assumed that migrants might often move from less developed countries to developed countries and, less logically risk confusing migrants with refugees (see below) that they are forced to leave their home country because of the job crisis back home.

McNulty and Brewster (2017) conceptualise the expatriate concept in the business literature in relation to IHRM research and identity four boundary conditions as a set of features. Apart from what has been discussed in the previous section, such as length of stay (temporary nature) and status of citizenship (non-citizenship of host countries), McNulty and Brewster (2017) also indicate that a business expatriate must be working. Here we expand the definition from employees to include those who initiate entrepreneurial activities (business owners) – expatriate entrepreneurs. Another condition is that expatriates, as well as not being citizens should obtain legal rights to work in their host countries. Current business and management studies of AEs and SIEs reveal that expatriates are always associated with a dependent work context (Biemann & Andresen, 2010; Doherty et al., 2011; Suutari & Brewster, 2000).In the following parts of this thesis, the term 'expatriate' will be used to denote expatriates in this business sense only.

As the job market is becoming increasingly international, global recruitment becomes more accessible with the assistance of the internet, and the development of technology makes mobility easier, the importance of SIEs as a part of the global workforce is becoming gradually apparent (Suutari et al., 2018). Scholars believe that SIEs are an effective alternative for AE in certain respects, maintaining the advantages of AEs (e.g., easy communication with headquarters and provision of valuable skills) and reducing the disadvantages (e.g. cost, limited understanding of local culture and language, and repatriation issue) at the same time (Furusawa & Brewster, 2018).

Studies show that a problem with conceptualising AEs and SIEs is that there is no consistency in the literature regarding their definition (Andresen et al., 2020). Scholars usually understand SIEs as individuals who proactively choose to leave and start their careers abroad by themselves, whereas the transfer of AEs is initiated by the company (Peltokorpi & Jintae Froese, 2009; Suutari & Brewster, 2000). In terms of motivation, SIEs have personal motives such as self-development, while AEs mainly leave to accomplish a company-related goal and improve their career prospects (Peltokorpi, 2008). Unless they fall into the category of 'officials' (working for international public or third sector organisations such as the UN, the EU or the

Red Cross), SIEs are responsible for their own overseas careers without direct support from the organisation of their home countries (Zhang et al., 2021). By the same logic, their repatriation is often not supported by an organisation either (Przytuła, 2015). SIEs usually do not have a pre-determined length of stay (Suutari & Brewster, 2000) while AEs generally have an agreed time frame for their staying (Peltokorpi & Jintae Froese, 2009). It is important to note that such status is fluid, for example, AEs might choose to stay longer after they complete the initial contract, and SIEs might stay permanently if they obtain local citizenship. In terms of organisation, SIEs are usually employed by local businesses, small international and foreign private firms, while AEs are often sent by giant multinational companies (Selmer, Suutar & Brewster, forthcoming).

By comparing thirty-three definitions of SIEs from thirty-two literature, Cerdin and Selmer (2014) found that there are substantial variations in them. For example, the most notable factor "self-initiative" does not appear in every definition. Apart from that, they also noted that sponsorship (associated with employers), company assistance (support for relocation and repatriation), flexibility (freedom of choice regards to where and when going to, for what position) and the status of expatriates (relatively high skilled and professional) were emphasised in some definitions. Such an attempt of explaining expatriates in various ways is helpful to build up the theoretical foundation for the subject. But there are also some problems. For example, freedom of choice is often associated with self-initiative, however, it is not a trait that is specific to SIEs. AEs might be able to choose which subsidiaries to go to and decide when to get on board. And the label "high skilled and professional" should not be treated as a unique character. In fact, it is not uncommon for SIEs to undertake a relatively low-status casual role that might below their qualifications and abilities, while AEs are often sent by their employers to fill "mission-critical" roles (Selmer, Suutar & Brewster, forthcoming).

However, such a dichotomous approach is not sufficient to understand AEs and SIEs. In reality, these two boundaries of conditions can be blurry or intertwined. For example, if someone applied for a job knowing that they will be sent to a subsidiary once on board, will they be categorised as an SIE or an AE? In this situation, the individuals are the ones who take the first formalised action (applying for an overseas job), however, they are offered a contract with a new employer, who will support the relocation. On the one hand, they should be treated as SIEs as they show a high initiative to work abroad; on the other hand, they should be categorised as AEs because they are sponsored by an organisation.

Conventionally, the definition of SIEs suggests relatively high initiative. However, Andresen et al., (2020) argued the initiative of SIEs should not be taken for granted as that level of personal initiative can be very different among SIEs groups. The converse can also be said that the level of personal initiative varies widely within the group of AEs. In a word, AEs can have the same or an even higher initiative of working abroad in comparison to SIEs. Initiative is the key factor in differentiating SIEs and AEs (Cerdin and Selmer 2014; Suutari and Brewster 2000). But we should also note that this criterion should be applied together with other elements, such as time of stay and company assistance, so that we can understand different types of expatriates more accurately.

Since the nature and purpose of an international assignment are becoming increasingly complicated, there will be a range of new roles and career paths for expatriates emerging (Collings et al., 2007). Scholars should be more careful to conceptualise those terms (AEs and SIEs) in their work.

1. It is important to note that those definitions or characters of SIEs and AEs in current studies may just reflect the sample polled. This is also why there seems to be a lack of consistency in their findings. This thesis will analyse a group of Chinese expatriates (including AEs, SIEs and expatriate entrepreneurs) in a context (in Tanzania) that has rarely been explored so far. It will contribute to the overall expatriation studies by adding to the "data pool".

2. Initiative should be further clarified in context. We often take it for granted that SIEs have a higher initiative of moving and working abroad, while AEs are initiated by their companies. Since the initiative is highly associated with individuals' motivation, it suggests that SIEs might adopt a proactive approach toward relocation, and they persevere through obstacles and setbacks to achieve their when working abroad (Andresen et al., 2020). It could be argued that all international mobility requires initiative on the part of those who move, but some forms may or may not require more.

2.7 Motivation of expatriates

Conventional career studies have shown the importance of motivation in relation to work attitudes, psychological contracts, and work performance (Kuvaas & Dysvik, 2009; Lee & Liu, 2009). In a similar vein, the relationship between mobility and motivation has been seen as a significant factor in expatriation studies (Doherty, 2013). Early research on expatriates' motivation essentially concerned organisationally assigned workers (e.g. Brett & Stroh, 1995; Miller & Cheng, 1978). Unsurprisingly, amongst the increase in studies of SIEs this century, there has been an increase in motivation studies focusing on them (e.g. Cerdin, 2012; Froese, 2012; Hippler, 2009; Richardson & McKenna, 2002; Thorn, 2009). Inevitably, a comparative analysis was often used to understand what especially drives individuals to initiate expatriation.

Early study of overseas Americans found that the motives for going abroad mainly came from the desire to travel, seek financial incentives and escape from an unsatisfied environment (Cleveland, Mangone, & Adams, 1960). Even though the sample in this study was overseas American including expatriates such as government officials and missionaries, the findings of this study had a significant impact on future motivations studies of expatriates.

Since most of the studies of expatriates were originally from those assigned by multinational organisations, motivation studies at the early stage primarily focused on AEs. In order to understand what influenced individuals' decisions to relocate, Miller and Cheng (1978) studied 135 American upper middle-level managers who were assigned to work in foreign subsidiaries. They found that those who accepted the international assignment for the first time viewed the opportunity as a necessary step for hierarchical advancement in the organisation and financial increase had a great influence on their decision; while for those who already had such experience before, the possibility of promotion into upper management was not an appealing choice anymore. This is broadly in line with the observation of Acker (2005) that the "menu and significance of factors might change over time as careers develop and lives evolve" (p.106).

One problem with the career literature is that it overlooks non-work-related aspects. Drawing from the pull and push theory, Baruch (1995) identified economy, culture, and law/rights as the three significant factors that push people from their country of origin and pull people to their country of destination. Those elements might include unemployment or low income at home and interest in a specific culture. Jackson et al. (2005) found that lifestyle and family were the primary pull components among 2201 highly skilled professionals from New Zealand. Carr, Inkson and Thorn (2005) conducted a case study and expanded the factors to five: 1. Economic factors. While monetary consideration has been stressed in this study, Thorn (2009) found that for those highly educated SIEs from New Zealand, economics was only the third most important motivation, while travel opportunities and relationships were more relevant to their decision. 2. Career factors. They have been significant elements throughout the literature. 3. Political factors. (e.g., lack of political freedom might push people to leave their home country). Political factors can be understood as avoidance motives. In a study of Chinese expatriates, avoiding the deteriorating natural environment is found to be one of the avoidance motives among them (Feng et al., 2017). 4. Cultural factors. (e.g., individuals might prefer to migrate to a country that is culturally similar to their own, such as language, religion and ethnicity). 5. Family factors. For instance, Carr, Inkson, and Thorn (2005) found people from countries with highly collective cultures often choose to undertake expatriation to improve the lives of family members, in particular children and descendants.

Family issues were broadly studied in the 'willingness' research. Brett and Stroh (1995) investigated the willingness to relocate of 405 managers from Fortune 500 multinational companies and their spouses. Factors including age, education, race, gender, type of work, career ambition, attitudes towards relocation, marital satisfaction, children, and international relocation policies were all involved in this study. Results showed that spouses had a great influence on the American managers' willingness to relocate, and those spouses who were willing to relocate were usually older, better educated and had no children. It should be noted that the sample of spouses in this study was mostly female, and relocation refers to both domestic and international relocation. In other words, it might be of limited value to the study of expatriation. Similarly, Harvey (1995) found a significant impact of spouses on their willingness to relocate. Dual-career expatriates (where both partners were employed) were particularly less likely to complete an international assignment. It may be important to distinguish between the research that investigated 'willingness' and those that studied ‘acceptance’, as it is unclear whether the willingness to go will necessarily translate into actual action to accept mobility opportunities (Hippler, 2009; Konopaske, Robie, & Ivancevich, 2005). Fisher and Shaw (1994) also showed concerns about willingness studies as they were usually conducted without regard to a specific job or location, which are very important in any actual transfer. The importance of family influence is also supported by the findings of Froese (2012), but it is a study in education and the care for elderly relatives in South Korea, where there are fewer foreigners. He noted that in his study nearly 30% of the sample were married to locals and had moved to their ‘second home country’. He predicted that ‘reverse-migration’ may be particularly relevant for those countries with large emigrant populations, such as China.

Concerns about children's education in international settings make people more reluctant to relocate (Brett & Stroh, 1995) or they choose not to take children with them (GMAC,2004). Dickmann, Doherty, Mills, and Brewster (2008) found that nearly 70% of their participants showed concerns in the decision-making process about children’s education and the care of elderly relatives. But moving to provide children with better education works as a pull factor in Thorn’s study (2009).

It is worth noting that for low-status expatriates, family and economics are, in effect, the only motivation. Low-status expatriates are usually those money-driven workers from developing countries who seek increased wages to support their families (Haak-Saheem, 2016; Haak-Saheem & Brewster, 2017). Haak-Saheem and her colleagues (2022) found that low-status expatriates usually put family well-being ahead of their personal well-being. Moreover, given their overwhelmingly economic drivers, the transactional elements of psychological contracts might be prominent among low-status expatriates (Haak-Saheem et al., 2021).

Mixed findings can be found in some studies, perhaps as a result of the demographic differences in sample populations (e.g., age, host countries, nationalities, occupations, types of expatriates: AEs or SIEs and status of expatriates) (Froese, 2012). Increased pay was the most important factor for American managers (Miller & Cheng, 1978) but came third among New Zealanders (Thorn, 2009). The desire to live and work in a specific country or area is found to be important in a study of academics in South Korea while seeking adventure was less appealing to this group (Froese, 2012). Jackson et al. (2005) noticed that political components such as 'safety and security' were less visible among highly skilled expatriates from New Zealand. But safety and security might be more relevant in a study of Chinese expatriates in Tanzania: the dynamics of the country of origin and destination should be taken into consideration as they might form a unique context for analysis. Andresen, Biemann, and Pattie (2015) also suggest that SIEs should be treated as a heterogeneous group as their characteristics and motivation are quite distinct within the group. This is a reminder to us that motivation is contextual and certain motivation drivers that work for a particular sample might not be fully applied to others.

Comparative analysis has been used extensively to study the motivation of SIEs. Individual and personal motives are found to be primary among SIEs (Przytuła, 2015), which is broadly in line with studies by Richard et al., (2002) and Thorn (2009) which stressed the importance of lifestyles as one of the predominant motives for SIEs. It also supports the findings from Suutari and Brewster (2000) that SIEs showed greater interest in internationalism than AEs did. Studies show that push factors (e.g. desire to escape) are more frequent for SIEs than for AEs (Cerdin, 2012). Career progression plays a central role in motivating AEs to relocate abroad (Miller & Cheng, 1978), and evidence showed that assigned expatriates had a greater chance to be promoted compared with their non-expatriated peers (Doherty & Dickmann, 2012). In contrast, SIEs show less interest in traditional careers and hierarchical advancement (Doherty et al., 2011). Comparatively, location factors are more influential to SIEs as they have more 'freedom of choice' in their decision-making process (Doherty et al., 2011).

Some studies of SIEs pay attention to gender issues. Myers and Pringle (2005) explored the gender differences in self-initiated foreign experience and found that more women chose to work abroad because they took it as a chance to escape from unsatisfied work and life back home. It might be that they are treated unequally in their workplace in their home country (Baruch, 1995). This was supported by Tharenou (2010) who suggests that gender discrimination and unequal treatment at home might be a push factor for female expatriates. Tharenou (2008) also had a longitudinal investigation of Australian employees over three years and found that family status has a great influence on the willingness to expatriate for women. Generally speaking, it is more difficult for women to transform their willingness to expatriate into actual job searching if they have a family (Tharenou, 2008). But partners and family roles work as pull factors to drive women to initiate expatriation, while those factors have less impact on men (Tharenou, 2010). Selmer and Lauring (2011) found that there is a positive relationship between marital status and work performance among SIEs. But gender does not have moderating effects on such a relationship, which suggests that while preferring married candidates in the selection, there should not be gender discrimination in recruitment.

Boundaryless and protean careers were discussed in relation to motives. In the traditional career model, monetary consideration, career advancement and status play central roles, but this might be less true for those who have a boundaryless mindset and protean career attitude (Cerdin, 2012). Since the transfer of AEs usually happens within the same organisation, Inkson, Arthur, Pringle, and Barry (1997) assumed that AEs were a "microcosmic representation" of a boundaryless career (p.352). In contrast, Andresen et al. (2015) found there is only a slight difference in engagement in a boundaryless and protean career between AEs and SIEs. That is to say, AEs might not be constrained to organisation careers. This is supported by the study of Vance and his colleagues (2016) who discussed the phenomenon of organisational assigned expatriates transitioning to expatriate entrepreneurs.

Metaphor has been used to explain why people leave their countries and to understand their expatriation experience. By studying 30 British expatriate academics, Richardson and McKenna (2002) identified four motivational drivers: *explorers* who were driven by the desire to experience more of the world; *refugees* who left their country of origin for various personal or professional reasons; *mercenaries* who were motivated by financial incentives; and *architects* who sought for career development. They also used 'outsider', 'tightrope walker' and 'student' to refer to the experience of having a problem with integration, being exposed to precariousness and risk, and learning during personal change respectively. It is not uncommon for management scholars to use metaphors to understand certain concepts, and it indeed builds vivid images for readers. However, it might not be suitable for in-depth exploration and classification of motivational components. Besides, the core elements behind those decorative linguistic devices are nothing particular, may overlap with other meanings and overlap with previous studies by migration scholars and other business scholars, such as economic motivation (mercenary) (Winter-Ebmer, 1994), career advancement in the destination country(architect), lack of suitable employment opportunity back home (refugees) (Winchie & Carment, 1989), and culture attraction (explorer) (Baruch, 1995).

The dynamics between host and home countries are generally overlooked in the current motivation literature. On the one hand, expatriates' experiences are profoundly influenced by the country-of-origin factor, which will be a notable precursor to their decision (Doherty et al., 2011). On the other hand, the location factor (country-of-destination) also plays a pivotal role in the decision-making process, either as an attraction or a barrier. Doherty et al. (2011) refer to location factors as "perceptions of the attractiveness of the host country and culture and the lure to live in the host setting" (p.605). In contrast, Yurkiewicz and Rosen (1995) had a relatively negative view of it, finding location factors are great barriers to mobility. Almost certainly, it depends on which locations are being examined. This suggests that a single factor is not adequate to explain expatriates' motivation as country-of-origin and country-of-destination form "a unique combination of globally and locally salient motives" (Jackson et al., 2005,p.114). Thus, the dynamics between the host and the home countries (e.g., imbalanced economic status, imbalanced political status and differences in culture) should be given more attention, as they will assist in explaining the overall experience of expatriation, including motivation and adaptation. For example, moving from a less developed country to a developed one usually means that location and consideration of children's education are pull factors, while the other way around those two factors could become barriers. In my study, the dynamics between China and Tanzania (or Africa as a whole) will be a significant analytical factor in understanding why Chinese expatriates go to Tanzania, why they stay or leave and how they adapt.

While there are inadequate studies on the motivation of Chinese expatriates in Africa from the IHRM perspective, anthropologists and sociologists have paid certain attention to this issue for the past few years. Sun (2017) challenges the view that the Chinese are motived by a sense of nationalism to serve the political goal while she argues it is a purely economic act. Both Chang (2013) and Driessen (2015, 2016) found that Chinese expatriates are driven by the pressure of accumulating capital for the security of their future. In particular, Driessen (2015) discussed the phenomenon of 'migrating for bank' - Chinese young people from rural areas coming to

Africa to save money for paying off mortgages in China. Furthermore, she found that the Chinese see their migration as a mission, a duty or an investment for the future with temporary sacrifice, and the income is usually calculated beforehand (Driessen, 2016). It has been 6 years since her fieldwork in Ethiopia and it is arguable if Chinese expatriates today still move for a pragmatic reason rather than an idealistic one, fuelled by a sense of angst (p. 2504). However, while highlighting the importance of social-economic motivations behind the mobility of Chinese expatriates, Fei (2022) also noticed the significance of heterogeneity within the Chinese community and its effects on their motivation. For example, managers and professionals face the pressure to maintain a typical urbanite lifestyle. In contrast, operational staff burden the pressure to sustain the family's daily expenses. The above ethnographic studies have revealed that Chinese expatriates in Africa are largely driven by economic motives.

The majority of the motivation studies in the business discipline, in general, are quantitatively oriented, and there is a lack of inductive-exploratory approaches towards the question of why people seek or accept expatriation (Hippler, 2009). Besides, the conceptual terminology and categorisation seem far from uniform in extant research. For example, Thorn (2009) broadened the cultural aspect to travel opportunities and the potential to experience a foreign culture, while Carr et al. (2005) refer to cultural factors as the attraction of cultural similarities in religion, language and other social aspects. In addition, expatriates are rarely motivated by a single factor. It is often a combination of motivations that drives them to take action (Froese, 2012). In this study, I will try to fill those gaps and address the problems mentioned above and explore the motivation of Chinese expatriates in Tanzania in depth.

2.8 Corruption and power relation Institution, corruption and power relation

2.8.1 Institution theory

Institutions, metaphorically used as “rules of the game” (North, 1990, p. 3), refer to the limitations or boundaries created by humans that shape the way people interact with each other. Broadly speaking, institutions can be classified as formal (such as laws and regulations and informal one (such as norms and cognitions) (M. W. Peng et al., 2008). In his work, Scott (2008) distinguishes between three types of institutions that provide frameworks for the behavior of individuals and organizations: regulative institutions, normative institutions and cognitive institutions.

Regulative institutions are concerned with regulating and controlling behavior through formal rules, laws and sanctions, including government agencies and legal bodies. Normative institutions shape behavior by promoting and enforcing social norms, values and beliefs that are considered desirable or appropriate in a society. Cognitive institutions refer to shared symbolic and cultural systems, such as language, culture, and social identities, that shape how individuals perceive, interpret, and make sense of the world around them.

The relationship between culture and institution has been a subject of debate and ambiguity in the literature. While culture and institution are distinct concepts, they are often intertwined and can influence each other in complex ways. As Hofstede and his colleagues argue: “institutions are the crystallizations of culture, and culture is the substratum of institutional arrangement” (2002, p. 800). Thus, culture is sometimes treated as an integral component of informal institutions, which provide the underlying norms, values, and beliefs that support and shape formal institutions (M. W. Peng et al., 2008). This is the approach that will be adopted in this thesis.

Institutional voids refer to the gaps in the institutional infrastructure that are necessary for effective market functioning (Wang et al., 2022). Arguably, this term does not necessarily indicate a complete 'vacuum' of institutions (Mair & Marti, 2009), as "no societal sphere is institutional void" (Olthaar et al., 2017, p. 243). The deficiencies in formal institutions (e.g., weak, inadequate and absent) often prompt modifications either to the institutions themselves or to the approach that firms take to address and overcome these inadequacies (Daniel et al., 2018).

The government's role is to establish an institutional environment, whether economic or political, that fosters the functioning of businesses and society as a whole. However, in Sub-Saharan Africa, governments often receive criticism for impeding development. Regulatory inefficiency has resulted in institutional voids within formal settings (Mair & Marti, 2009). Human capital voids and industry standards voids are found to be two prominent institutional voids in the construction industry for Chinese SOEs in Africa (Wang et al., 2022). In particularly, two aspects of the industry standards voids (lack of articulated standards and inconsistent enforcement standards) have encouraged central SOEs utilise their political connection with Chinese central government to protect their legitimacy, credibility and power internally and externally. The Rampant political corruption has also become ingrained in public affairs, agency resources, and state institutions, undermining economic and infrastructural progress in that region (Wang et al., 2022).

However, institutional fabrics are complex and rich in reality. Even in the absence of strong or formal regulatory institutions, a country may still have a complex and diverse network of informal institutions that significantly shape the behavior and actions of individuals and organizations (Olthaar et al., 2017). Formal and informal institutions may compete with each other, or they may have an accommodating interrelationship where they work together to shape behavior and outcomes in a particular society or context (Helmke & Levitsky, 2006). In the similar vein, regulative institutions, normative institutions and cognitive institutions are not necessarily harmonious in reality, but rather full of competition and conflicts.

2.8.2 Corruption and power relation

Although corruption is not legally acceptable in all countries, such behaviour can often be found among managers in international business, as it is seen as a mechanism to gain an advantage over competitors. At the country level, it has been proven that higher levels of corruption are associated with a series of negative consequences, such as reduced inward foreign direct investment (FDI) (Cuervo-Cazurra, 2006; Wei, 2000) and greater likelihood of being less developed (Mauro, 1995). However, at the company level, there are competing views on the impacts of corruption: the 'sand' view versus the 'grease' view (Cuervo-Cazurra, 2016). The former portrays corruption as a barrier to a firm's development, referring to it as 'sand in the wheels of commerce', while the latter sees corruption as 'grease' that might facilitate the function of the firm. Nonetheless, at the individual level, it is still unclear how corruption affects the lives of expatriate managers or workers.

The definition of corruption varies among different disciplines and stakeholders. The focus of the definition might lie in its illegality (Rose-Ackerman, 1999), illegitimacy (Jain, 2001), and economic relationships (Rose-Ackerman, 2006). This thesis tends to adopt the definition from Cuervo-Cazurra (2016) as it is broad enough to cover non-conventional discussion of corruption in international business – e.g., petty corruption. That is, corruption is “the abuse of entrusted power for private gain” (p.36).

At the first level, corruption can be distinguished based on its public or private nature. Public corruption occurs when a public sector agency is involved, such as a politician or a civil servant. Private corruption typically occurs between two companies or organizations. Within public corruption, the classic distinction is grand corruption and petty corruption (Elliott, 1997). The latter is the focus of this thesis. The main factor distinguishing between grand corruption and petty corruption is the level of bureaucrats involved. Grand corruption refers to instances where high-level government officials or politicians provide an organization with benefits in exchange for bribes. That is why it is considered to occur less often but have a greater impact compared with some other forms of corruption. Petty corruption is defined by Yoo (2008) as:

> *"…commonplace when private citizens (such as investors and business managers) have to deal with relatively low-level bureaucrats in getting approval for specific privileges or economic activities, and 'small' bribes are involved in completing a particular transaction within a reasonable time-span." (p. 268)*

In short, it refers to the situation where low-level officials require "small bribes," such as tips or gifts, in order to expedite their job duties (Cuervo-Cazurra, 2016). It could be argued that petty corruption might have limited influence in economic activities in terms of the amount of money and the level of officials involved. Nonetheless, the aggregate effects of pervasive petty corruption should not be underestimated as it can still result in significant harm. Over time, petty corruption may be more politically corrosive as it impacts more people on a regular basis (Elliott, 1997).

The cause of corruption is usually framed in the demand-supply relationship (Cuervo-Cazurra, 2016; Ertz et al., 2019). On the demand side, the monopoly power over an organisation or individuals enable government officials to demand for bribes. For high-position officials, the incentives might be to use bribes to enrich themselves while for low-position officials, bribes are required to supplement their meagre salaries. Rahman et al., (2019) analysed the culture of implementation deficits in the bureaucracy in Tanzania and found that an underpaid and unmotivated administration at lower levels contributes to such a culture. The Guardian has also reported that one major problem in bureaucracy in Tanzania is the low pay for civil servants which encourages a culture of graft (Allison, 2015). In a word, lower salaries are found to be associated with higher level of corruption (Van Rijckeghem & Weder, 2001).

Corruption has been argued to have a negative influence on FDI (Habib & Zurawicki, 2002). More specifically, corruption might be responsible for the withdrawal of some western companies from countries with weak institutions as it creates pressure and difficulties (Desai et al., 2004). According to Khanna and Palepu (2006), MNEs from developing countries might have experienced and survived similar bureaucratic situations at home which enables them to be more capable and more flexible in dealing with corruption and political constraints elsewhere (Khanna & Palepu, 2006). Wood and his colleagues' findings support such approaches as they suggest that Chinese MNEs are more competitive in highly corrupt markets (Wood et al., 2014). This research has involved studies conducted through the lens of states and corporations; limited research has investigated how expatriates, especially those without privileges, perceive and respond to corruption in their daily interaction with local authorities. A recent study shows that expatriate managers perceive corruption to be inevitable in East and Central Africa and that the only option left is to avoid or acquiesce to it (Stevens & Newenham-Kahindi, 2021). In addition, Stevens and Newnham-Kahindi found that Chinese companies were pioneers of a new strategy - an engagement strategy - in which relationship building and relationship management were key. For example, high levels of government in both home and host countries are actively involved in discussions to combat corruption, or frequent exchanges of people and knowledge facilitate solid relationships rather than bribery. This research has played an important role in contributing to our understanding of how Chinese expatriates deal with corruption on behalf of their organisations, and it remains unclear whether these strategies are applicable to individuals in their day-to-day interactions with local authorities.

Lam (2015) found that Chinese expatriates perceive themselves as the targets of extortion by Ghanaian officials and they were surprised by the levels of corruption relating to everyday micro-administrative procedures. She further argues that a well-established identity (e.g., having been living in the local country for an extended period of time) and fluency in the local language might exempt them from such extortion. Sheridan's (2019) ethnographic study touches upon the issue in the context of Chinese in Africa, discussing the issue of petty corruption in Tanzania and how it reflects the complexity of power relations between Chinese and locals. He found that petty corruption was a constant headache for the Chinese.

The social network is fundamentally important and especially powerful in shaping social behaviours, as individuals are connected through such networks based on unwritten rules such as reciprocity, entitlement and obligations (Baez-Camargo et al., 2020). In societies such as Tanzania, where there is resource scarcity and limited state effectiveness (or what the literature calls 'institutional voids'(Doh et al., 2017), the social network has been proven to be a valuable resource for mitigating socio-economic hardship and institutional inefficiencies (Baez-Camargo et al., 2020). In Cooke's study of Chinese stated-owned mining companies in Africa, interviewees confirmed that in order to build a good relationship with local authorities in host countries to enable business development they give them money, place their friends or relatives in management positions, build roads and schools, lend transportation and even bring them gifts (Cooke, Wang, et al., 2015). In a word, expatriates are using socio-economic advantages in investing social capital in the host countries. However, in another study by Sheridan (2018), he found that the Chinese were disappointed as their 'investment' did not always meet the expectation of reciprocity, which shows a significant difference in the ideologies of social relationships: the Chinese emphasise balanced reciprocity and the morality of returns; while the Africans tend to focus on the moral obligation to assist, meaning that counter obligation is not always necessary (Sugimura, 2004). Sheridan further argues that both Chinese expatriates and Tanzanian locals suspect the other seeks relationships only for instrumental reasons, not emotional ones (Sheridan, 2018).

African agency is usually ignored in the analysis of the presence of China in Africa, and China is usually presented as a driving force in the relationship. In fact, China's relations with many African countries are moving beyond the level of state deals and that calls for attention to various actors beyond statist and elite dialogues (Mohan & Lampert, 2013). Mohan and Lampert (2013) found that African actors have been able to shape the relationship in ways that serve their benefits and aspiration. Similarly, Sheridan (2019) also challenges the current academic discussion which attributes too much power to the Chinese state while the diversity of Chinese actors and the agency of African actors are neglected. He found the so-called 'imperial privileges' of the Chinese are denied through the lens of micropolitics. The vulnerability of Chinese migrants in Tanzania does not match the rising power of China as a global player. The economic and political power of Chinese migrants is also unbalanced. As a result, Chinese migrants trade economic capital in exchange for political capital. On the basis of her observation of the daily interaction between Chinese and locals, Lam (2015) advocates that the conventional and popular discourse of 'powerful China in Africa' should be re-investigated.

It might be worth comparing the power dynamics between other expatriates and locals as a reference when understanding the power relations between Chinese and locals. Kuper (2022) argues, in general, there exists an unspoken hierarchy of nationalities among expatriates and that nationality discrimination might affect the career trajectories of expatriates. Sheridan (2019) found his identity as a white American is a stimulus for Chinese expatriates comparing their experience to his. Chinese expatriates attribute their relatively lower status (compared with western expatriates) to the weaker military power and lack of colonial impact. While Sheridan (2019) believes Indians in Tanzania have faced a similar doubling of privilege and vulnerability, Yan et al., (2019) found that the dynamic between Chinese and African is fundamentally different from that between Indians and Africans which they attribute to historical reasons. Although India was not a colonial ruler, they had the privileges granted to them by the British to govern locals (Bertz, 2021).

2.9 Bourdieu's theory of practice: habitus, field and capital

2.9.1 Habitus

The concept of habitus originates from a dual perspective, encompassing both an experiential and a sociological conundrum (Maton, 2008). That is to say, our behaviours and decisions are based on our predictions and regulated by rules and social norms. Habitus is both a "structured and structuring structure" (Bourdieu, 1994, p.170), which is influenced by one's past and present circumstances, and is shaping one's present and future practices. Habitus can be understood as the collection of dispositions that guide our actions, emotions, thoughts, and identity. It encompasses how our past experiences shape our present and future choices, and how we navigate the social world based on our internalized knowledge and expectations. This process is dynamic and ongoing, as we constantly construct and revise our habitus based on new experiences and feedback from our social environment. However, it is important to note that habitus operates within larger structural and historical conditions that are beyond our immediate control, and which constrain and shape our agency in complex ways. Thus, habitus can be seen as both an active and adaptive process of individual agency and a product of broader social structures and historical contexts.

Habitus does not operate in isolation, and Bourdieu summarized the relationship between habitus, capital, and field as follows:

[(habitus)(capital)] + field = Practice

It means that an individual's actions and behaviors (practice) are the product of the interplay between their personal dispositions and characteristics (habitus), their position and resources within a particular social field (capital), and the current conditions and power dynamics within that field (field). It is important to note that the relationship between habitus and field is a continuous and dynamic process, characterized by partial and imperfect alignment (Maton, 2008). Both habitus and field have their own internal logic and history, which can lead to varying degrees of correspondence or discrepancy between them. This means that the fit between the structure of a field and the habitus of its members is not fixed or predetermined, but rather a matter of ongoing negotiation and adjustment. Members of a field may seek to adapt their habitus to the requirements of the field, or they may challenge and transform the field itself through collective action and the formation of new practices and meanings. Thus, the relationship between habitus and field is characterized by a constant tension between structure and agency, constraint and creativity, which shapes the dynamics of social change and continuity.

2.9.2 Field

Bourdieu argued that in order to understand the true meaning of a social phenomenon, it is essential to comprehend the underlying mechanisms of human behavior rather than the surface-level interactions (Bourdieu, 2005). The key to investigating the underlying mechanism is to locate the object within social space, which refers not only to its specific historical, local, or international context but also to how previous knowledge about the phenomenon was generated, by whom, and whose interests were served by those knowledge-generation practices (Thomson, 2008). This social space was named 'field' by Bourdieu in his work. 'Field' is a significant concept of Bourdieu's theory and much of his work focused on the investigation of specific fields such as education(e.g., Bourdieu, 1998), culture (e.g., Bourdieu et al., 1991), science (e.g., Bourdieu, 2006), and bureaucracy (e.g., Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2005).

Bourdieu suggested that these fields could be thought of as made up of opposing forces, with different actors competing for power and resources within the field. Specifically, cultural and economic capital are two hierarchized poles that operate within the field (see figure 4.1), and all subfields within the cultural field are dominated by the economic field. Discussions here typically revolve around issues of power and status. Yet, critiques of field theory point that the scope of field is fuzzy (e.g., where to draw the line) and there are too many fields (Thomson, 2008).

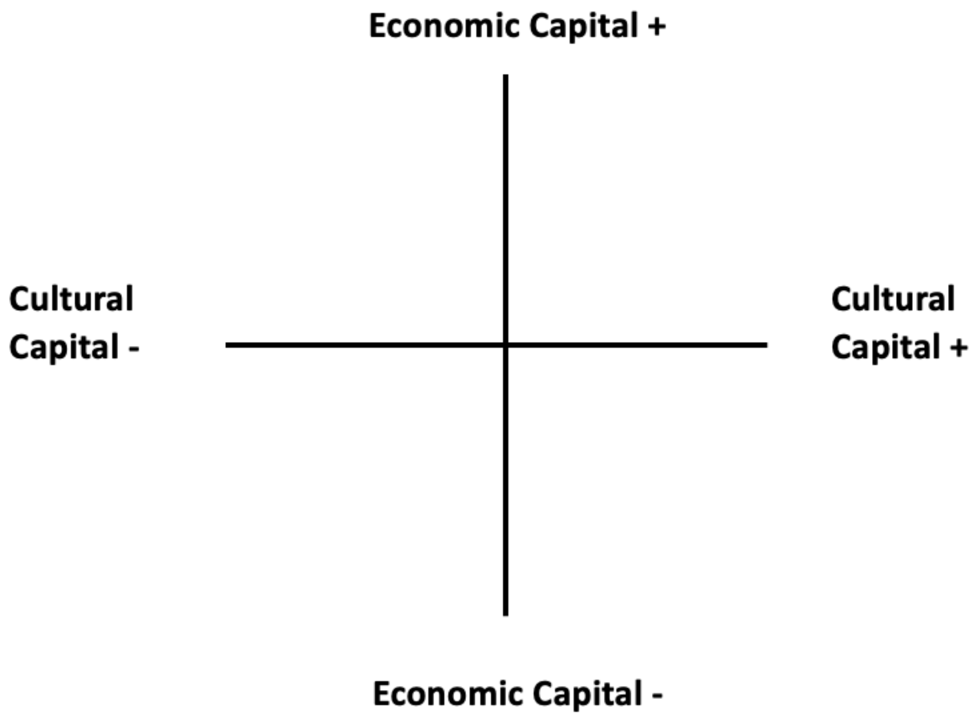

Figure 4 Diagram of a social field (adopted from Thomson, 2008)

2.9.3 Capital

Social capital

Scholars have defined social capital in a variety of different ways due to its use in a wide range of disciplines, to name a few, sociology, political science, economy, and business. It also causes some confusion since many things have been studied under the notion of social capital, such as social network, trust, embeddedness, social exchange, and social support (Adler & Kwon, 2002). (Adler & Kwon, 2002) classified existing definitions into three groups according to the types of linkages: external (in-group) and internal (cross-group) and both (see Adler & Kwon (2002) for a summary).

According to (Pierre Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), social capital is 'the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition' (p.119). Not only is social capital a set of usable resources, but also power (P Bourdieu, 1979). Similar to the above definition, Burt (1995) and Coleman,(1988) emphasised that in social capital theory, actors could be both persons and organisations. More specifically, Coleman (1988) believed that relations among corporate actors can constitute social capital for the corporate itself as well. In Burt's words, the social capital of organisations is aggregated by the social capital of people (Burt, 1995). Coleman (1988) defined social capital by its function and stressed that it is not a single entity but a variety of different entities. In agreement with Coleman (1988), Burt (1995) viewed social capital as both the structure of contacts in a network and the resources they have. This suggests two fundamental approaches: how to reach and whom to reach. In relation to social capital, the 'weak tie' argument of Granovetter (1973) noted the strength of weak relations in a social structure, by rethinking of which Burt (1995) developed the concept of structural holes that may generate entrepreneurial opportunities.

In general, there are two types of linkages of social capital: bonding (social) capitals and bridging (social) capitals. The former focuses on in-group ties while the latter concerns between-group or cross-group ties. The character of bonding capital is that it belongs to a social group, which emphasised the important role social ties play in connecting people together (Coleman, 1988). The major critique of bonding capital comes from its strong ties in a social structure, which might become a source of rigidity that hinder the completion of complicated organisational tasks and adaptation to change (Gargiulo & Benassi, 2000). Bridging (social) capital refers to the ability to link between disconnected agents or social groups, such as bridging the structural hole in the organisational context, and benefits from such linkages (Burt, 1995; Granovetter, 1973; Kristina Mäkelä & Suutari, 2009).

In this study, the author sees social capital as both structure and resources (including power) that attribute to both individual and collective agents, encompassing two types of linkages: internal (in-group bonding capital) and external (across-group bridging capital). Thus, the below definition from (Adler & Kwon, 2002) is adopted for the purpose of discussion in this work:

‘Social capital is the goodwill available to individuals or groups. Its source lies in the structure and content of the actor's social relations. Its effects flow from the information, influence, and solidarity it makes available to the actor’ (p.2002).

The conceptualisation of capital of Bourdieu relates to the specific fields or areas in which a form of capital is utilised (Smart, 1993). This is why we see various forms of capitals were discussed in different disciplines, to name a few, human capital, cultural capital, linguistic capital and career capital. To reduce the confusion, Smart (1993) suggested to utilise the four basic forms of capital from Bourdieu (economic capital, symbolic capital, social capital and cultural capital) and see other terms as variants. But it seems not appropriate to explain, for example, career capital as any variant of these four basics. On the contrary, social capital (knowing-whom) is an integral part of career capital (Jokinen, Brewster, & Suutari, 2008).

But to what extent is social capital a resource of capital in comparison to others. Adler and Kwon (2002) argued that social capital is a long-lived asset that can be invested for a future flow of benefits and is both appropriable and convertible. Social capital is different from other types of capital in several aspects. First, social capital, by nature, can not be owned by a single player. It is joint ownership held by the parties to a relationship (Burt, 1995). Unlike other forms of capitals, social capitals are embedded in the structure of relations (or networks) between actors and among actors (Coleman, 1988). Second, it concerns the rate of return in the market production equation. Some may argue that any form of capital concerns the rate of return. For example, the investment in production is to produce good products. The investment in employees is to enhance their skills to improve work efficiency. But social capital, according to Burt (1995), is the arbiter of competitive success. That is to say, by building and maintaining relationships with others, players hope to increase the opportunities to transform financial and human capital into profits. Thirdly, the investment in its development is hardly measurable quantifiably.

The term, social capital, nicely captures the essence that social relations can be invested in for the return of real gain (Prusak & Cohen, 2001). The sources of social capital lie in the social structure where the actor is located (Adler & Kwon, 2002). Inspired by rational actor models, many organisational studies of social capital implicitly assumed that actors, whether individuals or organisations are driven by instrumental motivation (Coleman, 1988; Jokinen et al., 2008; L. Mäkelä, Suutari, Brewster, Dickmann, & Tornikoski, 2016). That is why they see social capital as something that can be invested to advance their career (Adler & Kwon, 2002). Practitioners Prusak and Cohen (2001) suggest three ways to invest in social capital: making connections, enabling trust, and fostering cooperation. But first of all, whom should you reach? With limited time and energy, how to optimise your connection to gain a higher rate of social capital is more valuable than casting a wide net. What adds up to the competitive advantages in getting a higher rate of return on investment is something about the structure of the network and the location of the contacts in the social structure (Burt, 1995). Thus, Burt (1995) suggested that in order to generate more social capital, one should invest time and energy to reach a player with more resources, especially those non-redundant contacts to the dense network.

Trust (in a close structure) is often treated as a source of social capital or a form of social capital itself (Adler & Kwon, 2002). Burt (1995) argue that competition is never perfect as the rules of trade are generally ambiguous and there is space for negotiation everywhere. In imperfect competition, trust is critical. Yet the question is not whether to trust but whom to trust. If I do it for them, will they do it for me as well? In Burt's words (1995), it is called interpersonal debt. But we don't know the answer until the person we trust helps us when we need it. And before this happens, we are trying to find cues to evaluate the trust in a relationship constantly. Thus, with such kind of uncertainty, reputation is critical in a social network. Players will be cautious to build a social connection with those whose reputation is unknown.

Coleman (1988) argues for the importance of social capital in the creation of human capital. More specifically, he concluded the forms of social capital depend on two elements: trustworthiness of the social environment and the actual extent of obligation held (Coleman, 1988). Trustworthiness here means that the obligation will be repaid. In an open structure, reputation is difficult to arise, neither trustworthiness can be applied. That is to say, closure create trustworthiness in a social structure, where norms (e.g. collective sanctions) can work effectively. For example, Coleman (1988) used the case of the rotating-credit association of Southeast Asia to illustrate the value of the trustworthiness of the environment. Those arguments can be borrowed to analyse how Chinese communities/associations work in my observation.

Extant research shows the value of social capital among expatriates, which offers them a wide range of social contacts culturally, geographically, and professionally (Jokinen et al., 2008; Kristiina Mäkelä & Suutari, 2013). While Smith (2010) argued that a strong social network increased the possibility of career enhancement, (Mäkelä et al., 2016) found that knowing-whom (social capital) has little impact on perceived marketability. Instead, knowing-how is the most transferrable type of career capital (Mäkelä et al., 2016). More specifically, limited time and long-distance might weaken the social ties of expatriates in home countries (e.g. with headquarters) and consequently lead to a disadvantage of getting a good position after repatriation (Mäkelä & Suutari, 2009). This finding regarding the repatriation problem is broadly in line with previous studies (Caligiuri & Lazarova, 2002; Stahl & Cerdin, 2004; Suutari & Brewster, 2003). Moreover, if their next destination changes entirely to another country, the social ties they built in the current country would do little favour in their future job hunting.

A qualitative study from Mäkelä and Suutari (2013) compared the social capital of AEs and SIEs of western expatriates. Findings show that SIEs seemed more motivated to build stronger local networks and usually combined friendship and professional ties with local colleagues. One explanation was that they, unliked assigned workers, often started their expatriation without a clear timescale of staying. On the other end, the data suggested that locals were more likely to trust SIEs as they were viewed as "neutral" agents rather than HQ's agents. On the contrary, the internal-bridging social capital, referring to the ties between expatriates and their colleagues from home country offices, of SIEs was significantly weaker than that of AEs. However, if taking into consideration the time of stay, the linkage between AEs and home countries colleagues might also be weakened as time goes by (Mäkelä et al., 2016; Suutari & Brewster, 2003).

Scholars found that the social networking activities of Chinese expatriates usually happen within the Chinese community (He, An, & Berry, 2019; Yao, 2013). Chinese expatriates spent more time socialising with other expatriates from their home countries or even the same organisations. This is supported by the study of (Mäkelä & Suutari, 2013). Objectively speaking, being housed together in organisations' accommodations (e.g. compounds) did not encourage them to proactively participate in learning local culture and interacting with locals. Consequently, Yao (2013) found that Chinese expatriates (assigned) developed little career capital regarding knowing-who competencies . This is due to their limited interaction with local employees, colleagues, clients and business partners. Subjectively speaking, Chinese expatriates, especially those who intended to live abroad for a short period of time, did not think the social capital built in host countries would be valuable after repatriation.

He, An and Berry (2019) studied the relationship between psychological adjustment and social capital among Chinese expatriates, finding that bonding capital (e.g. support from family, organisations and other Chinese colleagues) is more relevant to Chinese expatriates' psychological well-being than bridging capital (support from locals). But this is not a unique character to Chinese expatriates. Many studies have shown the importance of social support from families and host national colleagues in cross-cultural adjustment (e.g. Caligiuri, 2002).

Extent research in IHRM focus on how support from headquarters, subsidiaries, families, and friends or colleagues from both home and host countries assist expatriates' adjustment (He, An, & Berry, 2019; Lee & Van Vorst, 2010; Stroppa & Spieß, 2011). But few have touched upon the influence of co-cultural communities. The importance of co-cultural communities in the host countries and ethnic solidarity as the sources of social capital were stressed in the migration studies (Lam, 2015; Lin & Zhou, 2005). For newly arrived immigrants, information and opportunities provided by their ethnic community might be valuable for entrepreneurial activities - generating start-up capital (Portes, 1998). But Portes (1998) also notes that high solidarity in a community might cause free-riding problems, which in turn will discourage entrepreneurial opportunities. Lin and Zhou (2005) developed a conceptual framework of "ethnic capital" which refers to the interplay of financial capital, human capital and social capital based on the observation of Chinese communities in the United States. Lam (2015) explored how Chinese entrepreneurs create social capital to develop their business in Ghana, noticing that the Chinese community is rather fragmented and heterogeneous than unified in this country.

Community studies should be given more attention in the process of understanding Chinese expatriates. This is determined by the role of social capital (Guanxi) played in Chinese culture. In general, easterners reply more on in-group attachment and benevolence (He et al., 2019). Even though Granovetter's weak-ties theory (1973) suggested that weak-ties weigh more in advancing one's career since such social network involves more heterogeneous contacts (Burt, 1995). Bian (1997) found that Chinese tend to utilise or reply more on strong ties to obtain jobs. But it is important to note that the data Bian used in his study were collected in 1988. A few decades have passed and the Chinese job markets have changed dramatically from planned economy (finished in 1992) to market economy. In particular, foreign firms flocking to the Chinese market has a remarkable effect in changing both the employment market and employees' perception of jobs. For expatriates, who are living and working far away from their usual strong networks such as families and friends, the question might be if the strong ties still work effectively in a foreign context.

It is inevitable to talk about Guanxi when we discuss social capital in the Chinese context. Guanxi refers to the relationship that is built on existing relationships, such as relatives, colleagues, classmates, people from the same region (native-place) and so forth, through the exchange of favour gifts and banquets (Smart, 1993; Yang, 1988). The art of Guanxi 'lies in the skilful mobilisation of moral and cultural imperatives such as obligation and reciprocity in pursuit of both diffuse social ends and calculated instrumental ends' (Yang, 1988, p.35).

In his study, Smart (1993) found that investors from Hong Kong used Guanxi to cope with bureaucratical issues that increased difficulties of daily life. Moreover, they use Guanxi as a substitution for 'the missing market mechanism' (Yang, 1988, p.47). It is widely recognised in Chinese society that Guanxi can be used for the instrumental purpose (Smart, 1993). The development of Guanxi is usually aiming for a relationship that can be used as a resource over a long period of time rather than for immediate instrumental purposes (Smart, 1993). But what matters to the effectiveness are the style of exchange and appropriateness of performance, which is called the art of Guanxi.

Another remarkable observation of Smart 's study (1993) comes from his discussion of bribe and gift exchange in relation to Guanxi. In fact, the relationship between gift exchange and building social capital has long been studied. Bourdieu (2007) argued that obligation is embedded in gifts, and it is expected to be reciprocated. In general, an obligation is rather a socially negotiated outcome than an objective and measurable quality (Smart, 1993). Recipients would be placed in a subordinate position if they failed to do so (Bourdieu, 2007), generating a persisting gift debt. Not only is obligation achieved in the process of gift exchange, but some degree of trust is also developed (Smart, 1993). Meanwhile, players must refuse to recognise the real meaning of their exchanges to make the system work (Bourdieu, 2007; Smart, 1993). As it should be, a reciprocal obligation may vary in different types of relationships between the exchange partners (Smart, 1993). For example, parents usually do not expect their children to send gifts in return. The gift exchange discussed in this dissertation mainly refers to the behaviour that happens in a wider range of social networks rather than strong connections like family ties.

According to Smart (1993), bribes can be a simple and shallow form of gift exchange, which lacks an adequate foundation for effective and sufficiently secure investment. Thus, strengthening pre-existing social ties is conceived as a more reliable strategy than bribing unconnected officials. The boundary between the gift and the bribe lies in the style and manner of giving (Smart, 1993). The definition of bribery is usually ambiguous and vary according to context. But bribery is usually achieved in the form of money (not necessary), and involves direct and immediate payment, while in Guanxi connection relationship comes the first and exchange the second. Smart (1993) found Hong Kong investors, in general, replied on people whom they have stronger Guanxi connections with and those who can facilitate the process of investment, which contradicts the argument of "the strength of weak ties" (Granovetter, 1973). In general, Guanxi culture determines that rather than negotiating legal terms in contractual documents, Chinese investors prefer replying on social guarantees.

Smart (1993) described that 'in a situation where there is pervasive distrust of the system and great gaps exist in the legal and societal infrastructure necessary for capitalism, the consolidation of a social relationship built on gift exchange provides a substitute form of trust that can improve the profitability o investment and reduce the risk of arbitrary bureaucratic inference that is not in the interests of investors' (p.398). The author believes that such a situation more than two decades ago in China has much in common in the context of today's Africa. Rather than criticising the behaviour of bribery and corruption, it is more important to understand the logic and culture behind such phenomena in this study.

Language and linguistic *capital*

International business (IB) activities cannot be conducted without language as a medium of communication. Language studies in IB studies have gone through two phases. Firstly, decoupling from the 'culture box'. Although language is a key aspect of culture, an increasing number of scholars (Tenzer, Pudelko & Harzing, 2014; Welch & Welch, 2008) came to realise the necessity to study language separately to capture its unique effects in the international workplace. Secondly, going beyond the issue of language skills to examine the extended roles of language in organisations, such as in corporate identity building (Zhang & Peltokorpi, 2016) and trust formation (Tenzer & Schuster, 2017).

Neeley (2012) argued that language studies in organisations were still in their infancy, but since then we have witnessed a growing number of researchers and institutions emphasising the importance of language issues at both individual and corporate levels. In 2014, a special issue of the *Journal of International Business Studies* (JIBS) addressed the role of language from a more contextual and grounded approach, aiming to understand how language differences shape the lived experience of corporate employees (Brannen, Piekkari & Tietze, 2014). Six years later, the *Journal of World Business* (JWB) re-emphasised the importance of intercultural communication in IB in a special issue, where language and its influence on knowledge transfer (Wang, Clegg, Gajewska-De Mattos & Buckley, 2020) and trust-control dynamics (Outila, Mihailova, Reiche & Piekkari, 2020) were discussed.

Although language is no longer 'the forgotten factor' (Marschan-Piekkari, Welch & Welch, 1999) and 'the most neglected field in management' (Reeves & Wright, 1996), there is still much we need to know about the role of languages in MNCs. Brannen et al. (2014) argue that the field of IB is mature enough to develop a more sophisticated understanding of the multifaceted role of language in today's international business reality. They suggest drawing on fields such as anthropology, linguistics and social psychology, which will transfer from an etic (outsider) view to an emic (insider and contextual) understanding of language in IB, proposing a locally grounded perspective.

As a response to that call, this thesis will explore the role of language and the function of linguistic capital based on ethnographic data and offer an emic perspective on language issues in IB. It is important to note that while language is gaining increasing attention in IB studies, the majority of the discussion focuses on what happened within the corporate, such as in global team (e.g. Tenzer & Pudelko, 2017), between expatriates and host country nationals (e.g.

Peltokorpi & Pudelko, 2021). Limited is known regarding how language affects expatriates' daily life in the host countries, outside of the workplace. Expatriation is a package that involves both work experience and non-work experience, and each has a spillover effect on the other. Therefore, understanding languages and their effects on daily communication with locals are equally important to IB and IHRM scholars.

Linguistic barriers are one of the language-related subjects that have been given the most attention in business and management studies. Such barriers seem to be more important in international trade than previously thought: language barriers are significantly negatively correlated with international trade (Lohmann, 2011). More specifically, a 10% increase in the Language Barrier Index might decrease by 7% to 10% trade flows between countries. Language barriers were also found to be a critical influential factor in international academic careers as they affected scholars' performance in research, teaching and administrative service (Pudelko & Tenzer, 2018). These findings are similar to those reported by Cho (2004) who found non-native English speakers encountered difficulties in the process of publishing in English language journals.

Language plays a key role in multilingual group relationships (Harzing & Feely, 2008). Ethnographic data showed that asymmetries in language fluency can contribute to subgroup dynamics, creating an 'us vs them' mentality (Hinds, Neeley, & Cramton, 2014). In a study of Nordic expatriates in China, Zhang and Peltokorpi (2016) found that local employees hold more positive attitudes towards expatriates with better Chinese language skills. And some of them tried to avoid expatriates who had low proficiency in Chinese, because of the extra work of translation. It supports the findings of previous studies (Marschan-Piekkari et al., 1999; Peltokorpi, 2007) which found that language nodes (also called bridge individuals in Harzing, Köster, & Magner (2011)), can work as facilitators in MNCs, alleviating the willingness of both expatriates and local employees to have a more in-depth engagement. In China, Japanese companies have used Japanese self-initiated expatriates in the country, with greater experience, more cultural awareness and better language skills as boundary-spanners between Chinese workers and Japanese assigned expatriates and headquarters (Furusawa and Brewster, 2018). Furthermore, when language nodes take the role of translators, there might be some gatekeeping behaviour that influences the information flow with messages being filtered, modified, and distorted to adapt to local interests (Piekkari, Welch, Welch, Peltonen & Vesa, 2013).

Tenzer and Schuster (2017) argue that the effects of language barriers will vary with different types of international assignees, supporting the findings of Shaffer et al. which showed that language fluency played a more important role for technical expatriates than for managerial expatriates in terms of interaction adjustment (Shaffer, Harrison & Gilley, 1999). However, the general discussion of Tenzer and Schuster (2017) on various types failed to capture a more in-depth influence of language barriers in each category.

It is worth noting that speaking the same language does not necessarily guarantee effective communication. While corporate language is widely introduced as a facilitator to intercultural communication within organisations, Buckley and his colleagues (2005) found that a shared language alone did not necessarily lead to effective communication during the process of knowledge transfer, it had to be accompanied by the transference of corporate social knowledge. Zhang and Peltokorpi (2016) also found that language proficiency does not necessarily lead to effective communication. Grammatical competence and communicative competence are not the same things. Besides, even if someone knows about socio-cultural rules, it not mean they can apply those rules in the real world (Liu, 1995).

While language barriers are generally treated as a negative factor in organisational management, slowing down the process of decision-making and increasing the cost of it (Harzing et al., 2011), Zander and her colleagues (Zander, Mockaitis & Harzing, 2011) found that language proficiency has a limited effect on leadership decision-making and reactions. A similar situation was described by Sliwa and Johansson (2014) that sometimes the concern of language fluency only came from the non-native English speakers themselves while their leaders offered them opportunities regardless of their language skills.

Originating in second language acquisition and language learning research, language anxiety has been studied by business scholars to understand the impact of language barriers in the international workplace (Aichhorn & Puck, 2017; Harzing & Feely, 2008). This kind of anxiety is situational, and the feelings of tension and apprehension are only associated with the context of communicating in a second language (Aichhorn & Puck, 2017; MacIntyre & Gardner, 1994).

Aichhorn and Puck (2017) discussed what created language barriers in cognitive, emotional, and behavioural domains in the workplace. Data showed that anxiety might come from the fear of negative evaluations of bad performance in English. Even those who had been using English for a long time, still experienced discomfort when speaking it. Withdrawal, avoidance and code-switching are three coping strategies they often used to respond to their anxieties, which inevitably led to the loss of information and difficulty in transmitting knowledge. Whereas code-switching is generally considered as a negative phenomenon, leading to feelings of discomfort and trust issues between expatriates and local employees (Aichhorn & Puck, 2017;

Tenzer et al., 2014), Harzing et al. (2011) argue that it only becomes negative if it is used too frequently, and found many interviewees simply saw it as a solution to language barriers.

Unlike Aichhorn and Puck (2017), Harzing and Feely (2008) discussed language anxiety from a different theoretical perspective, based on anxiety and uncertainty management theory (Gudykunst, 1995) in the field of intercultural communication. They argue that lack of language competence increases uncertainty (e.g., misunderstanding) in interpersonal interaction, which might lead to further trust issues and increased levels of anxiety.

Even though spillover theory suggests there is a positive correlation between work and non-work experience (Staines, 1980), based on the qualitative data gathered from 70 expatriates in China, Zhang and Peltokorpi (2016) found that those with higher local language proficiency have a relatively better adjustment to work-related interaction with both local colleagues and clients, but they found no clear evidence of a strong correlation between language proficiency and non-work-related adjustment. On the contrary, both Bhaskar-Shrinivas and his colleagues (2005) and Huff (2013) found local language proficiency was not associated with work adjustment but associated with general and interaction adjustment. Similarly, Selmer (2006) found language ability had the strongest positive relationship for interaction adjustment but the weakest for work adjustment. Zhang and Peltokorpi (2016) argued that these inconsistent findings might be explained by the multi-faced role of language, including but not limited to communication (Peltokorpi, 2007), coordination (Marschan-Piekkari et al., 1999), knowledge transfer (Welch & Welch, 2008), trust formation (Tenzer & Schuster, 2017) and identity construction (Zhang & Peltokorpi, 2016). It is worth noting that the effects of language on employees' emotions, social identity, trust formation and power relations are interrelated (Tenzer & Schuster, 2017).

The relationship between language and power has received a certain amount of research attention in the broader international business literature (Marschan-Piekkari et al., 1999; Neeley, 2012; Welch, Welch, & Piekkari, 2005; Zhang & Peltokorpi, 2016). Marschan-Piekkari et al. (1999) discussed the multiple functions of language in MNCs. Apart from being a facilitator and barrier in inter-unit communication, they also found language is a source of power that might entitle those who possess the language skills to have more power than their formal positions normally suggest. Since English has been adopted as a corporate language in many MNCs, native English speakers are particularly likely to gain access to language-based positions of power (Tietze, Cohen, & Musson, 2003). Non-native English speakers might experience status loss related to their perceived English fluency level (Neeley, 2012). Furthermore, the loss of status might lead to resentment and distrust toward native English speakers (Neeley, 2012).

Standardisation of language is a solution to language barriers in a corporate organisation. However, language studies in MNCs found that a corporate language policy might lead to an imbalance of power among employees and construct a sense of superiority and inferiority (Marschan-Piekkari et al., 1999; Welch et al., 2005). When expatriates do not show any efforts to communicate with locals in the local language, it gave the impression that expatriates felt themselves to be superior (Zhang & Peltokorpi, 2016). The feelings of being 'reduced', 'disqualified', 'devalued' and 'less sophisticated' due to language barriers can be further translated into a sense of job insecurity and status loss (Neeley, 2012).

Sliwa and Johansson (2014) investigated how perceived language fluency affects the competitiveness of non-native English-speaking academics in an English-dominated setting.

They stressed the importance of studying the relationship between language, power relations and inequality for an in-depth understanding of language effects, in particular language accent. Later, they (in the process) touched upon the issue of accent-based stigmatisation in the organisation context. They found that the potential disadvantages of SIEs in their case were not directly related to the language itself, but their identity as being non-native speakers.

Language is a salient marker of identity, which might be more relevant than age, gender and ethnicity in certain situations (Giles & Johnson, 1981). Language adds to identity-based boundaries between expatriates and local employees in both work and non-work-related domains (Zhang & Peltokorpi, 2016). According to social identity theory, an individual obtains a sense of self through membership in a social group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). By constantly comparing and differentiating between in-groups and out-groups, us-vs-them concepts grow stronger, which might lead to favouritism towards their own groups and exclusion of or discrimination towards the relevant out-groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Hinds et al. (2014) found it was common in global teams that language fluency created us vs them dynamics. Tenzer and Schuster (2017) argue that when expatriates rely heavily on their interaction with headquarters instead of that with local staff, a language-based social identity might be formed. One explanation could be that host country nationals might be more likely to view expatriates as outsiders in this situation. Similarly, Welch et al. (2005) argue that social exclusion caused by language will affect employees' corporate identity (sense of belonging), which will further undermine cohesion within an organisation. Neeley (2013) has looked at this issue from a sociological perspective, discussing how achieved status (self-assessed language fluency) shaped the experience of status loss in the global workplace. Sliwa and Johansson (2014) also found that accent plays a role in the evaluation of non-native speakers' status, which might further affect power relations between native speakers and non-native speakers in the organisations. The studies from both Neeley (2013) and Silwa et al. (2014) have led to one point, that the hierarchisation of languages (see Vaara, (2005)) determines status hierarchies. Furthermore, linguistic ostracism and its relationship with identity are discussed by Fiset and Bhave (2021).

Ai et al. (2022) suggest that developing a hybrid identity through languages that one can cross different cultural spheres freely and switch one's identity flexibly is a solution to an identity crisis in transactional communication. However, a recent study by Peltokorpi and Pudelko (2021) found that the relationship between language proficiency and expatriates' social categorization is not always linear. When it reaches a certain point that an expatriate's language proficiency is 'too good', it poses threats to the salient intergroup boundaries between HCNs and expatriates. This leaves some questions for scholars and practitioners: Where this point is located and how will expatriates know if they violate the safe intergroup boundaries? I believe, at least in my study, majorities of the cases are still in the beginning phase of the curvilinear U-shaped relationship Peltokorpi and Pudelko (2021) found.

Surface-level language diversity might give rise to deep-level cognitive diversity (Tenzer et al., 2014). The trust issue is one of the problems caused by language asymmetries. A lack of host country language fluency created a key barrier for expatriates to obtaining trust from locals (Zhang & Harzing, 2016). Because of language barriers, interaction with local colleagues was limited and that further hindered trust formation between expatriates and local employees (Tenzer & Schuster, 2017). Thus, expatriates felt obliged to speak local languages in order to build trust (Zhang & Peltokorpi, 2016).

Teammates might also attribute low task competence to low language proficiency, causing fear of losing face or being negatively judged, which further influences each other's trustworthiness (Tenzer et al., 2014). Aichhorn and Puck (2017) stress that code-switching and avoidance strategies for language anxiety will make it more difficult to build trustworthy relations with colleagues. In one study by Tenzer et al. (2014), interviewees repeatedly expressed that they felt team members 'talking behind others' backs' when they switched from one language to another.

Linguistic capital is a form of resource that can be viewed as cultural capital or symbolic capital, depending on analytical perspectives and situations. There are three fundamental species of capital, namely economic, cultural, and social capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Cultural capital presents itself in three forms: in the embodied state, it refers to long-lasting dispositions of mind and body; in the object state, we can understand it as cultural goods such as books and pictures; in the institutionalised state, it is usually associated with educational qualification. Language, or linguistic capital, is a subtype of cultural capital that might exist in both embodied and institutionalised forms. Several years after the discussion of forms of capital, Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) emphasised the need to add symbolic capital to the fundamental categories, as another form. In another work of Bourdieu (1991), he discussed the interplay between symbolic power and language. Thus, linguistic capital has been studied as a subtype under both cultural capital and symbolic capital (Li, Xu, & Chen, 2020; Roth, 2019).

Like any other cultural competence, linguistic competence functions as linguistic capital in relationship with the market and given the social value of linguistic products have to be placed within markets (Bourdieu, 1977). By possessing linguistic capital, speakers are given the chance to exploit the system of differences to their advantage and thereby secure a profit of distinctiveness (Bourdieu, 1991). Thus, Morrison and Lui (2000) argue that linguistic capital reproduces the status quo of inequality and differential status as well as distorts power relations.

Nawyn and her colleagues (2012) investigated the linguistic isolation issues among migrants and argued that language works as a form of social capital that provides access to necessary information and constitutes an act of social power. Such a claim seems to fail to distinguish between the forms of capital and transformation among different forms of capital. Social capital is a set of usable resources embedded in the social network. Language, or linguistic capital, is independent of social networks or structures. However, investment in a language might eventually help accumulate social networks in certain situations, which is a transformation from linguistic capital to social capital. Nevertheless, Nawyn and her colleagues (2012) discussion on linguistic isolation in the ethnic community and local community levels sheds light on this doctoral thesis.

The motivation for learning local languages has rarely been investigated in IB research. A study has shown that the willingness to learn and use host country languages had a great impact on the relationship between expatriates and local employees (Zhang & Harzing, 2016). Expatriates usually took a functional approach and saw the local language as an instrument for current and future career development. One of the reasons that constrained their learning was due to the uncertainty of their duration of stay in the host country (Zhang & Harzing, 2016). Drawing on the theory of capital from Bourdieu, Peirce (2013) argues the concept of 'investment' might be more accurate than 'motivation' in understanding the reasons for second language learning, as it "attempts to capture the relationship of the language learner to the changing social world. It conceives of the language learner as having a complex social identity and multiple desires" (p.17-18). In this PhD study, expatriates are facing a more complex situation of choosing between English and Swahili. It is worthwhile investigating the motivation of Chinese expatriates to learn and to choose between the two languages as well as how such choices will impact their overall experience. Therefore, the concept of investment will be adopted to attempt to understand how speaking local languages shape the identity of expatriates and their relationship to the social world.

It might be worth noting the language environment in Tanzania. The Swahilisation project in the post-colonial era has consolidated the position of Swahili as a national language in Tanzania (Bwenge, 2012). Although English is still operating as a medium of instruction or working national language, it is used much less frequently in spoken form (Mohr & Ochieng, 2017). However, English still maintains the highest position in terms of social prestige in Tanzania, and local people hold extremely positive attitudes toward it (Mohr & Ochieng, 2017). In general, Swahili is used as a medium of instruction in primary education, while English is used in secondary and higher education.

Morrison and Lui (2000) suggest that when studying contemporary language issues in a country with colonial history, it is important to distinguish between two concepts: linguistic imperialism and linguistic capital. The former should be applied only in an uncomplicated situation or early stages of colonial development, while the latter might be more suitable for analysis of a complex situation, such as in the post-colonial case. Focusing on the positive aspects of ideology, linguistic capital embraces the multi-layered nature of language issues rather than merely domination and suppression in language imperialism. Thus, Morrison and Lui (2000) adopted the concept of linguistic capital to investigate how English, as the medium of instruction, functioned in the context of today's Hong Kong.

While the majority of research focuses on language interaction that involves one native English-speaking party, whether they act as host country nationals or expatriates, Harzing et al. (2011) dealt with two nationalities that are non-native speakers of English in their study. Similarly, Tanzania offers a highly complex context for language studies due to its political and historical movements. Given the language context in Tanzania - Swahili as the mother language and English as the medium of instruction - I will see linguistic capital as a form of cultural capital that has symbolic power in society.

Several studies have explored the role of language for Chinese expatriates. In general, language affects expatriation greatly. Lack of language proficiency might cause power distance and lead to cultural shock (Shi & Wang, 2013). English has been widely recognised as an important language for multinational businesses on a global scale, and it has also become the primary working language for the majority of Chinese multinationals operating abroad. English language proficiency was found to be significantly correlated with the adjustment of Chinese expatriates, but it did not have a significant impact on their job satisfaction (Xu & Du-Babcock, 2012). Although some Chinese expatriates acknowledged the importance of English or local languages in intercultural communication, they maintained a strong sense of Chinese cultural and national identity (Ai et al., 2019). It is also found that Chinese employees' willingness to accept international assignments is significantly associated with their proficiency in the English language. Those with higher levels of English proficiency are more inclined to work abroad than those with lower levels of proficiency (J. Li et al., 2020).

In their study, Fu and her colleague (L. Fu & Charoensukmongkol, 2021) discovered that Chinese expatriates who had a higher level of proficiency in the host country's language were more likely to receive support from Host Country Nationals (HCNs). This, in turn, had a positive effect on their level of work engagement. Although previous studies have identified language proficiency as a crucial skill for expatriates' cross-cultural management, Wang et al. (2014) argue that simply mastering a language does not guarantee cross-cultural competence and communication skills. Furthermore, their study has weakened the influence of local language skills on expatriate performance, as some expatriates may not have any knowledge of the local language yet still be able to work effectively with Host Country Nationals (HCNs). Nevertheless, one can argue that expatriation is an integrative experience that encompasses an entire expatriation cycle and entails a strong connection between an individual's work and personal life. In other words, language proficiency is not only vital for expatriates' work life, but it can also have a significant impact on other aspects of their lives, resulting in spill-over effects that positively influence each other. For example, Wilczwski et al., (2018) found that poor command of the host country's language posed a significant challenge to expatriates' socialization and caused them to feel excluded and isolated in their work environment. This, in turn, often resulted in stress, frustration, and a negative outlook towards collaborating with local staff.

In addition to its effect on performance, scholars have also expressed concerns about the impact of language on the relationship between expatriate and host country employees HCE). Zhang and Harzing (2016) found that language proficiency significantly impacted the social integration between expatriates and HCEs, and they suggest that language learning can play a crucial in building trust and legitimacy in this relationship.

2.10 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have provided a broad background of 'China in Africa' by discussing Chinese FDI and its strategic motive for IHRM in Chinese enterprises. In this chapter, I have provided a broad background of ‘China in Africa’ by discussing Chinese FDI and its strategic motive for Chinese enterprises. I then narrowed my review to Chinese expatriates’ studies (in general and in Africa) and discussed how expatriates were studied in relation to motivation, corruption and language. To provide a theoretical framework for my analysis, I drew upon both institutional theory and Bourdieu's theory of practice.

3 Chapter Three: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

To explore the lived experience of Chinese expatriates in Tanzania and identify the key issues relevant to their expatriation from an emic perspective, this research was conducted using ethnography, combining multiple data-collection methods such as participant observation, in-depth interviews, visual photographic capture, and diary entry. The fieldwork was mainly conducted in Dar es Salaam from March 2020 to October 2020.

Research philosophy will be discussed in the following section. Then it will be followed by research design, covering research type, research strategy, research context, data collection methods and data analysis techniques. Ethical consideration and my personal reflection will be provided afterwards. I will also discuss the methodological limitation and complete this chapter with a concluding summary.

3.2 Research philosophy

It is argued that researchers need to figure out their perceptions of social reality before conducting their studies (Morgan & Smircich, 1980). Epistemology deals with the issue of what is or should be counted as knowledge (Bryman, 2016), while ontology concerns the study of being (Gray, 2013). Thus, epistemological and ontological views play pivotal roles in guiding researchers to choose specific methods for answering questions in relation to social reality. As Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Lowe (2002) pointed out, not only will research philosophy help researchers to identify issues of research design but also it will help researchers to realise which design will work and which will not. This study adopts an interpretivism paradigm at the epistemological level and a constructivist stance at the ontological level.

In terms of epistemology, there are concerns about whether the social world should be studied as natural science, applying the same standards and principles (Bryman, 2016). While positivists advocate a natural science approach, interpretivists are keen to distinguish between the natural and the social order. The latter believe that studies around people and institutions are fundamentally different from studies of natural objects, and procedures for studying the natural world are not applicable to studying the social world. In interpretivism, 'the facts are what a particular social community says they are (Myers, 2013, p.62). That is to say, the correct meaning of data is determined in the light of interpretation and is contextual (Myers, 2013). One of the main intellectual traditions in interpretivism is symbolic interactionism, which is concerned with the interactive meaning arising from people's practices and lived experiences (Gray, 2013). Thereby, in order to understand the process of how meanings are revised based on experience from the perspective of subjects themselves, symbolic interactionism is usually associated with the ethnographic study, adopting participant observation and grounded theory.

Ontology is concerned with 'the nature of existence and what constitutes reality (Gray, 2013, p.19). There are various classifications. For example, Morgan and Smircich (1980) adopted two broad terms 'subjectivism' and 'objectivism' with detailed explanations of core ontological assumptions and basic epistemological stances in-between. Here, social construction is just one of the ontological assumptions under subjectivism. By revising Morgan and Smircich's typology, Cunliffe (2011) replaced the subject-object distinction with three problematics, namely intersubjectivism, subjectivism, and objectivism. Here, social construction lies somewhere between intersubjectivism and subjectivism. In my study, the discussion uses the typology of Bryman (2016) who mainly focuses on two frequently referred positions: objectivism and constructionism. According to him, their differences can be explained by reference to the two most common and important terms in the social sciences – organisation and culture (Bryman, 2016). Objectivists believe the world is independent of our knowledge and is 'out there' to be discovered (Gray, 2013). In constructivism, an anti-objectivist ontological stance, truth and meanings are socially constructed by social actors' interaction with the world (Gray, 2013). It challenges the fact that categories such as 'organisation' and 'culture' are pre-given as external realities (Bryman, 2016). Thus, constructivist aims to explore how social actors make sense of the social world and generate theoretical explanations from their empirical work (Cunliffe, 2011).

This study aims to explore how Chinese expatriates manage their life in Tanzania. In this sense, I believe truth and meanings are constructed by the interaction between relevant stakeholders and others, which will be acquired by double interpretation. That is the researchers' interpretation of others' interpretations (Bryman, 2016). Given the exploratory purpose of this study and its focus on individuals' perceptions and experiences, ethnography was adopted as the main research method. It allowed the researcher to immerse herself into an actual site and gain understanding from an insider's point of view.

3.3 Research design

3.3.1 Research type

It has been common to claim that qualitative research is more associated with an inductive logic of enquiry (O'Reilly, 2009). In a hypothetic-deductive method, a hypothesis is derived from pre-existing theory and data are collected to test its truth or falsity (O'Reilly, 2009; Robson, 2011). In contrast, an inductive approach requires researchers to be open-minded and avoid as much presumption as possible, moving from observation to theory. Therefore, qualitative researchers usually reject a deductive approach for two main reasons. First, patterns, laws and regulations seem insufficient for making sense of the complexity of the social world. Second, the research focus might be restricted, and perceptions might be distorted with pre-existing theories in mind. However, such claims could be seen as simplistic and problematic.

It is impossible for the majority of qualitative researchers to keep completely objective and open in practice, as everyone starts out with some preconceived ideas. Complying with the nature of the ethnographic study, this research adopted an inductive approach, allowing theories to emerge from the data. However, I also acknowledge that while I was trying to reject presumptions as much as I possibly could, I could not enter the field with a completely empty mind. Especially as a PhD student, I need some guidance from previous studies or sometimes I was inspired by those works. Therefore, I agree with O'Reilly (2009, 2012) that ethnographers should seek a sophisticated inductivism, which she has called the interactive-inductive approach, where "ethnography moves back and forth interactively between theory and analysis, data and interpretation" (p. 105, 2009). This is also why I was able to refine my research questions gradually and eventually identify focused themes from a jumble of data.

3.3.2 Research strategy

> *'The central aim of ethnography is to understand another way of life from the native point of view.' (Spradley, 2016, p.3)*

The ethnographic study is an interactive-inductive design, and interactiveness is reflected throughout the entire process including sample selection, data collection and data analysis (O'reilly, 2012). Spradley (2016) described ethnographic research work as a cycle, making a distinction between it and other social research methods which work in a linear process. Both descriptions reject the statement that ethnography is a fixed and static design: the role of the ethnographer is critical. Ethnographers constantly step in and out of the field, being native and distinct alternately in order to gain an insider's view without losing reflectiveness.

Originally coming from the discipline of social and cultural anthropology, ethnography has now built a relatively well-established record for researching business organisations (Garsten & Nyqvist, 2013). According to Ladner (2016), there are two reasons ethnography becomes valuable in business studies: contextual orientation and emic positioning. Taking the proposed research as an example, on the one hand, the setting of Chinese expatriates in Africa is a highly unusual context. In order to understand those people's lived experiences, the researcher needs to pay attention to both cultural and institutional factors, as well as organisational culture and industrial characteristics. On the other hand, exploring phenomena from the expatriates' points of view might provide invisible or so far unrecognised truths to the researcher. Myers (2013) pointed out that if researchers primarily rely on data obtained from interviews or documentation, they can only scratch the surface of organisational culture. The unwritten rules, such as how things work, are usually not verbalised and can only be discovered by patient observation in actual sites (Myers, 2013). Chinese expatriates in Africa are an underexplored area full of mysteries. Criticisms, such as that Chinese MNEs use prison labourers and bring large numbers of unskilled Chinese workers leaving limited job opportunities for local employees, might be anecdotal and biased (Ajakaiye, 2009), is usually generated by Western journalists, writing for an audience who may feel threatened by the Chinese presence in Africa (Ajakaiye, 2009). Therefore, empirical studies are urgently needed to explore what is really happening there. In this sense, ethnography offers substantial advantages for this study.

However, a common criticism of ethnographic study that is it only leads to a deep understanding of phenomena in a particular context or situation and therefore lacks generalisability. Myers (2013) argues that the limitation comes from the novelty of this research method rather than being a limitation per itself. As more ethnographic studies are conducted over time, it is possible to develop a deeper exploration of phenomena in business organisations in various aspects (Horwitz, 2017).

3.3.3 Research questions

Spradley (2016) suggests that ethnographers start with "a conscious attitude of almost complete ignorance" (p. 4) and let the fieldwork tells them what is important. He argues that there was a time when social science researchers conducted studies under the notion: knowledge for knowledge's sake; but ethnographers should combine their research goals with the needs of people. One solution is to consult informants during fieldwork and identify urgent research topics. Thus, in this study detailed or narrowed research questions were not identified until the researcher entered the field.

The initial research question was outlined as below:

How do Chinese MNEs manage expatriates in Africa and how do those expatriates manage their work and life there?

However, at the very beginning, I encountered a common problem for qualitative researchers, which is negotiating access with firms. It will be elaborated on at a later point after I talk about the research context. Since I was finally offered a voluntary job in the Chinese Overseas Service Centre – a non-government organisation aiming to provide assistance to Chinese workers in Tanzania, I changed my focus from organisational management to the expatriate community only and the research question was re-designed:

How do Chinese business expatriates manage their life in Tanzania?

In the process of observing and interviewing expatriates, I gradually came to realise that if I want to understand this group of people and their behaviour, it is necessary to figure out who they are (background)and why they go to Tanzania (motivation). Therefore, the first two sub-questions were identified:

1. What is the background of those Chinese who work in Tanzania?
2. How does such background shape their motivation to work in Tanzania, and how does it further affect their experiences in the field?

To leverage the strengths of ethnographic research, I planned to utilise this valuable fieldwork opportunity to explore the issues that are relevant to the Chinese expatriates living and working in Tanzania. Although existing literature has elaborated on the relevance of cross-cultural adjustment (Froese, 2012; Haslberger et al., 2014; Peltokorpi, 2008), family and social support (Caligiuri & Lazarova, 2002; Lauring & Selmer, 2010) to expatriation, I did not want to be constrained by these preconceptions. I used them as references but at the same time put myself in the shoes of expatriates and experienced what was urgent or important to them. Therefore, the last sub-questions were refined:

3. What are the key issues or challenges to the relevant stakeholders, how to make sense of them and their impact on expatriates' life?

Determined by my fieldwork site, the Chinese Overseas Service Centre (OCSC), the expatriates I observed and with whom I had contact were not concentrated in one category. This means that in this community, Chinese expatriates are heterogeneous in terms of age, gender, background, motivation, types of firms and types of international assignments. So, I have adopted the term 'relevant stakeholders' to refer to the diverse group of people I encountered.

3.4 Research context

3.4.1 Getting access

My original plan for observation should have occurred in a firm where I would work with Chinese employees. Being Chinese, I understand how important *guanxi* is in a business context. In particular, in my case, my role is spy-like: I will take participant in the firm's activity, observe the behaviours of its employees, ask them probing questions and entice them to tell me how they actually feel. If I had used the 'cold call' approach from business development, I would have had a high probability of being rejected. Thus, I tried all my possible personal contacts, whether it was a relative or just an acquaintance I haven't seen much of in person. As I had expected, companies were quite wary of my involvement. For example, in one firm, the

HRM director seemed interested, but the CEO vetoed it because the company was preparing for an IPO and they didn't want anything put at risk.

Through one of my acquaintances who was also doing his doctoral fieldwork in Tanzania, I was introduced to Mr Chu, the president of the Overseas Chinese Service Centre (OCSC) and Chinese Chamber of Commerce. Mr Chu was very friendly and supportive of my research work. Knowing that I speak fluent English and was willing to work voluntarily, he immediately offered me a job at OCSC. During our initial call, he told me frankly my Chinese identity was a critical factor in him giving me this opportunity. In the past few years, he was approached by some western scholars and media. But both he and the embassy became cautious, as after several interviews they found the reporting involved partial stories and sometimes there were cases of 'smear'. Mr Chu was not very interested in my research, nor the consulting advice I could possibly offer after my PhD study. For him, my good language background, my decent education background, and my willingness to work for OCSC were what he favoured. With just one call through WeChat, he arranged everything I needed in Tanzania: work, housing, transport, etc.

3.4.2 Overseas Chinese Service Centre – OCSC

The Overseas Chinese Service Centre (OCSC) is an NGO established in 2017, aiming to 'maintain the unity and harmony of the Chinese community, safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of Chinese nationals in Tanzania, and help them integrate into the local community' (S. Li & Gao, 2017). There are several characteristics of OCSC. First, the management team of OCSC consists of leaders of chambers of commerce from various provinces. Chambers of commerce in China are usually divided by region (province). Although there have been some attempts to divide them by industry, it is more common to classify them by region. Second, although it is not officially associated with the Chinese embassy, OCSC receives great support from the embassy, and it also shows great respect for the embassy. For example, they had reported my information to the Chinese embassy before I went to Tanzania, including my background, motivation and fieldwork plan. They did not expect approval from the embassy but saw it as a sign of respect for them. Third, although the OCSC mission statement says they aim to assist overseas Chinese in Tanzania as a whole, in practice they mainly target self-employed expatriates or those from private firms. The background of SOEs determines that their employees have solid political and economic support from the organisations. So do big multinationals. Thus, OCSC became the voice of the underprivileged, bridging the channel for them to communicate with higher authorities both from China and Tanzania. However, some of the private business owners have also made a name and position for themselves in the local area.

Due to the above factors, the Chinese I came across in my work (participant observation) were diverse but relatively concentrated among self-employed expatriates and those from SMEs. Moreover, as OCSC is not a commercial enterprise, I was unable to conduct participant observation of Chinese expatriates in an organisational context. Thus, I have changed my initial plan, shifting my focus from the exploration of both work and non-work experience to daily experience only. Although this platform is not as expected, as an ethnographer, I understand the importance of flexibility, allowing the natural scenario and data to guide me to the actual problems expatriates encountered. Meanwhile, OCSC offered a unique platform for my observation where I encountered a great variety of expatriates, rather than limiting my observation to a particular company or a specific industry. Moreover, because my daily job was to help the Chinese deal with their problems, I could clearly observe and discover what were the urgent issues that were relevant to their cross-cultural experience.

OCSC was located in a large walled courtyard (They moved to a new office in 2021 after I left Tanzania) in Dar es Salaam. You can imagine the courtyard as a miniature Chinatown. Except for the OCSC office, there are a Chinese restaurant (with a Karaoke device), an outdoor tea house, and a hotel, all run by Chinese. In the evenings, they have authentic Chinese barbecue stalls. Although they did not open only to Chinese (except for the period when covid-19 was severe, and they thought the locals were weakly protected against the virus), the customers were largely Chinese expatriates. The staff who work for those businesses are locals. The gatekeepers are several funny Maasai brothers, you can tell their ethnicity by the traditional dress they wear. The chef who prepares the barbecue at night is a hardworking local boy. One of the waitresses is an outgoing young lady who speaks some English. The girls in charge of logistics stay in the yard, living in the accommodation provided by the business owners. One of the ladies has an infant less than 1 year old - Madi. While she was working, she always carried Madi on her back. Madi is the joy of the yard, and staff in the courtyard take turns to take care of him. The owners of the barbecue stalls and tea house are two Chinese ladies of my age - we became best friends. One of them has been doing her PhD fieldwork in Tanzania for nearly two years, majoring in politics. Because of their good language skills and open mind, they have a very different approach than other business owners in the yard. They deliberately targeted local customers and promoted their food at local food festivals. They also mingle with those employees. When they were not busy, they gathered everyone and made videos for social media (Kwai - a Chinese version of TikTok). Sometimes they simply documented their lives in the yard, sometimes they performed a funny sketch together. The meaning of OCSC is beyond a workplace to me. Due to its location and surrounding, it is rather a community which holds many precious memories for me of my fieldwork, including the observation of expatriates, leisure activities with my friends and colleagues, and the sincere and fun interaction with local staff.

Figure 5 OCSC office

Figure 6 OCSC courtyard

Figure 7 OCSC courtyard

Figure 8 Outdoor tea house

Figure 9 Maasai gatekeeper in traditional costume

Figure 10 Local staff shoot video for social media

Figure 11 Researcher working in OCSC during the pandemic was reported by China Central Television

Figure 12 Researcher working in OCSC during the pandemic and was reported by China Central Television

Figure 13 Chinese factory (MNE)

Figure 14 Expatriates grow vegetables in their compound

Figure 15 Accommodation of expatriates in a MNE

Figure 16 Office of an SOE

Figure 17 Canteen in an SOE

Figure 18 Accommodation of expatriates in a private firm (factory)

Figure 19 Kitchen in a facotry

Figure 20 Administrative staff in a factory

Figure 21 Road to a rural farm

Figure 22 Accommodation in a rural farm

Figure 23 Flat of researcher - bedroom (provided by a private firm)

Figure 24 Flat of researcher - kitchen (provided by a private firm)

Figure 25 Flat of researcher - home office (provided by a private firm)

Figure 26 Flat of researcher - balcony view (provided by a private firm)

3.4.3 Fieldwork during the pandemic

Lives were changed by the coronavirus. In March 2020, one week before the lockdown in England, I started my 7-month sojourn in Tanzania. Although the local government had always claimed there was no coronavirus, the Chinese community was extremely cautious. As soon as I got off the plane, I was quarantined at my flat for 14 days, voluntarily, to allay everyone's fears. On the one hand, I was lucky because I had not experienced lockdown in Tanzania and life was relatively normal. Because of the pandemic, the workload of OCSC increased dramatically. Many expatriates were stranded in Tanzania since there were no flights back to China. My colleagues and I were responsible for negotiating visa policies with local authorities and helping expatriates extend their visas. We had to deal with labour disputes which had arisen as a result of the impact of the pandemic on private businesses and the inability of expatriates to return to their home countries after redundancies. OCSC also organised a number of 'free distribution' events for Chinese individuals and enterprises, distributing masks, gloves, sanitiser and Chinese medicine. Since the former president John Magufuli declared corona disease "has been eliminated thanks to God" (BBC, 2020), and the rumour said he used a public speech to criticise "some countries" for bringing non-conforming masks into Tanzania, Chinese organisations and individuals were reluctant to donate masks to locals, so as to avoid unnecessary misunderstandings on a political level. At a later stage, we in OCSC also organised charter flights for Chinese expatriates to return home. Through all the activities above, I was in contact with numerous Chinese expatriates and some local authorities. Mr Chu, the president, told me the usual workload was not this heavy. Because of the covid-19 pandemic, OCSC has raised its profile among the Chinese in Tanzania.

On the other hand, the pandemic affected my fieldwork negatively. Although the local community was not concerned about coronavirus, the Chinese community were extremely cautious, in particular the Chinese SOEs. Since SOEs are usually located in rural areas with disciplined management, they became more isolated during the pandemic. They did not allow expatriates to leave the compound, let alone outsiders come in. I obtained only limited opportunities to visit them on site.

3.5 Data collection

The fieldwork was conducted from March to October 2020 in the economic capital of Tanzania – Dar es Salaam. Data were collected mainly through participant observation and in-depth interviews, accompanied by some photos and documentation. My research followed the principle of triangulation that is strongly advocated for social research (Jick, 1979): using more than one method or data resource to cross-check the findings of a social phenomenon (Bryman, 2016). Apart from validating the findings, Jick (1979) argued that this could "also enrich our understanding by allowing for new or deeper dimensions to emerge" (p.604). Triangulation is fundamental to ethnographic studies as it improves the quality of data and accuracy of findings (Fetterman, 2009).

3.5.1 Participant observation

Participant Observation was the main technique of my data collection. Participant observation refers to the activity where researchers observe people doing things in a natural setting. Researchers participate in the events and interact with the studied group in order to make sense of their behaviour from an emic perspective (Myers, 2013). Participant observation is sometimes used as a synonym for ethnography (for example, Spradley, 2016) since both refer to researchers immersing themselves in a group for an extended period of time (Bryman, 2016). In this study, a distinction will be made between participant observation and ethnography, where the former refers to a data collection method and the latter refers to a research method.

Participation and observation are two different positions. Participants are insiders of a group who attend events, share experiences and emotions, contribute to the debates and engage in social interactions at all levels, whereas observers are outsiders who watch and listen to what is happening around them. They are not fully immersed and keep a certain distance from the community (O’Reilly, 2009). Therefore, when combining participation and observation, participant observation, it requires the ethnographer to remain conscious and constantly ‘step in’ and ‘step out’ of the field. Throughout the day, I tried to immerse myself in my role as an OCSC worker whilst taking note of the key points about what I encountered. It was convenient for me to take notes in the office as I could pretend I was working on my laptop. If I was out on business, my mobile phone became a great helper. It helped me hide my identity as a researcher while I jotted things down on my phone. At night, I switched my ‘participating’ mode to ‘observing’ mode, reviewing key information or drafts I’ve recorded during the day and completing the information with my own reflections. By doing so, I followed the ‘step in’ and ‘step out’ principles and completed the ethnographic exercise in alternation between being immersed in the field and distancing from the field. Furthermore, in August I had a seven-day holiday in the Serengeti, which might be one of the best places to empty one’s mind and be away from the buzzing and complex human society. Of course, I didn’t manage to be completely detached from the social world as I met one of my interviewees on the trip, a Chinese man who had working experience in both SOE and the private sector and was about to start his own business in Tanzania.

My observation came from both work and non-work domains. In the work domain, in addition to the day-to-day administrative duties at the OCSC office, I made frequent trips to the immigration office to deal with passport issues for Chinese expatriates. I also represented OCSC and had meetings with the Chinese embassy and local agencies. Because of my language fluency, some business owners asked me to help with business negotiations or be their interpreter in business meetings. Mr Chu, the president of OCSC, has an industrial park with several factories in it, all owned by Chinese investors. I visited the industrial park several times, conducting both my observation and interviews there. With the extensive social connection of

President Chu, I also visited some private sectors in Dar es Salaam and two SOEs in Zanzibar, a semi-autonomous archipelago off the coast of Tanzania. As Robson (2011) stressed, it is important to get the trust of key members in the group. Luckily, I became close friends with President Chu and his family. With his prestigious position among the Chinese community and local community, my research was enabled and many possibilities were opened up. In the non-work domain, I recorded everything I had seen and heard in daily life, including things that happened in my flat (I stayed with two Chinese expatriates), leisure activities with friends, social dinners with colleagues, and suchlike. Visual evidence in the form of photographs and posts or group conversations on social media (WeChat) were also used as observation materials in this study to explore expatriates' experiences.

In total, I kept 106 ethnographic journals, mainly focused between March and July. Every one or two weeks I sent a report to my supervisors (12 in total), summarising the key observations, accompanied by my reflections. The journals at the early stage were lengthy and diffuse because I was new to an unfamiliar environment and worried about missing any important information. As time went on, some of the themes seemed to become clearer and my notes became more focused. By about July, I noticed the contents of journals were starting to get repetitive, implying that, observation had reached saturation. Therefore, I decided to move on to the next stage and begin to conduct interviews systematically.

3.5.2 Interviews

Interviewing is one of the most important data collection techniques for ethnographers (Fetterman, 2009). In ethnography, a formally structured interview is not suggested at the early stage of a study, since it might shape the answers to conform to the researcher's perception of the world (Fetterman, 2009). However, it will be helpful at a later stage for data gathering for a specific question or hypothesis (Fetterman, 2009). In this study, semi-structured interviews were adopted in order to provide the informants with an open and friendly environment to share their emic knowledge and experience (Allen, 2000; Fetterman, 2009). In fact, the most common interview for ethnographers is an informal interview (Fetterman, 2009), which usually happens during participant observation (Spradley, 2016). An informal interview is a mixture of conversation and embedded questions.

This ethnographic study includes 26 formal interviews and 11 informal interviews, or recorded casual conversations. The average length of each interview is about 100 minutes. Following the principle of a semi-structured interview, a guide was designed to serve as a checklist of topics to be covered, while additional questions were presented to follow up on what had been said or as themes to explore in depth (O'Reilly, 2009; Robson, 2011). To open up the conversation, I usually started by throwing one or two broad questions at them. For example, " Tell me what brought you to Tanzania", "tell me your story" or "how's your journey so far". This has the advantage of letting them choose the story they thought was worthwhile or important to them, rather than imposing my presumption first. All informants were chatty and willing to share as much as they could. I found that once they started telling their stories, they dated back to past events to build up their narrative, such as parental divorce in their childhood, failure in university entrance exams as a student, separation of husband and wife, company bankruptcy, etc. It seemed that their decision to go to Tanzania was more or less associated with their personal background.

Although ethnographers rarely care about the representativeness of sampling (O'Reilly, 2012), the choice of interviewees is critical as the degree of involvement of the informants determines the quality of the interviews. The techniques I used are a combination of purposive and snowball sampling. Participant observation offered me the advantage of getting acquainted with many potential informants. I made my initial choice based on the openness of their personality and their extensive experience. Through their referral and recommendation, I was able to approach a wider range of informants. Especially after learning about the purpose of my research, they were particularly keen to recommend people they thought would be a good fit for my study. By the time I started interviewing people, I had been active in the Chinese community for nearly four months. It was natural to build rapport and obtain their trust. All interviews were conducted in a relaxed environment, such as a café. Sometimes they invited me for tea in their factory or office and we chatted things over there. Very often the one-to-two-hour conversation was followed by a dinner invitation from the informants, where more information was discovered. Informal interviews happened simultaneously, including a chat in a café, a site visit, or a record of meeting. Among 26 formal interviews, 3 are locals who work for or with Chinese firms. All interviews were recorded on two devices to prevent any accidents, such as equipment damage, poor sound quality and data loss. There was also one casual conversation with a local immigration officer. Table 1 is a summary of details of informants and table 2 is a summary of casual conversation.

Informants and Interview information

No.	Informant (pseudonyms)	Gender	Age	Nationality	Type of firm	Position	Length the of interview
1	Lisimba	Male	69	Tanzanian	Private firm	Interpreter	59 mins
2	Xiao	Male	25	Chinese	Private firm	Supply Chain Trainee	122 mins
3	Yin	Male	51	Chinese	Private firm	CEO	145 mins
4	Zhou	Male	34	Chinese	Private firm	Manager	160 mins
5	Wang	Male	37	Chinese	Private firm	Sales manager	110 mins
6	Qi	Male	29	Chinese	SOE	Representative Assistant	122 mins
7	Kai	Male	44	Chinese	Private firm	Manager	55 mins
8	Quan	Female	28	Chinese	SOE	Manager	72 mins
9	Kissa	Female	27	Tanzanian	Private firm	Administrative staff and sales	141 mins
10	Lu	Male	34	Chinese	Private firm	Business owner	62 mins
11	Zang	Male	45	Chinese	Private firm	Business owner	154 mins
12	Ling	Male	41	Chinese	Private firm	Business owner	65 mins
13	Shu	Female	31	Chinese	Private firm	Administrative manager	75 mins
14	Cai[4]	Female	35	Chinese	N/A	Freelancer	82 mins

[4] Cai used to work for a private firm, then ran her own factory. She works as freelancer after becoming a mother.

15	Zu	Male	26	Chinese	Private firm	Manager	68 mins
16	Feng[5]	Male	46	Chinese	N/A	Unemployed	120 mins
17	Yu	Male	41	Chinese	SOE	Regional CEO	114 mins
18	Li[6]	Male	44	Chinese	Private firm	Sales director	88 mins
19	Ming	Male	39	Chinese	SOE	Manager	126 mins
20	Zhang	Male	36	Chinese	Private firm	Business owner	142 mins
21	Jun	Male	31	Chinese	SOE	Manager	106 mins
22	Hai	Male	33	Chinese	Private firm	Business owner	74 mins
23	Zhen	Male	47	Chinese	Private firm	Business owner	31 mins
24	Yang	Female	27	Chinese	Private firm	Manager	63 mins
25	Xi	Male	32	Chinese	SOE	Managing director	114 mins
26	Nayo	Female	29	Tanzanian	Local law firm	CEO	66 mins

Table 1 Informants and Interview information

[5] Feng used to work for both a SOE and a private firm. He had resigned when I met him in Tanzania, and he is now running a restaurant and hostel there.

[6] By the time I left, he had started his own business in Tanzania.

Casual converation informaiton

No.	location of conversation	Informant
1	Site visit in an SOE in Zanzibar	1 Chinese employee
2	Site visit in an SOE in Zanzibar	3 Chinese employees
3	Office meetings	2 Chinese employee
4	Site visit in a factory	1 Chinese business owner
5	Meeting in Tanzania Private Sector Foundation (TPSF)	2 local staff
6	Tea room	4 Chinese business owners
7	Tea room	1 Chinese business owner
8	Site visit in factory	4 Chinese employees and 2 business owners
9	Office	4 Chinese business owners
10	Café	1 Local immigration officer
11	Transportation (car)	1 Chinese business owner

Table 2 Casual converation informaiton

3.6 Data analysis

Grounded theory was adopted for data analysis in this study. It was introduced by Glaser and Strauss (1967), a research method which has been mainly used for generating theories from data in relation to a phenomenon (Robson, 2011). It refers to a method of data analysis in a systematic, interactive, inductive yet flexible manner (Charmaz & McMullen, 2011). Grounded theory can be used for both research design and data analysis. Instead of generating theories, grounded theory in this project was mainly used to analyse qualitative data collected from observation, interviews and other documents.

Grounded theory analysis fits the ethnographic study in several ways. Firstly, both reject pre-assumptions at the early stage of the study. Secondly, both are typical inductive studies which usually follow the bottom-up approach. Thirdly, the process of both approaches is interactive and non-linear. By adopting a grounded theory analysis method, this ethnographic study aims to develop a deep understanding of how those expatriates manage their life in Tanzania, rather than generating theory from the dataset.

Since grounded theory became a general method for data analysis, its key strategies such as coding and memo writing have been widely used for qualitative research (Charmaz & McMullen, 2011). There are three tools which are typically used in grounded theories:

- Coding. As Bryman (2016) points out, coding is one of the most significant processes in grounded theory analysis. Coding is the process of breaking down data into different parts and labelling them. Different stages might involve different types of coding, such as open coding, axial coding, and selective coding.
- Thermotical saturation. It can be applied in both the coding and data gathering stages. It means researchers reach a point where no further point in reviewing the data to see if it fits with any categories and no further point in collecting data as concepts and categories that have been discovered are adequate and no new categories are discovered (Bryman, 2016).
- Constant comparison. Moghaddam (2006) pointed out that constant comparison is the fundamental technique of grounded theory. By constant comparison, researchers aim to look for emerging patterns and themes.

The above three techniques were adopted in this ethnographic study. For the coding part, 26 interview transcripts (in original language), 11 casual conversation transcripts (in original language), 106 fieldnotes (in English) and 12 field reports (in English) were imported into and processed in the qualitative data analysis software MaxQda. The transcripts in Chinese have not been translated into English in order to preserve the originality of the data and to avoid loss in translation. Only where extracts were required were they translated into English (see Findings chapter). For the consistency of analysis, all materials were coded in English. At the open coding stage, 4849 code segments were identified and 2249 codes were generated. During the axial coding phase, the initial categories developed through the process of open coding were linked together. For example, in this phase, in the theme of petty corruption, the conditions under which this phenomenon occurred were grouped and linked, including the context in which it occurred, the actions and interactive strategies used to describe the phenomenon, and the consequences of these actions. When saturation was reached – no further codes or categories needed to be reviewed for the themes - axial coding stopped. In the selective coding phase, three themes were identified as my focuses of analysis due to the repetitive occurrences of the codes and mass aggregation of codes under the themes: motivation, corruption and language issues. Figure 27 is an illustrative example of the coding process. There are other themes in the data that are worth examining, but given the length of the thesis, I have selected the ones that appear most frequently and were most relevant to the expatriates according to both the interviews and my observation.

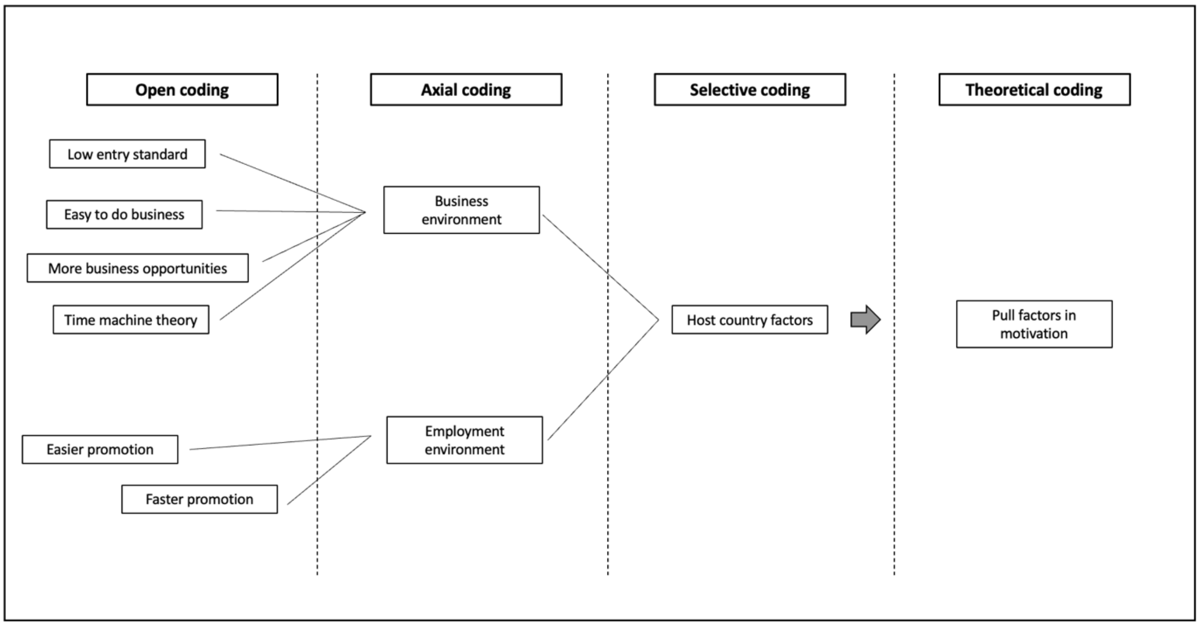

Figure 27 An illustrative example of coding process

3.7 Ethical consideration

This research project was approved by The University Research Ethics Committee before the fieldwork commenced. Information sheets and consent forms were distributed to each informant, and their consent and signatures were obtained prior to each formal interview. They were well informed of the research purpose, research methods, and their rights to withdraw. It is, of course, impossible to do this for observation, because that is a continuous and comprehensive process, but I made sure that the fact that I was doing this research was made transparent and not hidden from anyone. Media and text data are stored on my PC and encrypted. All names appearing in the text are anonymous in order to conceal their identities.

3.8 Reflection on this journey

As O'Reilly (2009) said, the initial stage of participant observation is often the most difficult, fraught with tension, awkwardness and misunderstandings. I still remember the first time I went to the local authority and was asked to wait in the car by my boss because my dress was too short for their standard, and it was considered to be impolite to meet the officers like that. So next time when I went to the immigration office, I thought it must be safe to wear trousers. I didn't even get through security because the jeans I was wearing were too tight. I argued that I just saw a man in similar jeans passing through without any problem. The staff told me "Man can wear, lady can't. Lady, this is our culture; hope you understand" (Field Notes\28, Pos. 6). That night, in my ethnographic diary, I wrote that I felt ashamed of my behaviour in the day. I had a Master's degree in intercultural communication but had not had adequate cultural awareness and even tried to 'argue' with them from my own cultural perspective. Later, I found the problem was not difficult to solve. Some shops in front of the immigration office sell or rent wraps for ladies who wear dresses. With less than one pound, you can rent a wrap to cover the lower part of your body. (This is a smart business with high footfall every day in the immigration office!). The journey was a learning process, as I went from being a total stranger to settling in and becoming comfortable with my life there. In addition to recording the thoughts simultaneously, ethnographers must constantly reflect on their various actions. Sometimes excessive cultural awareness might also hinder our judgement. In practice, a completely neutral mindset is difficult to achieve. I was quite sensitive to the acts and languages related to racism due to the context. I actually started out my fieldwork in Tanzania with a preference for protecting locals. I did not realise it at the beginning. Therefore, when my Chinese compatriots reminded me of some negative behaviours of locals when I just arrived, I felt very offended and thought they were prejudiced. Later I found they were not completely wrong. Their warnings were out of good intentions, and also out of experiences or lessons. Since then, I had tried to remain neutral to observe and reflect on the phenomena I saw.

Reflexivity requires ethnographers to think reflexively about how their identity might have what impact on the research process and outcome, and under what conditions (O'Reilly, 2009). My identity gave me some advantages. My Chinese identity had already won me the 'admission ticket' for this journey. Being a young lady with a good educational background in a developed country, I made a good impression in the community from the outset, which was beneficial when I came to invite people for interviews at a later point. Firstly, Chinese people admire qualifications and have great respect for educated people, this was crucial for me to build trust among them. Secondly, young expatriates were interested in my cross-cultural experience in a western country and were willing to talk with me. Thirdly, my gender also seems to have certain advantages in this particular context. At first, I was worried about my gender for security reasons, because, after all, I was a lady alone in a strange country. But I received generous help from everyone I met. The male informants told me that because they usually work in an all-male environment, they were more than happy to have a female researcher invite them for coffee and a chat. Female informants were also eager to find a fellow woman who was willing to listen to their stories, and who understands them. Chinese women in Tanzania are, after all, a minority compared to Chinese men.

My identity as a researcher was strengthened during the interviews but weakened during the participant observation. To my interviewees, my research identity suggests that I did not intend to stay in Tanzania for an extended period, and I was distant from their life in a way. In this sense, they were willing to share various kinds of thoughts with me as an 'outsider' who would not intervene and cause trouble in the community. But it did not always work like this. Some interviewees tried to give me a 'good impression', hiding something that had a negative effect on their image. And after a long period of observation, I found that what they said contradicted what I had observed. As time went on, some of them gave up pretending in front of me. It is a different story in my participant observation, where my researcher's identity, though declared, was often forgotten. Due to the length of time I worked at OCSC and the in-depth involvement of my job role, in the community they grew to see me as one of themselves. In the beginning, when my leaders and colleagues introduced me, they would emphasise that I was a researcher from the UK who was currently helping out at OCSC. But gradually, they stopped mentioning my status as a researcher and instead just introduced me as an OCSC employee.

But OCSC staff identity, too, was a double-edged sword. Since OCSC has a high reputation among the local Chinese community, I was welcomed by those who particularly championed the organisation. But for those who were sceptical about the organisation, they were initially reluctant to share too much with me, feeling that we were on different sides. As I have described before, OCSC actually represents the interest of expatriates from private SMEs instead of all Chinese in Tanzania. Private firms and SOEs sometimes have conflicting interests, especially in the pandemic context where everyone is fighting for resources. In such cases, I would explain to them, in a professional research manner, my neutral position, the protection of data and the legal rights that they have, to address their concern.

3.9 Methodological limitation

Ethnography has its advantages for exploratory study in a cross-cultural setting, but it is also problematic in actual operation.

This study does not involve a large number of interviews. The total number of interviews is 37, including 26 formal interviews and 11 casual conversations. However, it is worth noting that this is an ethnographic study, and participatory observation is the primary source for data collection, followed by semi-structured interviews. I have written 106 ethnographic field notes (journals) and 12 weekly reports. I believe these literal descriptions can somehow compensate for and enrich my interview data. Moreover, the average length of each interview is approximately 100 minutes, which provides a degree of assurance of the breadth or depth of the interviews.

Chinese data (interviews) in this study is not translated into English, so there is no procedure for cross-checking. This may affect the credibility of the data. However, there are two reasons for doing so. Firstly, due to the time and labour constraints of a PhD project, it seems impractical to translate all the interview data into English and then find another expert to cross-check it. Secondly, and most importantly, the translation of textual information would definitely involve the loss of information. This is detrimental to a highly contextual study. Inductive study and grounded theory analysis greatly rely on the originality of the data. To balance this, I tried to write and record the fieldwork in English and conducted all the coding work in English to ensure linguistic consistency in the analysis process. In addition, I translated all the extracts that needed to be used in the thesis for the readers. These translations were cross-checked using a combination of the AI translator and my own manual proofreading. The critics of credibility in qualitative studies can also be addressed to some extent by adopting a triangulation strategy. There are different types of triangulation in research, such as observer, methodology and theory triangulation (Robson, 2011). In this ethnographic study, triangulation mainly refers to the use of more than one method of data collection, including observation, interview and documents (photos and social media posts). For example, petty corruption and language issues are the most common problems Chinese expatriates encounter in Tanzania, according to both my observation and interviews.

My relatively long-term involvement with OCSC may have limited the scope of my observations because of the social circles I was exposed to. OCSC provided me with a great platform for my fieldwork. But it also means that the people I was in contact with were those who were active around this organisation or in the Chinese community. In my interviews, I learned that there are some Chinese people and organisations who are very low profile and never participated in any activities in the Chinese community. Therefore, being with OCSC might have reduced the opportunity to hear some different voices.

3.10 Conclusions

In this chapter I have elaborated on the philosophical position of this study, how the research questions were developed, the reasons for choosing ethnographic methods to answer them, and how grounded theory was used for the data analysis. The Overseas Chinese Service Centre (OCSC) was introduced to explain the context under which the observation was conducted. Since the role of the ethnographer is critical in this research, I have also incorporated my own reflection in this journal, critically evaluating my identity throughout the fieldwork. Methodological limitations regarding credibility were discussed at the end of the chapter.

4 Chapter Four: Findings

4.1 Background of expatriates

> *"I have told many of my friends that anyone who comes to Africa, whether he is a worker or a small business owner or a big boss, has a story to tell. Anyone who goes abroad and comes to Africa, he definitely has a story and can write a book about it." (Interviews\11. Zang, Pos. 208)*

It is imperative to know who are those Chinese that come to work and live in Tanzania, in order to understand their motivations and experience. Since the late 2000s, a rumour has been spread that the Chinese government sent convict labours to work in Africa, and such rumours get picked up in Western media such as the New York Times and the Daily Mail. No evidence was found to support such an argument during the researcher's seven-month fieldwork in Tanzania. However, the background of the Chinese people who are in Tanzania is worth discussing if we want to have an understanding of their behaviour. The following section will discuss the general background of expatriates from three aspects: family, education and personal.

4.1.1 Family background

Economic status. In terms of economic status, Chinese business expatriates in Tanzania generally come from less affluent families. This is a significant 'push' factor that motivates them to leave China and seek opportunities in a foreign land. One informant's parents were factory workers, and he said that it would add an extra financial burden for the family to send him to university. Another mentioned that his parents lost their jobs during the big 'wave of laid-off' that happened in the late '90s due to the reform and restructuring of SOEs. His parents had high hopes for him to bring money to the family after he graduated from a technical school. One informant described his parents as "not successful" (Interviews\20. Zhang, Pos. 410).

It is not only their parents and their family background: some expatriates considered themselves or other expatriates to have an "unsuccessful" history before coming to Tanzania (e.g. (Interviews\20. Zhang, Pos. 85), (Interviews\16. Feng, Pos. 2)). Mr Feng lost nearly all his assets as a result of a failed investment. It took him a long time to recover from the failure and then he decided to start over in a new environment. Mr Zhang believed that quite a few Chinese expatriates who came to Tanzania were unsuccessful back in China and some of them 'disguise themselves' in their new country. The researcher met one owner of a restaurant who escaped from China due to a bribery case and started a completely new life in Tanzania.

Geographic distribution. Chinese expatriates usually come from rural areas or small cities, especially those who undertake technical jobs in construction or engineering projects. According to the informants, employees from rural areas or small cities are more likely to settle down and be stable, while those from big cities are not willing to take such jobs, considering the salary and location. Mr Xiao described one of his colleagues in this way:

> *"And then though he disliked the job deep in his heart because the warehouse work was tiring and...it just wasn't that decent. But he did it, because maybe the decency thing was not important to him. The family is from a rural place, and they don't focus on (care about) this stuff. He just needs (to do his job), because he has two children, and his own parents (to support)." (Interviews\2. Xiao, Pos. 233)*

One informant asked the researcher why he should care whether this country is developed or not when his upbringing was in an environment that was not good either. Geographic differences of expatriates are also reflected in which areas of China they come from. Expatriates from particular areas show distinctive characteristics in common. The quotes below are from a local lawyer[7], with more than two years of experience in dealing with Chinese clients.

> *"But these are from a specific city, (for) example, clients from Beijing, a little bit upstate, they don't even associate, for example, it's people from this place - Fujian. They don't, they don't associate at all, (not) doing business together or anything. They don't even… if you try to say 'I have this client from this place', 'from where?', (you) say 'Fujian', they say 'no'. So we even spoke to different clients from Beijing, educated, speak good English, (whether from) private or state company, and most of the state companies from Beijing… 'Fujian, those clients, oh Fujian people have issues'. So even people, you know, because we have clients who are working with Chinese. So they also measure them like that. Fujian (people) they will work a lot with local Fujians, they will connect with locals. Most of them either don't know English, but they speak fluent Swahili. (Interviews\26. Nayo, Pos. 93)*

And

> *But most of them, that come from Beijing, either do manufacturing or construction in this big city, Beijing, Hong Kong. Shandong, Shanghai, most of them do big business. They don't do trading (like Fujian people do) (Interviews\26. Nayo, Pos. 99)"*

The above extracts indicate that there are some internal differentiations within the Chinese communities. These differentiations, on the face of it, appear to be due to the different

[7] Nayo is a local lawyer whose career development has been closely linked to the Chinese companies in Tanzania. She started her career as a legal consultant to Chinese companies, in a partnership with the Chinese Overseas Service Centre, the Chinese Business Chamber of Commerce and the Chinese embassy. Within two years, she successfully builds her law firm and expands her clients from mainly Chinese firms to other foreign firms

geographical locations that expatriates are from. However, it reflects geographical differences in the distribution of industries and types of firms. As Nayo observed, firms from cities such as Beijing or Shanghai are usually MNEs and SOEs, where expatriates generally have a better education background, while firms from the Fujian area are mostly trading companies, where their expatriates are more down to earth. This situation, to some extent, is consistent with the migration history of Fujian. Fujian, together with Guangdong and Zhejiang, is known as one of the three major emigrant provinces in China (Longqi, 2009). Fujian migrates are distributed all over the world, particularly dominant in the USA, Europe, South Asia, and South Africa. According to Longqi (2009), a great number of Fujian migrants undertake jobs in restaurants, factories, construction sites and trading companies due to a low level of education, poor foreign language skills and limited technical skills.

Family relationship. Weak family relationships play a role in pushing expatriates to pursue a new life abroad. A business failure led to the breakdown of marriage, which meant Mr Feng could come to Africa without any worries about family responsibility. Mr Wang's parents divorced when he was a child, and he has a distant relationship with them. According to him, his parents did not care about his choice, and therefore he could take the brave decision to come to Africa. Mr Zhang feels he is the redundant one at home after his parents separated when he was 8 years old and started a new family. He left home and became independent at the age of 14.

4.1.2 Education background

Educational level. It is widely accepted within Chinese society that Chinese expatriates in Tanzania are generally not well-educated. Most of them do not have bachelor's degrees, which causes some problems in their verification of work permits. Low educational background is particularly relevant to business owners of private SMEs. Some of them stopped education after primary school and others started working in their teens. They might come from a poor family, or they simply come from a family that lacks attention to education. Mr Yin started working as an apprentice in the factory and accumulated his experience and wealth step by step. Mr Ling comes from a traditional business family from Wenzhou (Zhejiang province), a place that is famous for its entrepreneurial spirit. This is how they got the name "Eastern Jews" (Li, 2016, p.7) in Europe. According to Mr Ling, people who have entrepreneurial ambition and succeed in business are much more appreciated in their community than those who have a good education background and find a stable job to settle down. Mr Ling left his family at the age of 19 and started his own business.

It is always challenging to recruit people with a good education background. Ms Yang, who finished her high school and obtained a university degree in the USA, came to Tanzania to help with her father's business (a group company involved in food, mining, and transportation industries), and explained:

> *"...basically (they) are relatively low education, how do you say... after all, it is a developing country, and not as developed as China. You want to send people over, (they) will be hesitatant. Unless they are very young, and really want to achieve something, they might be willing to come. Otherwise, if people are middle-aged and have a successful career (in China), you certainly won't want to come to this place." (Interviews\24. Yang, Pos. 54)*

However, some employees from private SMEs do not consider the education level of their employees to be an important selection factor, as a hands-on technical background is more in line with their needs.

Language One issue that arises along with a low level of education is language. From business owners, managers to technical workers, you can find some Chinese who speak neither English nor Swahili. Since expatriates from SOEs are relatively more educated and pass a rigorous selection process, even though they are not always fluent in spoken English, they are able to communicate to some extent in most situations. So are employees from private MNEs. The problem is more serious with employees from private SMEs. While some of them may not have a good accent, they can somehow combine Chinese, basic Swahili and Tanzania are graduates in English language basic English, along with body language for communication. Low proficiency in language causes a series of problems, which will be addressed in later chapters. In this context, those who speak good foreign languages, in particular English, enjoy a great advantage in the job markets. Thus, quite a few young expatriates in Tanzania are graduates of English language majors. Initially, they might be recruited as translators. After they are familiar with the local environment and accumulate knowledge in business, they can be transferred to other major roles, such as accountant or assistant to the CEO.

4.1.3 Personal background

Quality Personal background in this context refers to elements such as personal traits, personal experience, and personal quality. Chinese use the word 'quality'(suzhi:素质) to describe those who have good manners. Chinese expatriates in Tanzania are generally categorised as low quality according to the informants, and it is often associated with poor education. For example:

> *"The vast majority of people are with poor quality, and many have not attended university, which means they have not been exposed to a truly civilised education." (Interviews\18. Li, Pos. 104)*

and

"To be honest, the quality of SME owners is quite low, and they are not very educated." (Interviews\16. Feng, Pos. 10)

These extracts indicate that to Chinese expatriates, ill-manners are related to a low level of education, echoing the poor education background discussed earlier. Moreover, quality is not necessarily related to economic status. According to informants, some business owners might have great financial power but still are not considered as good-quality people. Bad quality in this context refers to ill manners such as "rude" and "racist" (Field Notes\23, Pos. 10).

<u>Personal experience</u> "Not exposed" is an expression used by a local lawyer to describe those Chinese who have little exposure to the world outside of China. For many Chinese, Tanzania is the first foreign country they have ever been to.

"…but sometimes we meet these other Chinese that I can say it's… they are not educated, but not exposed, you know, to the world, you know, the person who is educated but not exposed…(Interviews\26. Nayo, Pos. 136)… one thing I've noticed also is that, you know, most of them are not exposed, you know, especially the issue of race. It's really it's really, I think, a topic that, you know, China is a closed country."

According to Nayo, the tension between races and misbehaviours in business communication sometimes come from the Chinese informants' limited exposure to the world. They still think and use the ways of handling things as they did in China. And such ill-manners as she emphasised, might not have anything to do with education but are a matter of personal experience.

4.1.4 Expatriates from SOEs

The above discussion gives a general impression of Chinese expatriates in Tanzania. However, Chinese expatriates in Tanzania are a heterogeneous group. A single branch of Chinese should not represent Chinese as a whole in this country. There are different dimensions to discussing expatriates in academia such as whether they are assigned or come on their own initiative. Another perspective is related to the status of their jobs, such as managerial roles (high status); professionals (middle status) and technicians or factory workers (low status). But what is more relevant when I study their background in this context is which types of companies they are from, because the differential characteristics are more distinctive according to the ownership of the firms. Since the above discussion can be mostly applied to expatriates from private firms, in particular SMEs, the following part will focus on the analysis of the situation in SOEs.

Education Background

Higher levels of education. A university degree is a minimum requirement in SOEs, and some of the expatriates hold master's degrees. In fact, the new generation of expatriates in SOEs is usually recruited from universities directly. Some of the SOEs have a partnership with universities that have relevant majors to the specialities of those companies (e.g. Civil Engineering), where those graduates have great advantages in applying for their jobs.

Higher levels of proficiency in English. SOEs have a relatively more rigorous selection process of expatriates, where knowing English is a mandatory requirement. They are usually assigned by which foreign language they speak, for example, French speakers are most likely sent to

West Africa. Proficiency does not play an important role unless they have acquired basic knowledge or have the potential to communicate in both work and life. One provincial SOE continues its English training programme through an online application and has regular tests for expatriates during their assignments. The situation is similar in many big MNEs, while in private SMEs, a greater proportion of Chinese speak Swahili and are more willing to learn it than English.

Personal Background

More exposed and well-mannered Expatriates from SOEs are portrayed as more exposed by locals. This might be due to the fact that they have a broader platform where they are frequently engaged with local authorities and senior business people. Meanwhile, SOEs usually have more comprehensive pre-departure training, not as specialised as intercultural communication training, but touching upon basic business etiquette and local culture. As Nayo observed:

> *"State-owned companies, most of them are educated, they can speak English. And they can, you know, they're exposed. They know how to deal with other people." (Interviews\26. Nayo, Pos. 93)*

Inevitably, there are always exceptions. Two informants expressed their mixed feelings or had some complaints about people from SOEs, regarding their background and behaviours. One relevant observation from the researcher is that the identification of SOEs employees varies in different groups of people. As it is known, SOEs work with a great number of contractors and outsourcers, which can be mostly seen in the construction industry. For outsiders, whether locals or other Chinese, they define all the workers who work with and for SOEs as SOE expatriates. However, internal opinions do not seem to be unanimous. Permanent employees have quite clear boundaries of perceived identity, where they see employees from contractors or outsourcers as co-workers but don't agree with their SOE identity. Nevertheless, this group of people usually identify themselves as employees of SOEs as they do work for SOEs. This could be a possible explanation for the mixed feelings towards SOE people.

If Chinese business expatriates in Tanzania are a heterogeneous group, then why are they generally portrayed as people with poor backgrounds and low quality? Firstly, private firms have a great number of Chinese expatriates. Since private firms are dominant in the market, we could assume they have a larger number of expatriates scattered across Tanzania. Secondly, staff from private firms are more down to earth. They are the leading players in communicating and interacting with local communities. A local officer from the immigration office described Chinese who "go interior".

> *"…they go interior, you know interior is you can go somewhere very very far, very low interior towns, whereby other Europeans don't go. (Casual conversation\google Pos. 62)… you see someone in the street they wear their gloves and other things, they work together (with locals)." (Casual conversation\Ali, Pos. 66)*

Expatriates from private enterprises might have a relatively lower education background, and how they deal with people and handle things might not always be in a decent manner, but they are the main forces who are trying to mingle with ordinary local people. They are industrious and courageous, taking up tough tasks in a tough environment. They work together with local employees in the fields. They live in local residential areas. They pick up Swahili in daily communication with local business partners and customers. On the contrary, expatriates from SOEs are usually isolated and managed collectively. Moreover, their main social connections with locals are limited to senior members of authority as their projects are normally big ones at the national or provincial level. Given those facts, the image of Chinese expatriates in

Tanzania primarily comes from those in private firms, especially private SMEs, and private investors.

4.1.5 The new generation of expatriates

Expatriates generally tend to be either older or younger, with a dip in expatriation in the 'family rearing' age group. Younger expatriates deserve a separate discussion in this thesis as younger Chinese expatriates at least show several qualities that are different from the previous generation. The 'new generation' here refers to those who were born after the 1990s. They will become the main forces of labour among Chinese expatriates in Tanzania and some of them have undertaken mid-level leadership positions. It could be argued that every society or every era has new generations of labourers, and they will somehow show distinctive characteristics. But the dramatic changes that have taken place in Chinese society and Chinese families over the last few decades are not regular occurrences. Those young expatriates will become important players in shaping new images of Chinese in Tanzania in the coming future.

Education background

More educated. Young expatriates received a better education in general due to the popularisation of education in China and the increase in the rate of advance to higher education. This group of expatriates have a higher percentage of undergraduates among Chinese in Tanzania. A few of them have obtained Master's and Doctoral degrees, which were almost totally absent amongst the previous generation. There are also some second-generation expatriates (mostly business owners) who choose to work for the family business after they finished their degree in western countries such as the USA and Australia.

Personal background

More exposed. Using the vocabulary adopted earlier, “more exposed” here can be interpreted as more open-minded. The new generation is growing up in a more open and inclusive environment, where their connection to the world can be through the internet and travelling. They are more willing to embrace cultural differences and see new things from a more positive perspective.

> *“Because the context of the environment which you're exposed to is very open, so (if) you think ‘it's local thinking’, you want to check it out too. (You) think this is good, and that is also okay. Fish can be cooked like this... It's not that he's getting more and more uncomfortable, but rather that he's getting more and more comfortable with it, because this person, when he was a child, he also ate Western food, he also ate this and that, he also ate burger…But on the contrary, we see a lot of Chinese people (older generation) coming over from one of the projects, and then (they complained) there was still hair on top of the chicken, of course, it has something to do with the hygiene, there's no denying, but actually nowadays the mentality of young people is that this is also something you can try, you can check if it's good. And then he will be willing to try, he will be willing to do this, not that he is very dogmatic in his thinking, or he is very closed-minded, he is not like that.” (Interviews\6. Qi, Pos. 236)*

While the older generation complained that young people cannot suffer hardship as they do, young people argued that their adaptation skills are better than those who think they can “eat bitterness” (Interviews\6. Qi, Pos. 236). This is because, according to Mr Qi, a 28-year-old expatriate from a central SOE, young people are more inclusive and usually see things in a more fun and bright way.

More individualistic. The individualism of young expatriates manifests itself not only in the more independent relationships with family but also in their lifestyle. They are more resistant to some collective forms of management. For example, they refuse to share a bedroom with another colleague, which is common in both SOEs and private firms. Mr Yu, a director from an SOE, shared his story of dealing with young expatriates, saying that the after-90s respect their own space and will eventually complain and request a change if they are put in a shared bedroom. Another issue he encountered while managing young expatriates is that emotional care becomes more and more important. He said expatriates in his generation have only one determined goal during their assignment, which is to make it and get recognised by others no matter what. However, young generations after a while might leave due to emotional problems. This has accelerated their human resources reforms in a more humanistic direction.

Family background

<u>*More supportive family.*</u> Similarly, the parents of young expatriates are more open-minded than those of the older generation. Their parents have also experienced the changing times in China so they show more understanding rather than a straight rejection of their children's decision for going to Africa. Xiao's father used to be assigned to Ethiopia for a project with the Ministry of Agriculture in China. According to him, his father does not hold prejudices against Africa and respects his decision of going to Tanzania. Being the only daughters in the family, both Shu and Quan's journey to Tanzania is without any resistance from the family.

> *"But the neighbours, relatives and friends all told my Mum that (how) you were comfortable with her going, and then my Mum felt particularly calm about it. She thought she (the daughter) is young now, and she wouldn't have the opportunity to go later if she were not allowed to see (the world) now. My Mother is particularly supportive." (Interviews\8. Quan, Pos. 64)*

> *"My family is very supportive of any decisions I make…very open-minded… I just have to contact my family from time to time, let them know what I'm doing and that's it." (Interviews\13. Shu, Pos. 339-345)*

These seem quite different situations compared with the experience of older expatriates. Most of them encountered resistance from their family to some extent before coming to Tanzania. Hai's parents even called him a 'psycho' (meaning crazy in that context) when he presented his plan to them.

Even though young people might encounter some difficulties as well in negotiating their decision with the family, they think they have more barging power as they are usually the only child and parents will compromise eventually.

Less dependent family. Moreover, in terms of family relationships, young expatriates show a different understanding of filial piety (xiao:孝). Unlike their senior compatriots, who have a strong sense of responsibility for the care of the elderly, the new generation holds a more individualistic view. The improvement of the economy and pension system in today's China has determined that more and more parents will be less financially dependent on their children. Thus, filial piety does not mean economic support for their parents and obeying their preferences anymore, which are the first and second levels of xiao in Chinese traditional culture (Chow, 2001). Instead, it starts shifting to the third level which emphasises pleasing parents and bringing honour to them (Chow, 2001).

> *"In fact, if you look at it this way, this generation grows up in an affluent environment, their understanding of responsibility to the family is not so deep. Why? Because his family is well-off enough, his parents, grandparents and the family can live up on their own feet. So the idea that I need to serve my parents, support them, to do my filial duty in front of them is not quite in the young person's mind. For him (a young person) filial piety means to do things he likes, and to achieve something. Then normally you could see*

that some parents feel so proud and happy that their kids have great academic performance. So, if the kid grows up in this kind of environment, his value (of life) is to achieve something or to have some accomplishment. This is filial piety to him. Thus, if you say that just because the kid is the only child in the family and the parents won't let him come out (to Tanzania), this logic is wrong." (Interviews\6. Qi, Pos. 232)

However, it might be also because the 'after-90s' have not reached the age of considering family responsibility since both their parents and they are still young. This is a striking contrast with the older ones: the majority of whom terminate expatriation and leave Tanzania due to issues related to their parents, in particular health.

As the quotation shown at the beginning of this chapter indicates, expatriates who come to Tanzania have a complicated story which somehow paves their way to the country. During the interviews, when expatriates were asked why they chose to go, instead of responding with a direct or brief answer, they usually started the story dating back from their childhood, a family situation or a critical incident in life. Therefore, it is necessary to discuss the background of expatriates to further investigate what really motivates them. In the next chapter, the motivations of expatriates will be analysed.

4.2 Motivation of expatriates

This chapter will discuss the motivation of Chinese expatriates to come to live and work in Tanzania along seven dimensions: monetary considerations, personal ambition, personal relationships, employment environment, business environment, institutional environment and living environment. The forces which push expatriates to leave their home country are identified as push factors. In contrast, the elements that attract them to come to the host countries are categorised as pull factors (Cerdin, Abdeljalil-Diné & Brewster, 2014; Chen &

Shaffer, 2017; Doherty, Dickmann & Mills, 2011). In addition, this study also found two relevant forces that are associated with repatriation: one that 'throws' expatriates from host countries and the other that 'drags' them back home.

4.2.1 Pull factors

Monetary considerations form a dominant factor that attracts the Chinese to Tanzania. However, the study found that 'money' does not mean the same thing to all informants. In general, their desire for money can be divided into two types: for lifestyle and for surviving.

For the 'lifestyle' purpose, increased income enables them to provide better life quality for the family. In this sense, monetary consideration works as a pull factor that attracts expatriates to step out for a better future. Mr Zang left his previous job as a civil servant in the government and aimed for 'big money' in Tanzania. He emphasised that the reason for working in Tanzania is mainly for his family's well-being:

> *"My goal is to make elderly relatives live a better life, make the child better (live a better life), the (living) environment better. This is all I earn money for." (Interviews\11. Zang, Pos. 220)*

Some young expatriates take this assignment as an opportunity to obtain financial independence or financial freedom from the family. After all, the salary in Tanzania is higher than that in China, which is a great attraction to new graduates. When Zhu, born in 1996, was asked his reason for coming to Tanzania, the answer was simple and direct – "poverty" (Casual conversation\SOE in Zanzibar, Pos. 365). Zhu wanted to find a job with a good income as soon as he could. Another new graduate, Xiao, was also attracted by the high salary of an MNE in Tanzania, with which he wants to prove that he can support himself.

“I also talked to people about the same age as me. They just, some of them, just want to pursue financial freedom, because the income in Africa is still higher than that in China.” (Interviews\2. Xiao, Pos. 237)

For business investors, in particular those exporting goods from China to Tanzania, the local market is full of potential. The scarcity of supplies and materials creates plenty of opportunities for trading businesses. Simple spare parts can be sold here at an exponentially higher price and a higher profit.

“There are also some people who simply think that there are more opportunities in Africa, that it is easier to do business in Africa than in China, that there are more opportunities, and that the profits may be greater. Because if you sell any product here, it's basically the domestic price multiplied by three, or sometimes even four, five or six if it's particularly scarce.” (Interviews\15. Zu, Pos. 146)

We have discussed the ‘lifestyle’ purpose as a pull factor in this section, and the ‘surviving’ purpose will be elaborated on in the push factors section.

Personal ambition is another significant factor that motivates expatriates to make the journey to Tanzania. Some of the expatriates have clear goals that they want to achieve in this land, as they see it as a place full of opportunities. Mr Feng sees Tanzania as a place where he might be able to “*东山再起*” (Interviews\16. Feng, Pos. 329), to bob up like a cork after he went bankrupt in China. Mr Yu, the CEO of an SOE, explained that some of his employees had a thorough plan before coming. They would calculate how much money they needed to buy a house and a car back home, how many debts they needed to pay, and for how long. In this case, they are clear about the time they need to spend in Tanzania to gather that money. There is no doubt that they would terminate their assignment once they finish (Interviews\17. Yu, Pos. 97). Mr Yu emphasised that no employees would reveal their plan when they started the assignment. But once they decide to leave and have built a good relationship with you, they might confess it to you. Initially, Mr, Li was assigned to Cameroon by a private firm, which was only the first step of his plan. His ultimate goal is to set up his own business in Africa (Interviews\18. Li, Pos. 30). While I was in Tanzania, he was working as a sales director for a private sector. By the time I left, he had started his own company with other two Chinese businessmen, using the social connections he built in Africa in the past years. A strong entrepreneurial spirit is evident in some expatriates, which motivates them to step forward and seek business opportunities. Mr Hai felt that if he kept working for others, he would never have had the chance to 'raise his head' (make something and become successful) (Interviews\22. Hai, Pos. 6).

The desire to travel and see the world works as a prominent motive, after monetary considerations, among young expatriates. This idea of exploration and having fun is rarely found in their predecessor generations. Their predecessors described the idea of going to Africa in such a way that there was always an element of bitterness in it, whereas what is seen among the young is an aspiration. Both Quan and her husband came to Tanzania as new graduates, and her husband's choice of going to Africa was greatly influenced by the travel programmes he watched in college (Interviews\8. Quan, Pos. 275-276). One of the reasons Xiao choose Africa is because this is the continent he had not yet travelled to (Interviews\2. Xiao, Pos. 229). Some young people had the "African dream" (Interviews\2. Xiao, Pos. 241; Casual conversation\SOE in Zanzibar, Pos. 369) and this is what motivated them to choose their current careers.

It is interesting that note that some expatriates use Tanzania as a springboard to reach their future goals. Mr Xi has a plan to emigrate to other countries from China. Rather than being a destination, Tanzania works as the first stop for him to experience the outside world. According to Mr Zhang, his accountant, apart from exploring the world, treats her assignment in Tanzania as a springboard to earn tuition fees and practice English for her future study in the UK (Interviews\25. Xi, Pos. 124-126). It took her nearly three years to gather the money as her family were not able to provide financial support. By the time I came back to the UK, this young lady had already started her postgraduate study in Wales. (Interviews\20. Zhang, Pos. 406)

Personal relationships, including family ties and social connections in the host country, are an influential factor in the expatriates' decision. Mr Hai believed that he would never think of going to Tanzania if his high schoolmate was not there (Interviews\22. Hai, Pos. 1-6). This friend, who transferred from being an assigned expatriate to a business owner, inspired him to give up his job in China and start entrepreneurial activities in a foreign country. Similarly, Mr Zhang would not have gone to Tanzania if his cousin did not have a business project there (Interviews\20. Zhang, Pos. 4-9). Before coming to Tanzania, Mr Zu and Miss Yang had been studying and living abroad (Australia and the USA respectively) for an extended period of time (Interviews\15.Zu; interviews\24. Yang). Both of them came to Tanzania to help their fathers with the family business right after they graduated. The same thing happened to Mr Kai who used to study in Canada and came to Tanzania to help the business of his sister and brother-in-law (Interviews\Kai; Fieldnotes\7).

> *"(If) I didn't have my family here, or my family's business here, I wouldn't have come, I wouldn't have come, and I wouldn't have stayed so long if I had come." (Interviews\15. Zu, Pos. 224)*

Employment environment. In contrast to the competitive job market in China, Tanzania provides more accessible job opportunities, in particular for those who had received a relatively poor education. One informant the researcher encountered in the immigration office used to be a low-status worker (porter) in China but, in Tanzania, he works as a supervisor. He does not consider going back to China at the moment as he believes that people like him without a degree will find it hard to get a decent job at home (Field Notes\84, Pos. 8).

For career considerations, expatriates especially those from SOEs, think that it is both easier and faster for them to get promoted in subsidiaries, which is a great attraction in an international assignment.

> *"In central SOEs, I have a couple of friends from the SOE XXX, yes, they just have the working experience for 7 years in Africa, then they become project managers who are able to be responsible for a project worth $20 million. If it is in China, you have to work from a construction technician step by step, then be promoted to a project team member, and finally to a project manager. Probably it will take you more than 10 years just to get into the project team. (Interviews\21. Jun, Pos. 259)*

In addition, subsidiaries provide a platform where expatriates have more freedom and flexibility to utilise and develop their skills. According to Mr Jun, the positions at home usually have higher requirements for technique, while being broad, you are expected to have both technical skills and management skills. You will be exposed to management work only when you are in a managerial potion if you are based in China. But in Tanzania, you will be involved in project management such as communicating with (business) owners, and subcontractors (Interviews\21. Jun, Pos. 259).

Business environment. A significant number of Chinese go to Tanzania because of the vast business opportunities here (e.g. (Interviews\15. Zu, Pos. 146; Interviews\18. Li, Pos. 30-32)). Tanzania is a place full of potential for them. For some expatriates, coming to Tanzania is like riding a time machine where they can travel back to the old times of China. They see today's Tanzania as China in the 80's, where business opportunities can be found everywhere. One of my fields notes records the following information:

> *"Africa is like a time machine to them. One of my informants told me the development of Africa is several decades slower than China. So it was like China maybe in the '80s. If you regretted that you did not seize a good business opportunity before, then Africa is like a place where you take a time machine to travel back and do the things you wanted to do. They have witnessed the development of China, and now they have experience and knowledge to predict what industry might be promising (Field reports\Week 3 and 4, Pos. 5)"*

Miss Qing plans to purchase land as she believes that Dar es Salaam is to Tanzania what Shanghai is to China. Judging from the soaring price of land in Shanghai in the past decades, she predicted the value of the lands in Dar es salaam will increase dramatically in 20 years (Field Notes\100, Pos. 13).

Easy entry of business is another reason that attracts Chinese business expatriates to seek opportunities in Tanzania.

> *"If you choose somewhere else, you do not have enough ability. If you go to Europe, America, or Singapore, we also wanted to go there, including some small countries around Russia (but we do not have enough threshold)." (Interviews\3. Yin, Pos. 252-254)*

Tanzania also offers more possibilities for determined businessmen who might not have a good educational background.

> *"I think it's (Tanzania) underdeveloped, because poor places have more (opportunities), and for people like me who were not highly educated and wanted to make money, it is better to go to a poor place" (Interviews\10. Lu, Pos. 35-37)*

<u>*Institutional environment.*</u> Safety issues are a big concern for those who go to Africa. Compared with many Sub-Saharan African countries, Tanzania has a more stable institutional environment which works as an attraction for expatriates.

> *"We are based in Africa, why Tanzania? I think the first (reason) is that Tanzania has better social order. Theft and looting are normal, yes, but no political riots, basically this is one of them (the most important reasons). (Interviews\16. Feng, Pos. 329)*

It is interesting to note that some expatriates favour the international environment of Tanzania. By saying 'international', they mean Tanzania used to be colonised by the British government, thus they see it as a more westernised country, such as the institutional system and language.

> *"I've actually been to South-East Asia once, but I don't think it's as good as Africa, to be honest, I actually think Africa is more international despite the fact that it's very poor, but it's more international…their way of thinking is closer to Western countries.". (Interviews\16. Feng, Pos. 24)*

Some expatriates are attracted by the English-speaking environment of Tanzania as it is "a British commonwealth country" (Interviews\5. Wang, Pos. 42).

Living environment in Tanzania does not seem to have any attraction to Chinese expatriates before coming. However, once they have been there, their perception changes and it becomes a holding factor that attracts them to stay. Good weather, high quality of air and food safety are praised by expatriates. Mr Yu sees those as a benefit for Chinese who go to Africa (Interview\17. Yu, Pos. 28).

4.2.2 Push factors

Monetary consideration For survival purpose, money becomes more urgent. This situation is more widely found among low-status expatriates, who work as technicians, chefs or other non-managerial positions. Their pressure to making money for living is higher than those expatriates who come for extra income, such as those from SOEs.

> *"As long as he has a house and a car back home or there's no financial pressure to get married, he's not going to come out. It does not matter which province (he is from), if anyone comes out, either he needs a house, needs to get married, or has external debts to pay… In short, he needs money, and he needs it urgently." (Interviews\11. Zang, Pos. 200-202)*

The economic pressure forms a strong force to push this group of expatriates to take a step out.

> *"For us, you have people like us coming out so far from our homes, coming to work, leaving our parents, leaving our most familiar surroundings, either to fulfil our dreams or to make a living, right? There are so many migrant workers who come here, so many who die here, and their salary is not that high. Isn't it about making a living? If not for the dream or for the future life, who else would want to come to a place that is so unfamiliar to us, a place even the food culture is different, nobody is willing to come" (Interviews\4. Zhou, Pos. 339)*

The above quotes indicate that the 'survival' purpose serves more like a push factor while lifestyle purpose works as a pull factor, even though both come from monetary consideration.

Employment environment in the home country plays a crucial role in motivating people to seek jobs outside of the domestic market. At the national level, the fierce competition in the job market is a significant factor that pushes those expatriates to go out.

> *"In China, if you throw a brick, it will hit an undergraduate (a lot of graduate students). The domestic employment situation is tough. Then if you come here, the salary is good and there are more opportunities. (Casual conversation\Factory visit, Pos. 102)*

The increase in the number of undergraduate students in the job market puts huge pressure on young people, thus, choosing to avoid domestic employment becomes one of the coping strategies.

> *"At that time I just graduated, and it is not easy to find a job. And I study English, my undergraduate study in English, then I feel it is useless in China, and it should be more useful in a foreign country, more popular. Especially in China, too many people study English, and they are much better than you. Being a Fujianese, my accent is not quite good. Well, how to say, maybe avoid unemployment (back home). (Interviews\5. Wang, Pos. 42)"*

Not only is the fierce competition in the job market a push factor for expatriates, but also a holding factor that stops expatriates from going back. While some expatriates complain that a university degree is not as valuable as before, for those who do not even hold a degree, they feel it is even harder for them to get a decent job back home (Field Notes\84, Pos. 8).

“Yes, it's really hard work. But it depends on what everyone's options are, and you may have the best option here if you don't have a better option at home.” (Interviews\21. Jun, Pos. 205)

There not being good positions or opportunities available back home is another reason that 'traps' some expatriates here.

“You can be transferred back, but there are no good positions for you now. Because, you know, in SOEs, whether you should have guanxi, whether you are a veteran employee.” (Interviews\8. Quan, Pos. 44)

At the organisational level, unsatisfactory career development motivates expatriates to choose alternative paths abroad. Some expatriates felt that they have reached a career bottleneck, or they might reach a career bottleneck soon in their positions. Mr Zang did not see any prospect of political career advancement being a civil servant (Interviews\11. Zang, Pos. 210). Mr Yu used the analogy of climbing a ladder to describe the slow and difficult nature of career progression in his case.

"In China, you have to climb the ladder step by step, while the ceiling is not high, and the ladder is not easy to climb, very low.” (Interviews\17. Yu, Pos. 8)

Business environment has a great impact on the decisions of business owners. Mr Zhang tried to ‘escape’ the poor business environment where he felt too much pressure from competition. Besides, the phenomenon of advanced funding is very common in the construction industry and he felt there was always limited cash flow.

"The money you make is never in your hands, it's always in someone else's pocket. People say you are rich, but in fact, you have very little money in your own cash flow, (or) in your pocket. It's all on credit with other people, including the business I had in China, and those debts others owed me before I came here in 2014. I sued them in court now. Asking for money, and constantly asking for it. That's why I felt very tired at that time, and the idea of coming to Tanzania was simple: they are trading in cash, and it would be easier for me to earn what I can."

Living environment and *institutional environment* do not play major roles in pushing expatriates away from China but sometimes are mentioned by some expatriates. Mr Xi is from a northwest city in China, and he expressed his concern regarding air pollution in his region. He believed the air quality was associated with the health problems of the family members to some extent (Interviews\25. Xi, Pos. 113).

Another push factor he mentioned is the political system. In another case, Mr Wang complained about being treated unfairly in competing with others for a public-funded teaching job. He attributed his failure to his lack of *guanxi* within the political system and powerful family background. He felt disappointed at the whole situation and came up with the idea of living abroad (Interviews\5. Wang, Pos. 50).

Institutional changes also affect investors' decisions. Mr Yin's brick-making factory was shut down by the government for environmental reasons. He felt there was no potential in China for labour-intensive industries or those with environmental concerns and the Chinese government was encouraging those industries to 'go out' (Casual conversation\Yin, Pos. 16). Other businessmen tried to seize the opportunities of the Belt and Road initiatives as the Chinese government would provide some grants for such businesses (Interviews\4. Zhou, Pos. 187-188).

4.2.3 Drag factors

Personal relationship here refers to family issues, which is the primary reason for leaving Tanzania among Chinese expatriates.

> *"Eventually, I have to go back… You still have parents there, right? You definitely have to go back." (Interviews\18. Li, Pos. 497-499)*

Being a managing director of a subsidiary in an SOE, Mr Yu believed the traditional view of taking care of parents drags many of his employees and colleagues back home at a certain age.

> *"When you are abroad, there is one reason you have to go back, there is one and only one, right? That is an issue related to your family members. Elders rank first. (Interviews\17. Yu, Pos. 68-70)…The whole (African) experience has been more than ten years. We have walked through all of this, the real reason that makes people leave Africa and go back, is mostly because of elders. This is Chinese traditional culture, right? 'Tree prefers calm while wind not subside' (树欲静而风不止), the next sentence you don't understand? 'Son chooses filial while parents died' (子欲养而亲不待). The issue of elders getting sick (is serious). From 2000, a high incidence of cancers hits China. We have so many brothers (colleagues) in Africa, I guess around 30% of their parents have such an issue. You see, my assistant, his father has it…Once the family members get sick, unless it is something minor, it will push them to think whether they should stay." (Interviews\17. Yu, Pos. 74)*

Mr Zang also cited something from Confucianism to express his responsibility for going back for the parents.

"Shandong (province) is the birthplace of Confucius and Confucian culture. And we have a lot of our own special rules, such as 'Children should not travel far from the parents while they are still alive' (父母在不远游)." (Interviews\11. Zang, Pos. 224)

Children's education is another tough issue for most middle-aged expatriates. In fact, the majority of them do not have their children in Tanzania, unless they were born there or at a very young age. When the children reach the age of entering the official education system (primary school), mostly they will be sent back to China. In this situation, the partners rather than the expatriates themselves will be the ones who leave (e.g. Interviews\23. Zhen, Pos. 62-63).

4.2.4 Throw factors

<u>*Business and institutional environment*</u> seem to have a significant impact when it comes to the decision about leaving Tanzania, in particular for business investors. High tax, corruption and shift in policy brought about by the change of government make it difficult for some expatriates to stay and a few of them regretted coming (Casual conversation\Guest, Pos. 2-24). Increasingly strict visa policies are significantly correlated with the Chinese in recent years. In 2018, a major scandal of fake visas caused a sensation among the Chinese community in Tanzania. 17 Chinese were arrested and accused of making fake work permits: many of them were deported to China after this case. This complex and torturous case, coupled with some corruption issues within the Immigration Office, caused the Chinese to become alarmed after a while and some decided to leave (Interviews\4. Zhou, Pos. 105-137).

Table 3 summarizes the influencing factors that affect Chinese expatriates' decision of expatriation and repatriation in this context. Monetary consideration is the dominant factor that motivates Chinese expatriates to seek an opportunity in Tanzania. It is interesting to note that monetary considerations can be both a push and a pull factor, depending on whether it is for the lifestyle or the surviving purpose. Meanwhile, money considerations dramatically affect expatriates' adjustment to a foreign country. When they see their overseas experience as an 'investment', they start to calculate whom they should approach, or which language is worth learning (English or Swahili). In this sense, they are less motivated to integrate into the local community as adaptation to them is less relevant. Among personal ambition, reaching a specific life goal (e.g., saving money, or starting a business) is commonly found among middle-aged expatriates while young expatriates are more likely to romanticise their African experience as a way to explore the world. Finally, family ties and social connections offer expatriates the confidence of coming to the host country.

For expatriation, the employment environment plays a significant role in pushing expatriates to move and pull them to come. A great number of expatriates from private firms are relatively poorly educated and they are positioned disadvantageously in the job market at home. Tanzania provides them with more accessible job opportunities. In contrast, those who move for career advancement are usually working in the SOEs. Migrant entrepreneurs and business investors are attracted by the business environment of Tanzania, which they believe is full of potential and easy to enter. Their 'time machine' theory suggests that Tanzania, as a developing economy, offers a unique business opportunity for Chinese expatriates who have witnessed the rapid development of their own country in the past few decades. Due to the imbalanced economic status and living conditions between the two countries, the living environment does not have a great influence on expatriates' decisions. It is interesting to note that the institutional environment has a pivotal role to play throughout the full circle of expatriation. It is, in particular, a primary reason that 'throws' expatriates out of Tanzania. Family issues, especially the responsibility of taking care of the elderly, is the main determinant that drags expatriates to go home and give up their career in Tanzania. In contrast, children and partners have less influence on their decision on repatriation and it is common to see couples separate, especially for the sake of children's education. As explained by expatriates, they usually negotiated these family issues related to partners before they came.

TABLE 3 INFLUENCING FACTORS OF EXPATRIATION AND REPATRIATION

Influencing factors /Dimension	**Employment environment**	**Business environment**	**Living environment**	**Institutional environment**	**Monetary consideration**	**Personal ambition**	**Personal relationship**
Push factors	competitive job markets and career bottleneck	high-pressure competition	air pollution	corruption; 'go out' policy	surviving purpose: e.g., save money for family		
Pull factors	more accessible job opportunities; easier and faster promotion	vast business opportunities; easy entry. 'time machine' theory	good weather; high air quality and food safety	stable institutional environment; westernised system	living purpose: e.g., financial increase for a better life	Reach a life goal; explore the world; African dream	family ties and social connections
Throw factors		high tax		corruption; inconsistent policies; visa issues			
Drag factors							family ties

Table 3 Influencing factors of expatriation and repatriation

4.3 Petty corruption - tipping culture in Tanzania

The 'tipping' issue is a topic which was not identified in the initial literature review regarding the adjustment of expatriates but emerged as a significant issue that affects the experience of Chinese expatriates in Tanzania. It occurs frequently in both observation notes and interview transcriptions, illustrating its prevalence, which deserves further examination. This chapter explored why the Chinese are targeted by low-level bureaucrats, how they are targeted and what they want to achieve by committing these small acts of bribery. The thick description suggests a complex dynamic of power and status between the Chinese and locals.

4.3.1 Why Chinese are targeted

A number of Chinese expatriates have the impression and complained that locals "target Chinese – *针对中国人*" (Casual conversation\Office conversation, Pos. 14; Interviews\24. Yang, Pos. 81-82). This might be determined by the disparity in economic status between Chinese expatriates and locals. Although Chinese expatriates in Tanzania are not necessarily of high status, the disparity in their wages as well as the difference in the economic power of their home countries implicitly leads to a sense of superiority among expatriates. Locals believe that the Chinese who come to Tanzania are bosses and rich and, according to Chinese expatriates, this is the main reason they are asked for money.

I was reminded by Chinese colleagues when I arrived in Tanzania that I should not lend money to local people. Rather than feeling a sense of goodwill from my compatriots, such a reminder made me think how indifferent and arrogant Chinese people were. However, seven months of living in Tanzania taught me not to judge others too quickly or by your own experience. Those Chinese have experienced much more than a new researcher in this land. They have lent money to their employees or local friends out of compassion but hardly got anything back. You will also hear the story of how a Chinese boss saved his wife by giving a big amount of money for surgery without asking anything back, or how a Chinese investor trusted his local friend and said he would not mind even if the local friend cannot pay him back. But the majority of Chinese have the impression that they were taken advantage of by locals. Some informants even feel demotivated from making local friends because they found, eventually, they would be asked for money (Interviews\19. Ming, Pos. 296). During the participant observation, I was asked to lend money to support his business by a local driver, the money in my flat was stolen by a local cleaning lady who disappeared after this incident, and my flatmate was robbed on the street and got injured. These experiences, at least, confirmed that the concerns of Chinese expatriates do not arise from nothing; and that it is their relatively high economic status that makes them targeted and exploited.

Chinese are willing to use money to solve problems. It has been confirmed by locals that because of this behaviour, the Chinese are often taken advantage of by local officers. Mr Lisimba, a local worker in a Chinese private firm, said:

> *"I mean all the government employees, if they see Chinese coming to the office, he can even tell us to go out… so what he did is Chinese first, because they know there is something." (Interviews\1. Lisimba, Pos. 403)*

Whether some take it for granted, or others feel forced, they all admit that money can solve problems. Because of my proficiency in English, I had the chance to work as an interpreter for Chinese investors. During one negotiation with a local representative, I was told directly by the Chinese investor (Mr Ling) to tell the local staff "We can pay tips". When the local staff refused our requests, I was questioned by Mr Ling, "Did you tell them we will pay tips?" (Field Notes\78, Pos. 6). Mr Ling has more than 8-years of experience in doing business in Tanzania. From such adept and natural behaviour, it is obvious that he has taken it for granted that anything can be done with money. Mr Wang used to work for a Chinese SOE. According to him, he never felt there was anything that cannot be solved with money, no matter whether it was with labour bureau or immigration office, "just tip and you are done" (Interviews\5. Wang, Pos. 160). Mr Kai does not think tipping is decent behaviour, but at least it works. He believes those Chinese who are willing to give money must have done something wrong:

"It might not sound good, but it is true that money can set things right. If you are not willing to spend money, and you want to deal with things in a normal way, then you will have a hard time getting things resolved. When things happen, you must have done something wrong. If you have no problem, and you have followed all procedures, they would not ask you for a penny." (Interviews\7. Kai, Pos. 194)

Some Chinese attribute "being targeted" to the weak Chinese government and the lack of colonial history. A few expatriates have expressed their dissatisfaction with the overly mild and friendly foreign policy of the Chinese government and the Chinese embassy:

"…(when things happen), they just tell you to be careful. And the main problem of the Chinese embassies in African countries is they are almost useless. You can say they play zero roles; Chinese are not happy with the embassy". (Interviews\18. Li, Pos. 399-401)

I went on to ask Mr Li why he thought the embassy can't deal with the problems - he said:

"Because the embassy has no way to deal with it. And it is not tough enough like France (embassy) and the United States (embassy). In Angola, one of their people was bullied and went to their embassy, the French directly relaced the police chief, because they have troops here, their army is here. They control a lot of banks and foreign exchange systems over here, those important lifelines are controlled by foreign countries…They have a history of colonization and they (the colonial countries) do have control over the country. (Interviews\18. Li, Pos. 401-403)

Miss Yun is a PhD student in political science from China who used to be a volunteering Chinese teacher at the Confucius Centre in Dar es Salaam and is now conducting her fieldwork in Tanzania. She has some insights into the relatively 'low status' of the Chinese expatriates over here. She also compares Chinese expatriates with ‘white expatriates’ and feels the Chinese in general are less respected in Tanzania. *“Even though we are both Asian, Japanese people are more respected” (Field Notes\26, Pos.8).* She believes it is related to diplomatic policy, and the fact that the Chinese have no history of colonization and lack the ‘majesty’ of colonizers:

> *“White people used to colonize this country. But when we built our relationship with Africa, our strategy is making friends. In this way, there will be two consequences: firstly, they are closer to us in daily life. For example, you will see more Chinese hang out with locals (da cheng yipian 打成一片). However, secondly, the Chinese have more chances to be robbed. Because the Chinese never colonised any African country. They do not have the same fear of Chinese as they do of their colonizers.” (Field Notes\26, Pos.8)*

Mr Ming has similar thoughts when comparing the status of Chinese and Indians. Although Indians did not directly colonise Tanzania, they were brought by the British as ‘housekeepers’ *(guan jia 管家)* to manage locals (Interviews\19. Ming, Pos. 192-194). Thus, locals are still more afraid of Indians.

4.3.2 How Chinese are targeted

There are usually two ways you will be asked for something, either gifts or money, and that is either directly or indirectly. I discuss each in turn.

Direct way

The first one is to be asked directly and frankly. During my contact with a local immigration officer, I learned that his mobile phone was a gift from a Chinese investor who constantly asks him for help, or in other words, collaborates with him to provide visa services to the Chinese. When his ‘gift’ had some problem with the battery, he asked the Chinese investor for a new phone directly and made clear his preference for the Huawei brand. I witnessed the whole process, from asking for the gift to receiving the gift. The Chinese investor tried to avoid the officer at the beginning and made an excuse that he did not go out during the covid pandemic. Eventually, he had to contact him for their 'collaborating business' and explained that the gift is a 'must' for maintaining this relationship.

During the pandemic, Tanzania lacked anti-pandemic supplies, in particular masks, gloves and sanitisers. Since those supplies were produced in China, Chinese communities had an advantage in purchasing them and getting them delivered to Tanzania. Meanwhile, overseas Chinese communities received a great number of donations from their compatriots. People knew that the Chinese had abundant resources. Thus, it became very common during that period that the Chinese were asked for those supplies. In normal times, traffic polices would stop your car and ask for money; but during the pandemic they started to ask for masks, gloves and sanitisers. The same thing happened in the immigration office, where my colleague and I were asked to bring some supplies for the officer and her colleagues in the same office. Compared with other situations, the Chinese did not seem to hold a negative view of this behaviour. On the one hand, some Chinese expatriates sympathised with local people who did not have enough supplies to fight the pandemic. The majority of local people cannot afford disposable masks and the government encouraged people to make reusable ones by themselves. On the other hand, the Chinese took it as a sign that local people started to pay attention to the virus (Field Notes\31, Pos. 11). They believed the more awareness local people had, the safer they themselves would feel living in the country. Thus, in this special situation, the Chinese rarely complained about being asked for those supplies.

However, being asked for money directly is the norm in Tanzania. I felt nervous when my car was stopped by the police for the first time. As time goes by, I was able to have a small conversation comfortably with the traffic polices because I knew what they were coming for. Old Tanzanians (*lao tansang*), here refers to Chinese who have been in Tanzania for an extended period of time, were even able to refuse the request for money. It usually starts with an inspection of the car. If they caught any problem, they would ask you for a fine. If they did not find anything wrong, they would ask you directly to give them money for food or coffee. These tips are small money, ranging from 5000 to 20000 Tanzanian Shillings, which equals £1.7 to £6.7.

There are also big tips that are usually involved in the business. Chinese can successfully obtain a work permit or business visa, whether they hold a fake academic certificate or they do not even have a certificate. What they need to do is to pay 300 to 500 US dollars in tips.

Subtle way

The other way to be asked for something is more subtle. It was Christmas eve when Mr Kai was stopped by a police officer around the corner. He took out his driving licence immediately and showed it to the officer. The officer said: no no, I just want to say Happy Christmas. "*But actually it means you need to give tips"*, Mr Kai explained *(Field Notes\11, Pos. 3)*. It is a tacit understanding that you can learn only if you have been here with some experience. When I heard this story, my first thought was that the police officer was such a nice guy. I did not discover the intention and meaning hiding in the greeting until I was told. There are also some unspoken rules in industries. For example, in the construction industry, it is very common that your completed project would not be approved by the consultant engineers the first time, or they will approve it but find some minor problems. Gradually, it becomes a tacit understanding that they are waiting for you to give money (Interviews\5. Wang, Pos. 279).

Another subtle way to ask for money is by “looking for trouble”, which is what the Chinese find most difficult to accept. The weakness of Chinese firms usually lies in the handling of relations with local labour. Labour conflict becomes an entry point for the trouble:

> *“He also told me that this is such a corrupted country. The local government can also find trouble to fine the Chinese” (field Notes\84, Pos. 9).*

and

> *“They made very beautiful tax but still they were fined. If the government want to find your trouble, it is just a thing of several workers, they will use the conflicts with local workers and then intervene, then they would make a lot of things out” (Field Notes \30, Pos. 17).*

and

> *“The state-owned enterprises, for example, their taxation must be made very beautifully. But if the government want to find their trouble, it is a matter of a few (local) workers” (Casual conversation\Guest, Pos. 14).*

The above extractions illustrate that there are many labour relation issues and the Chinese are not able to deal with them sufficiently. The Chinese have the impression that this weakness has been taken advantage of by local authorities, using it as a starting point for them to ‘dig’ deeper and ask for more. From the Chinese perspective, every act of enforcement seems reasonable, but it is actually a way to legitimise their ‘tipping’ requests:

> *“…it is very difficult to fire a local worker, even after you gave him some money, he will then go to the Ministry of Labour and sue you. And those departments like the cases of locals suing Chinese very much. Once the Chinese are sued, no matter what, they will be arrested. Consequently, bail will be requested. To put it bluntly, bailing out is a matter of paying money. If you still cannot go, and you do not want to put it off year after year,*

you can only find some middlemen to send money to them." (Interviews\19. Ming, Pos. 186-198)

The most common way to legitimise the tipping requests happens on the road. Cars are frequently stopped by traffic police, who will check your driving license and take safety measures of the car. Sometimes people are stopped by police for speeding. In those scenarios, they will be asked to pay the fine if mistakes were found. However, instead of issuing a formal ticket and letting them pay the money in the bank, they are asked for cash. The cash they are asked for is usually cheaper than the fine. Some Chinese do not know that 'the fine' is not going to contribute to the country's tax. Others know it but do not bother to go to the bank and choose to give tips for convenience. There is also a small number of people who showed some resistance, an informant complained:

"I am quite stubborn. Sometimes I do not care about wasting time with them, I would not give my money if I did nothing wrong. I was stopped several times. One time, they stopped me and wanted to fine me 30,000 shillings. I knew if they do not give me the receipt from the machine, they would take that money personally. So I told them I will give you 50,000, but I need a receipt. They said they had no machine and could not do it. She insisted that she will give it but I need a receipt. I am willing to contribute to the tax, but not to you personally." (Field Notes\26, Pos. 5)

The 'taxation' is negotiable according to Chinese expatriates. Initially, they will give you a surprisingly big number to pay. Those who lack experience in doing business over here will be scared. Those who are familiar with this 'rule' know the 'trick' and the number can be negotiated:

> *"The common thing they will do is to give you a hat (accusation) first, if you do not have any problem you can negotiate with them. Yesterday Mr Zu also came to our house and said they would be fined hundreds of millions for tax. But they will talk with them and usually, it will be several million at the end. He said it was normal. They did it every year. What they want is money." (Field Notes\104, Pos.13)*

and

> *"Like Chinese here who run the companies, actually you pay tax every month but at the end of the audit, they will still give you a high tax. Then you go to negotiate with them and bargain… At a certain point, you can accept it and he can accept it. Even the tax has no problem, Chinese has to pay it." (Interviews\19. Ming, Pos. 174-176)*

and

> *"In fact, the biggest cost over here is to pay taxes, but you can negotiate it in Tanzania. You give some tips, they lower your taxes." (Interviews\15. Zu, Pos. 72)*

On the demand side, there are two main reasons that the Chinese are 'targeted': they have money and they are willing to use the money to solve problems. It is the non-compliant behaviour of Chinese expatriates and firms, such as those related to taxation and employment relations, that gives some local authorities the chance to legitimise their enforcement practices, and then make a profit from the process. The way they ask for gifts or money can be direct or indirect. When the request is more subtle, the Chinese need to be experienced to understand the hidden rules or codes.

4.3.3 Why Chinese tip

This section will mainly explore the reasons why the Chinese are willing to 'tip' - to understand how they think or what problems they encounter in daily life. In the previous session, it has been noted that the Chinese are prepared to use money to solve problems. Here I will further analyse what problems they are trying to deal with and what they want to achieve by giving tips or presents.

Getting things done is the most common reason for expatriates to tip. Some of them see it as a 'service fee' which is reasonable if you ask for help, such as helping apply for a visa:

> *"I think the starting point of tipping is to get things done. If you can get things done, no matter it is money or something else, it is fine" (Interviews\15. Zu, Pos. 242)*

In both interviews and observations, I found that asking for help from the police might be costly. Some expatriates would calculate whether it is worth seeking help from police before they pay a 'case handling fee'. For example, if you lost your phone or money, you might pay more to get help from the police than the amount you lose. For this reason, Chinese expatriates usually suggest you keep silent or deal with it by yourself (Interviews\15. Zu, Pos. 242, 206; Field Notes\100, Pos. 16)

But sometimes the help the Chinese ask for might go beyond the normal responsibility of local authorities. Nayo, a local lawyer, complained that even though she already reminded her Chinese client that they were not allowed to import a specific machine, they still paid someone to get it done. Every time someone came to check they paid again, until one day one of the shareholders was arrested.

Apart from getting things done, expatriates tip for getting things done fast. Speeding up service is a common reason to tip local officers. Chinese and Tanzanians have distinct understandings of time, which are reflected in their attitudes toward work and life. Locals have complained to me more than once that the Chinese want everything done at a fast speed. They do not understand why the Chinese are always in a hurry and do not stop to enjoy life. On the contrary, the Chinese do not understand why locals can be so relaxed when they have a family to support. One time in the immigration office, a local officer told my colleague to come back in one hour. My colleague asked immediately: *"One hour? You mean international standard one hour, not Tanzania one, right?" (field Notes\102, Pos.4).* This short and witty story illustrates that the Chinese are bothered by the different attitudes towards time. The Chinese admit that, in general, if you leave it to the local officials and go through the official procedure, things can be done eventually. But anxious Chinese cannot wait and are willing to pay a 'fast service fee'. Some Chinese think this small 'investment' will bring greater benefits. Mr Zu believes if one thing is stuck there and you do not give tips to accelerate the process, you might lose much more in a long term.

Rather than getting things done fast, some Chinese tip simply because they want to save time. Some Chinese avoid arguing with the traffic police when they were stopped because they think the time they wasted arguing might delay their work or business, which might result in a greater loss than just giving some tip:

> *"…they have no concept of time, if your car was stopped, you will not argue with them unless you have time. You will think: just give him some money and let me go, I do not want to waste my time with him." (Interviews\5. Wang, Pos. 293)*

But not all expatriates can tolerate this behaviour and some of them showed some resilience:

> *"I have been taken to the police station four times. Whenever I arrived, I just did not give money. Why would I give you money if I do not have any problem? I had a four-hour*

standoff with them in the police station. Other Chinese won't do this, they will just give some money. But why would I do that? If I give you today, then you will ask again next time. If you think I violate the law, you can fine me. But if I don't then I won't give you money." (Interviews\10. Lu, Pos. 213)

During my observations, I noticed that those who dare to argue are usually young expatriates who seem more intolerant of such behaviour. But most importantly, those people are able to communicate whether in English or Swahili. That is to say, foreign language skills give them the ability and the courage to argue and fight for their interests.

Building or maintaining social connections is one of the reasons mentioned in the interviews. Some expatriates see tipping as a way to build *guanxi* so that next time local officers won't look for trouble from them. Others believe by 'buying' *guanxi* they will get convenience. Mr Wang is familiar with an officer from the immigration office, whom he usually invites for dinner and gives tips. In return, this officer simplifies and accelerates the visa application process for Mr wang and his colleagues. Mr Ling has a stone factory and, according to him, nearly half of the stones made in his factory are given as gifts to maintain the various relationships with local authorities (Casual conversation\Ling, Pos. 3-5). This sounds a bit exaggerated, but it suggests that some Chinese businessmen spend a certain amount of money to acquire and maintain social networks.

However, some expatriates found that such investment in social capital does not always guarantee that they will get what they expect. Mr Kai feels things have changed in the past few years. According to him, social connections nowadays will not bring you greater 'competitive advantages' when things happen (Interviews\7. Kai Pos. 185-190). You may get more chances to explain yourself, but in order to get things done, you still need to give money, whereas the Chinese are expecting a 'favour' through that *guanxi*.

The reason for giving money that was mentioned most frequently by expatriates is to avoid trouble. As the Chinese saying goes, the less trouble the better ('*多一事不如少一事*'). Many expatriates mentioned such a mentality during the interviews. Both Chinese and locals noticed the difference between Chinese expatriates and western expatriates in dealing with problems. Mr Lu thinks the Chinese themselves are responsible for the differential treatment:

> *"The Europeans won't even give them a dime. For Americans, it's all about values. The key is that if they think 'I'm not breaking the law. I know how to defend my rights… I can find a lawyer, I can sue you, but why would I give you money? Not a dime. Mine is mine'. Let me take the simplest example, westerners go to lawyers when they have problems, when it comes to Chinese, they will call someone and look for guanxi." (Interviews\10. Lu, Pos. 201-203)*

Locals have the same thought. Mr Lisimba noticed that traffic police hardly stop the cars of Americans because they know they wouldn't get anything from them, while it's the opposite for the Chinese.

On the one hand, some Chinese want to use the money to cover up the faults and minimise the negative consequences, such as employment conflicts and visa issues. Giving money doesn't necessarily let them get away with the problems, but it can make the process less difficult or suffering for them. On the other hand, some Chinese, especially those new Tanzanian (*xin tansang*, here refers to Chinese who are newcomers or those who are not very familiar with Tanzania), fear when confronted by local enforcement: in particular, when they are not familiar with the environment and are not able to communicate because of language issues. This fear coming from uncertainties of the situation pushes the Chinese to give money to avoid as much trouble as possible, although sometimes they might not do anything wrong. Mr Jiang was stopped by a police officer on the road one day. He did not understand anything he was asked. But then the officer took out his phone and typed the number ‘150,000’. Now Mr Jiang understood he was asking for money and typed “100,000” on this phone to negotiate the price (Field Notes\80). When I asked him why they asked him for money, he said he did not know the reason, but he knew he would be fine if he paid a tip. And he was right.

The lack of foreign language proficiency puts a lot of Chinese in a disadvantageous position, they lose their ability to communicate properly and are unable to explain or argue even though sometimes they might not do anything wrong. In these circumstances, giving money might seem the laziest but easiest way to get away from trouble.

Sometimes, money can also buy expatriates negotiation space. They complain about the tipping culture but at the same time, they admit that it also gives them some flexibility. As Miss Yang put it, *“Sometimes if the rules are too rigid and there is no flexibility, so many things cannot be done over here” (Interviews\24. Yang, Pos. 72)*. The previous section has discussed how tax can be negotiated. “Giving you a *hat*” is an unspoken rule in the industry during tax checks. Those who have many years’ experiences in this country know how to negotiate a good price to a point both sides are satisfied with.

Some businesspeople tip local authorities regularly to get protection. As one CEO of a private firm explains, if the government cannot find any tax problem, they might ‘look for trouble’ during quality inspections. They pay the TBS (Tanzania Bureau of Standards) ‘salary’ every month in order to make sure the products pass the inspection and enter the market successfully (Field Notes\104, Pos. 10). One day I overheard the conversation of a Chinese businessman on the phone, asking "*did you pay the protection fee? Come on, it is the thing you must pay. No wonder why they charge you so much" (Field Notes\69, Pos. 6)*. It shows that some businessmen have reached an agreement with local authorities under the table to seek protection for their business.

4.3.4 Expatriates' attitude toward tipping culture

Chinese expatriates have shown mixed feelings towards the extortion from local authorities. The majority of them do not agree with or even have an abhorrence of such behaviour but feel helpless. Tipping is seen as a way to adapt to local 'culture' for surviving:

> *"If you run a business here, it is not just tax revenue officials who will visit you, officials from the immigration office, department of labour, city construction bureau and fire department will all come to visit." (Interviews\19. Ming, Pos. 177-178)*

Some of them believe the policies made by the top government are for good, it is just those who implement the policies do not behave in accordance with the regulations. As one expatriate describes: "*The scriptures are good, but they are chanted in a wrong way*" *(Interviews\11. Zang, Pos. 94).*

A small group of people believe that tipping is justified in certain circumstances. In particular, considering the low pay for lower-level civil servants, some Chinese are willing to pay a "*hard-working fee*" (*Xingku Fei 辛苦费*) to express their gratitude (Interviews\20. Zhang, Pos. 123).

But this is also why these Chinese are criticised by their compatriots and locals for encouraging corruption.

As discussed in the previous section, some Chinese also show a certain degree of resistance towards this behaviour. Instead of paying tips, they choose to argue and protect their legitimate rights. Due to the lack of foreign language proficiency, only a small percentage of people are able to deal with the problems in a proactive way. In more situations, expatriates are taken advantage of and hoodwinked by local officials. Nayo, the local lawyer, told me a story of how 'welcome' Chinese are to local officials. One day her car was hit, and the other driver ran away. She took the plate number of the car and found the driver's information. Later, Nayo went back to the police station to thank them for their help and she mentioned that she found the driver, who was Chinese. That police officer asked immediately: *"Chinese? I will give you the money to fix your car. Just give me the name of the Chinese"*. Nayo told me: "*Why? Because they know that they will go back and make it a bigger case and get more money. Take advantage. Yeah. But anyways, I didn't give it*" (Interviews\26. Nayo, Pos. 196). Some locals even complain to me that when there is a group of people visiting local officers, they usually let Chinese enter the office first as they know they might get something from Chinese.

But 'old Tanzanians' (*lao tansang, 老坦桑*) explain that corruption is better in recent years. This, in general, is in line with the recent investigation on corruption, which shows the situation has been steadily improving since 2015 under the presidency of John Magufuli who cracked down heavily on corruption (Rahman et al., 2019). There is a correlation between the severity of corruption and the level of corruption. Mr Zhang has been running his business in Tanzania for 8 years. As an *'old Tazanian'* (*lao tansang 老坦桑*), he has sufficient experience in dealing with all levels of authorities in this country. According to him, officials in high positions tend to be more incorruptible. This is because, firstly, their income is relatively high; and secondly, they do not wish to destroy their political career for a small number of tips. In contrast, lower-ranking officials are the ones who try to increase their extra income by means of receiving tips. This explanation is supported in the report of Rahman et al. (2019). They have analysed the culture of implementation deficits in the bureaucracy in Tanzania and found that an underpaid and unmotivated administration at lower levels contributes to such a culture. The Guardian has also reported that one major problem in bureaucracy in Tanzania is the low pay for civil servants which encourages a culture of graft (Allison, 2015).

4.4 Language issues

Foreign language ability has long been studied in relation to the adjustment of expatriates (Paulus & Muehlfeld, 2017; Selmer, 2006; Selmer & Lauring, 2015; Zhang & Harzing, 2016; Zhang & Peltokorpi, 2016). However, the majority of such studies focus primarily on the communicative function of language. In the previous chapter, I discussed how language barrier may foster petty corruption. Language is more than a merely communicative tool in expatriates' life, affecting their roles and their importance. In the following section, I will discuss how Chinese expatriates perceive English and Swahili in their work and daily life and explore what causes their different perceptions of these two languages. I will argue that Chinese expatriates treat language choice as an investment in linguistic capital, and their decision or willingness to learn is primarily based on the benefits, whether economic or social, that language can bring during or even after their expatriation. Linguistic capital is not static, and it varies with context and its users. Moreover, language has been used as a criterion for the segmentation of local customers by Chinese expatriates. Lastly, I discuss how language differences - a concept that I proposed to differentiate from language barriers - put both Chinese themselves and locals in a vulnerable position in daily communication.

4.4.1 The importance of Swahili - "If you know Swahili, they won't bully you."

One characteristic that those expatriates who think Swahili is more important tend to share is that they come from private SMEs, in particular private investors. This is because these groups of expatriates usually deal with local customers or clients. Thus, communicating for business is the first reason the Chinese decide to learn Swahili. Mr Kai is the owner of a factory producing plastic plates with approximately 20 workers. He also has a shop in the biggest and busiest market in Dar es Salaam – Kariakoo. He speaks fluent English as he spent several years in Canada for his undergraduate degree. Even so, when he was asked which language was more important from a business point of view, he chose Swahili over English. *"If you speak Swahili here, it's ok even if you don't speak English."* (Interview\7. Kai, Pos. 99-102) The main business of small private firms is primarily aimed at low-income groups. Mr Ming, who is a manager in a provincial SOE, said that language is important for private business people to break into local markets and communicate with locals (Interview\19. Ming, Pos. 302). Thus, Swahili plays a pivotal role in getting market information and building local customer pools.

However, social benefits rather than economic benefits seem to be a greater motivation to learn Swahili among expatriates. Firstly, knowing Swahili makes it easier to build a social network with local authorities. As Mr Ling told me:

> *"You have good access to the local government officials, you have direct access to them, not through an interpreter. There's a big difference. They dare to talk to you about anything, but they don't dare to talk to you through an interpreter. That's why the language helped me a lot in integrating here. This is much better than learning English, especially in the rural areas outside of the city. Not only the rural areas - as soon as you*

reach somewhere outside of Dar city (Dar es Salaam), English basically cannot work." (Interview\12. Ling, Pos. 139)

Mr Ling, you will remember, is the one who asked me in front of a client if I told them we can pay tips, while I worked as his interpreter. He is also the one who gave out half of the bricks his factory produces to maintain the guanxi connection, which I described in the last chapter. Thus, it is not difficult to understand what Mr Ling described in the above extract, how knowing Swahili helps him to 'integrate' and why it is important to have direct access to local officials without a third person to interpret the message. I do not understand Swahili, but I was able to sense his fluency and confidence when he communicates with locals. Speaking the local language not only reduces the physical distance with locals but also the psychological distance so that both of them 'dare' to talk about anything, even in some tricky situations. English is considered to be spoken by relatively well-educated locals, and those who live in major cities such as Dar es Salaam and Dodoma. For those Chinese who work in rural areas or who owns factories in rural areas, Swahili plays a much more important role in daily communication.

A second reason for Chinese expatriates to learn Swahili, or why they are willing to learn it, is to fight against bullying and deception. Speaking Swahili gives people an identity (as an 'old Tanzanian'; *lao tansang*; 老坦桑) that protects them in the face of local authorities. On the one hand, locals will assume that expatriates have been staying in this country long enough and are familiar with how things work here. On the other hand, the sense of cultural appreciation will increase a more positive feeling of the locals towards the expatriates, which might further facilitate the engagement between the two parties.

"I did enrol in a Swahili class a year before. But why did I enrol in the Swahili class? One reason is to deal with traffic police. This is the biggest (reason), to cope with the traffic police … If they stop you, and you communicate with them in Swahili, they will think you are an old Tanzanian (lao tansang). After the communication, he would let me go if nothing particular…If you speak Swahili, they very much welcome you, because they think it is very good, is cordial (qinqie 亲切). It is like a foreigner in China who can speak Chinese."(Interview\19. Ming, Pos. 310-320)

and

"….maybe they feel it is cordial if I speak Swahili…they always ask me 'why haven't you learned Swahili? why haven't you learned?' I think Tanzanians are quite proud of their own culture so they really hope you can learn their language. You come here to learn their language, and wear their costume, they will feel very happy." (Interviews\24. Yang, Pos. 174)

Mr Ling thinks learning Swahili brings great changes in his life. Firstly, the identity of an old Tanzanian can exempt expatriates from being bullied. Secondly, expatriates won't be cheated or taken advantage of because they understand what is happening around them. *"Your workers wouldn't dare to take the rebate (*chi huikou *吃回扣) in front of you when you buy something."(Interviews\12. Ling, Pos. 134-139)*

Mr Zhen expressed the same feeling. Although Mr Zhen works for SOEs and he mainly uses English in his work, he still emphasises Swahili is more important than English in a particular way:

"…locals deceive people in Swahili, when they talk privately and when they deceive someone, they use Swahili."

It might be difficult to confirm what locals talked about in Swahili behind your back if you don't understand the language at all. However, it indicates that communicating in a local language in front of foreigners who don't master that language (code-switching) will increase suspicion and mistrust between the two parties.

4.4.2 The importance of English – "English-speaking customers are quality customers."

Chinese expatriates tend to categorise customers based on the language they speak. Although English is one of its official languages, the Tanzanian government has been trying to promote Swahili for the last decades. Therefore, a type of class division based on languages emerges due to the colonial history and current political movement. In general, those who speak English in Tanzania are considered to be from decent families and have received a good education. In contrast, those who only speak Swahili might come from a poor economic background. This seems very different from the situation in its neighbouring country (Kenya) where the prevalence of English is high, and the class divisions generated by languages are not as severe as in Tanzania.

> *"Even if I speak fluently and learn this language (Swahili), and it may help me in my future life or business, I don't (want to learn). This is because I believe the local customers who speak English are quality customers. If they only speak Swahili, they might not be that quality or not that good. Because I think if you are a local who manages a big business, you must speak English. You must be more reliable than those who only speak Swahili, and I will trust and look up to you more. If you can only speak Swahili, although you have a lot of money, I would think you are just a rustic person and not educated. Because good schools in Tanzania will teach you English." (Inerviews\15. Zu, Pos. 166)*

Mr Zu associates the language a local speaks with his or her social status and moral character. He believes that the languages locals speak show the degree of education they receive, thereby also revealing how much they can be trusted. Similarly, a sales director, Mr Jun, believes the proportion of rich people who speak English in Tanzania is greater, and those people usually have studied abroad (Interviews\21. Jun, Pos. 416-421). Mr Li does not think lack of proficiency in Swahili has any influence on his sales performance, *"No influence at all, (English) is completely adequate. The majority of them (customers) speak English. Locals with a little bit of money and who are educated should be able to speak English." (Interviews\18. Li, Pos. 261-268)*

The status of English as a global language is another reason the Chinese are more willing to devote time to learning it.

> *"I use it (Swahili) in my work, but in a very simple and easy form. I am very clear that although English is their official language, most people use Swahili in their daily lives. Nevertheless, I have no desire to learn it. Because frankly speaking, I don't think Swahili as a language is that premium, I am not so interested in this language" (Interviews\15. Zu, Pos. 163-166).*

and

> *"Learning a language is supposed to be a very difficult task. We used to think mastering several languages is a very cool thing, but now it seems not that necessary. For communication, the simplest and most effective one is enough. Right? More languages just mean more 'brands'. But African languages are not any kind of those brands. Africa will not have such an enormous influence in Asia and Europe. It cannot impose (its influence) right? Swahili is the first language over here, but if you go to South Africa, nobody even understands" (Interview\17. Yu, Pos. 343-348).*

Besides, Mr Yu argues that translation tools using artificial intelligence make simultaneous interpretation possible, so mastering multiple languages is no longer necessary, and learning the simplest and most common one (English) might be the wisest choice. (Interviews\17. Yu, Pos. 354)

Even though some expatriates appreciate and admit how useful Swahili can be, they feel that considering their short stay in the country, they do not believe it is an economical choice to learn it.

> *"Actually, till around 2010 and 2011 I only spoke English, never spoke Swahili. Even my family asked me why not learn Swahili? I was thinking I would leave Tanzania once I earned some money, I would not stay here for a long term."(Interviews\10. Lu, Pos. 82-83)*

Within limited time and energy, Chinese expatriates believe that time should be spent on a language that is more widely spoken and has a more international reputation. As Feng argues, Swahili can only be used in Africa while English can be used worldwide (Interviews\16.Feng, Pos. 297-298). Expatriates treat English-speaking ability as a personal brand and associate it with a premium status amongst their customers and clients. The above extracts and examples clearly show that the socio-economic status of English, rather than the communication function, is a more relevant reason Chinese expatriates choose it over Swahili.

4.4.3 The effects of languages barriers on expatriates' life

In the previous section, I discussed the significance of English and Swahili to different groups of expatriates. In the following part, I will further explore how language barriers affect expatriates' daily life.

Language-based mistrust

Information asymmetry caused by language barriers has put expatriates in a vulnerable position. Nowadays, it is not surprising to see a good number of Tanzanians who speak decent Chinese and work as interpreters, even if not all of them are fully trusted by their employers. An interpreter was hired by the Chinese to help them communicate with local immigration officers in an investigation related to the visa issue, as Mr Zhou described:

> *"There was a language issue involved, they hired (an interpreter) from the Tanzanian overseas student association, I forgot his name. He is a local guy, who used to study in China and speaks Chinese. This person acts one way to your face and another behind your back (dangmian yitao, beihou yitao 当面一套，背后一套). We contacted him quite often, and he told me that he has been helping the Chinese, but on the other side, he is helping the police to get information about the Chinese, or bring the police to find evidence of the Chinese. He is like the grass on the top of the wall which sways with every wind (qiang tou cao 墙头草)." (Interviews\4. Zhou, Pos. 141)*

Language barriers increase the suspicions between expatriates and their local employees. Mr Lisimba has been working for a private Chinese firm for many years. He often works as an interpreter for the boss, but his job is more than that, including but not limited to mediating labour disputes, representing the company in court, and some management work. He described his relationship with the boss as brothers, and he felt thankful for the generous gestures from the boss, such as paying his wife's surgery fee voluntarily. The boss also spoke highly of Lisimba in front of me, but he also expressed his concern recently. He felt Lisimba sometimes might not translate the full story to him. Instead of helping the boss to ask for money back from the debtors, he asked the boss for money on behalf of the locals. The boss suspects that he might get tips by helping locals. Lisimba and his boss are considered to have a solid friendship compared with many other Chinese and their employees. Nevertheless, the suspicion and mistrust brought on by the language barrier make their relationship somewhat fragile. Similarly, Mr Feng suspected his employees were talking bad about Chinese people in Swahili in the office.

> *"For example, in my office, the secretary and the lawyer I used to manage, I found they often went together to talk about some issues. They speak Swahili, I might not understand the whole conversation, but I can basically tell they are talking about some bad things about Chinese." (Interview\16. Feng, Pos. 396)*

Vulnerability and inability in dealing with local authorities

Anxiety due to uncertainty about the situation and the inability to justify legal rights are two consequences of language barriers, which have been touched upon in the chapter on petty corruption. When Miss Shu talked about the incidents of Chinese paying local officers, she believes:

> *"It is because you cannot communicate, it creates a sense of fear…many Chinese were like this". (Interviews\13. Shu, Pos. 202-204)*

Mr Wang also believes the Chinese, in most cases, can only deal with local officers with money because they are unable to argue due to language barriers:

> *"I think it is because of language problems, you can't argue with him, there is no way you can explain to him. You can't explain to immigration officers, or 'I did not overtake the car', and 'I did not run the red light'. You can't explain to him, you can only give money. I think a lot of Chinese people are like this." (Interviews\5. Wang, Pos. 281)*

There was a time I was invited to interpret for several expatriates who had visa problems in the immigration office. Those Chinese had the concern that the meeting with the immigration officer might be a trap to arrest them. They asked me to talk with the officer first while they waited outside. When the officer learned that they were already there, he was surprised and asked me:

> *"Why not ask them to come in and talk with me? There is nothing to be afraid of. We respect human rights, we were trained and we know how to treat people." (Field Notes\84, Pos. 6)*

I had to convince those Chinese to trust me and told them things would be fine. Even so, they were still quite silent and cautious after they entered the office.

Lack of language proficiency not only causes communication problems; the more severe problem might be the psychological stress it causes. Moreover, it is easy for expatriates to trust inaccurate or exaggerated information that they are unable to verify. The expatriates in the above stories had such a fear of being arrested because they heard some horrible stories from other Chinese people. Since they are unable to read or watch local news to get direct access to the most authentic information, their sources of information are greatly narrowed and the content might be exaggerated, altered, or filtered through dissemination.

Knowing a local language, whether it is Swahili or English, may enable expatriates to obtain more reliable information, build a trustful relationship with locals, and protect their legal rights, which might further mediate the unbalanced power between Chinese expatriates and locals.

Dependence on people and technology

Living in a foreign environment without local language skills can lead to considerable reliance on colleagues, companies, families, interpreters, and technology. I worked as a voluntary interpreter for the Overseas Chinese Service Centre (OCSC) when expatriates needed help. I have encountered many Chinese who do not speak any local language. They usually stay with their Chinese colleagues and isolate themselves. They needed my help to fill out the forms in the immigration office or to order food in a restaurant. They avoid going out unless there is someone who has basic communication skills in the group.

> *"In these circumstances, can a Chinese foreman go out (of construction camp)? Once robbery happens, they cannot even speak." (Interviews\21. Jun, Pos. 178)*

Chinese construction camps and project sites are usually managed collectively with strict disciplines. One reason is that majority of Chinese technical workers lack language proficiency, and they rely on collective arrangements by the companies. Restrictions on their freedom often stem from safety concerns.

It was in a bank that I first met Mr Ceng. He was sitting on the sofa in the lounge area, while his wife was communicating with the staff at the window. He told me that if it were not for his Chinese, English-speaking, wife, he could not imagine how he could manage his life and business here.

> *"He told me it was quite tough to be here without any language ability. He said he could not speak Swahili, neither English. But he said thanks to his wife, who can communicate with people in English." (Field Notes\34, Pos. 13)*

With the advent of smart translation applications, expatriates can conduct basic communication with locals. I saw Chinese people who went to a local shop with the help of the translation App installed on their mobile phones. I heard stories of how Chinese bosses communicate with their local employees through WeChat. Kissa, a local lady who works for a Chinese private firm, explained:

> *"…Most times, if I need to speak to him (the boss) about something I can't. So I've got to take my phone and then Wechat tell him that, then translate, then that's how most times I communicate with him because he does not speak any of the languages…Most people do it. That's the only way of communicating with every Chinese person. Like I would just write, because with the google translator sometimes the way you pronounce words, you might bring something else. While on Wechat if you write, like proper grammar can translate exactly what you mean."(Interview\9. Kissa, Pos. 433-441)*

Thanks to the support of these social connections and the assistance of technology, the initial adaptation or transition of expatriates into their new environment have become easier, which will have a positive impact on their work and life. But in the long run, such dependence may gradually reduce their motivation and ambition to learn the local language.

An isolated community

Although the Chinese community in Tanzania is a heterogeneous ethnic group and there exists internal divisions, a lack of language proficiency has brought certain links between members closer, which further threatens the integration of the community into the local environment.

As the majority of Chinese expatriates are unable to communicate fluently in local languages, service businesses have been set up to make their life easier. One thing that has bothered the Chinese, especially those newcomers, is to top up phones. Whether you need to purchase a top-up voucher and follow the instructions over the phone, or you can set up online payment with your bank account, the issue has been resolved by a top-up application that has been designed for the Chinese. It can be easily accessed via WeChat, and the transactions can be completed in Chinese Yuan (RMB). Another daily encountered problem is ordering a takeaway. Tanzania has its version of 'Deliveroo' but the Chinese hardly ever use it. Most of them do not know its existence. So an agency service has been created for those who wish to order from local restaurants but lack foreign language skills. This Chinese agency takes orders from expatriates and communicates with local restaurants. The most common agencies are those that deal with visa applications, with whose help expatriates can avoid 'troubles' in completing the forms, transferring money from the bank, and communicating with immigration staff.

Non-profit organisations also play a significant role in expatriates' life. The Overseas Chinese Service Centre (OCSC) aims to build a platform for sharing information and helping each other. They helped a great number of Chinese deal with expired visa issues during the pandemic, legal conflicts between Chinese and locals, as well as safety matters. During my five-month volunteering work at the OCSC, I noticed that the more convenience the OCSC provides, the more dependent expatriates become. Some of them used the language barrier as an excuse to avoid handling issues such as writing application letters, filling out forms, printing stuff, and going to the bank or immigration office, although Chinese versions of instructions have been provided. Such services provided by both profit and non-profit organisations facilitate the adaption of expatriates to a great extent but they also reduce their contact with local communities in every possible way.

Language barriers minimise expatriates' opportunities to participate in the local collaboration. In April 2020, the Tanzania Private Sector Foundation (TPSF) invited the Chinese General

Chamber of Commerce in Tanzania for a meeting to discuss the collaboration between the two parties. Leaders of some branches (provinces) were expected to attend. Since none of them speaks English, I was invited to represent the secretary of the Chamber. TPSF has been working with business chambers from other countries but did not know the existence of the Chinese one before. They called for collaboration between private investors and the Tanzania government during the pandemic. Even till the day I left Tanzania (in October 2022), none of them in the chamber had initiated any further communication with TPSF. It is assumed that similar opportunities to work with local organisations or local communities might be ignored due to language barriers, which greatly decrease the motivation of expatriates and the community to interact with locals.

5 Chapter Five: Discussion

5.1 Expatriation as an investment

5.1.1 Introduction

Motivation might not be a topic that stands out to scholars as it has been repeatedly studied in expatriation research. From an academic perspective, the inadequate research in the context of Chinese in Africa opens a door for us. However, it was during a conversation with a local officer that I got a sense of the importance of such a topic in the real world. Despite rumours that the Chinese are sending convicted labourers to work in Africa, I thought it might be just media or political rhetoric to get the attention of the public and people would hardly believe them. That is, until I heard an even more incredible claim. Ali is a local immigration officer that I got acquainted during my volunteer work at the Chinese Overseas Service Centre (OCSC). He told me that before he came to work in the economic capital city (Dar es Salaam), there was a rumour in his village that "Chinese are good at some witchcraft" (Casual conversation\Ali, Pos. 90). He changed his view only once he began to have frequent contact with Chinese in his work:

> *"No, that is not a joke. they do believe that and I did believe but now I don't. Maybe I'm asking why do you work at night, for example, you have to construct a bridge, why do you work at night, all the other people are resting (Casual conversation\Ali, Pos. 96)*

During their 'chasing' of such rumours, Yan and Sautman (2012) found that the rigorous work pace, and the disciplined and collective living style of Chinese expatriates contributed to the image of Chinese labours as prisoners. So both experience and the literature made me more aware of the importance of my fieldwork, which was to explore why Chinese people want to go to Africa and are willing to embrace such a way of life.

5.1.2 Connection to extant literature

Early research identified the motives for going abroad mainly as a desire to travel, financial incentives and escape from an unsatisfied environment (Cleveland, Mangone & Adams, 1960). Drawing on the push and pull theory, Jackson et al. (2005) found that lifestyle and family were the primary pull components among expatriates. Carr, Inkson & Thorn (2005) summarised five factors as relevant to the motivation for relocation among expatriates, namely:

- economic (e.g., financial increase),
- career (e.g., career development),
- political (e.g., seeking political freedom),
- cultural (e.g., cultural attraction for travelling) and
- family factors (e.g., to improve the life quality of family members).

Family factors have shown great influence among Chinese expatriates due to their perceived collective obligations to the family (Carr, et al., 2005; Yao, et al., 2016). Chinese people accepting an international assignment may sometimes be driven by family's welfare and reputation; on the other hand, declining international assignments may be due to the responsibility of taking care of parents, especially for the generation under 'One Child' Policy (Yao, 2014; Yao et al., 2016). Harvey (1995) found a significant impact of spouses on their willingness to relocate. Dual-career expatriates (where both partners were employed) were particularly less likely to complete an international assignment. Concerns about children's education in international settings make people more reluctant to relocate (Brett & Stroh, 1995) or they choose not to take children with them (GMAC,2004).

However, there are no complete lists that can cover all possible influencing factors because of the heterogeneity within the expatriates' group (Suutari & Brewster, 2000) and the specification of the context involved. Although the categories of drives among SIEs and AEs are quite similar, the different groups stressed different aspects (Suutari, et al., 2018). Individual and personal motives are found to be primary among SIEs (Przytuła, 2015), which is broadly in line with studies by Richard et al., (2002) and Thorn (2009) which stressed the importance of lifestyles as one of the predominant motives for SIEs. It also supports the finding by Suutari and Brewster (2000) that SIEs showed greater interest in internationalism than AEs did. Career progression plays a central role in motivating AEs to relocate abroad (Miller & Cheng, 1978), while SIEs show less interest in traditional career and hierarchical advancement (Doherty, et al., 2011).

It is worth noting that for low-status expatriates, family and economics are, in effect, the only motivation. Haak-Saheem and her colleagues found that low-status expatriates usually put family well-being ahead of their personal well-being (Haak-Saheem et al., 2022). Moreover, given their overwhelmingly economic drivers, the transactional elements of psychological contracts might be prominent among low-status expatriates (Haak-Saheem et al., 2021).

The different focus of motivation is also reflected in generational differences. For younger expatriates, excitement, cross-cultural experiences, growth, travel opportunities and also future career development are the major reasons for accepting international assignments (Tharenou, 2003). Suutari and Brewster (2000) also found that sometimes young people, in their early stage careers, are simply motivated by securing a job, in particular when there are fewer possibilities in the job markets in their home country.

Although it may be argued that there are inadequate studies of the motivation of Chinese expatriates in Africa from the IHRM perspective, from the perspective of anthropologists and sociologists there has been more attention paid to this issue during the past few years. A series of ethnographic studies have shown that Chinese expatriates in Africa are largely driven by economic motives (Chang, 2013; Driessen, 2015, 2016; Fei, 2022; Sun, 2017), in particular the pressure of accumulating capital for the security of their future life. The significance of heterogeneity in Fei's study (2022) illustrates that there are subtle differences in motivation among Chinese expatriates among three groups: managers, professionals, and operational staff. However, it will also be remembered that most of the research in business and management was carried out with expatriates from or in western developed countries. There is evidence that these motivations may not be directly transferable to Chinese expatriates. While lifestyle and career progression are predominant motives for the relocation of western expatriates, they show limited relevance in my study. Chinese expatriates are primarily money-driven, but different groups stress different aspects. Expatriates from SOEs are more concerned with career progression compared with those from private firms. Unlike their predecessors who practised asceticism and are cash-obsessed, the young generation shows more things in common with western expatriates. They tend to find a balance between making money and enjoying life. Another difference between Chinese expatriates and western ones is that few Chinese expatriates bring their families to Tanzania, and neither do they plan to do so. In the following section, I will argue that Chinese expatriates in Tanzania generally perceive their overseas experience as an 'investment', and that there are several factors that have contributed to their investment behaviour.

5.1.3 Investing in economic capital

Chinese expatriates in Tanzania generally see their overseas experience as an 'investment' - an investment that primarily seeks to maximise economic efficiency. The price they pay is their youth, hardship, and separation from family. In this case, their primary concern is the return on investment (ROI). They calculate how much money they can save, how long they need to work in the host country, whom they should approach, or which language is worth learning (English or Swahili). In this sense, they are less motivated to integrate into the local community as an adaptation to them is less relevant. Within the investment motives, expatriates from SOEs are more likely to invest in their careers while the young generation tends to invest more in their lifestyle. Thus, I would argue that the heterogeneity of Chinese expatriates – distinct socio-economic backgrounds and different ages - leads to different values, motivations, behaviours and experiences in Africa.

While some studies show that monetary considerations come after factors such as travel opportunities, lifestyle and relationships (Jackson, et al., 2005; Thorn, 2009), these have been studies of western expatriates. I found that Chinese expatriates in Tanzania are money driven. This is inconsistent with current research on expatriate motivation, which has identified that financial incentives influence expatriates' decision-making (Carr, et al., 2005; Cleveland, et al., 1960; Miller & Cheng, 1978). It also echoes a series of ethnographic studies that show Chinese expatriates take on as a burden the pressure of accumulating capital (Chang, 2013; Driessen, 2015, 2016; Fei, 2022; Sun, 2017). While Rui and her colleagues (2017) argue that Chinese expatriates at both managerial and operational levels in emerging markets are mainly motivated by the income differential over domestic peers, I found that this finding can also be applied to expatriates in lower positions or low-status expatriates. Financial incentives are the most important reason for the vast majority of Chinese expatriates to go to Tanzania, whether they are from SOEs or private enterprises. Part of the explanation for this might be related to the background of these expatriates and the effect of the host country. As I argued previously, the majority do not come from a background with good economic conditions or have received a high level of education. They might have failed in their business ventures back home, may be burdened with debt, or could not find a good job with decent money back in China. In a word, they have a complicated 'story' behind them. Thus, very few of them have the luxury to pursue a desirable lifestyle in a foreign country. Instead, their purposes seem more practical and materialistic, that is, to make money and save it. This finding fits with the observation from Driessen (2016) who argues that the choice of Chinese expatriates to relocate to Africa is pragmatic rather than idealistic. Although some expatriates think the good air quality, food safety and slow-paced life in Tanzania are bonuses for them, they are never stated as forces attracting the Chinese to move to Tanzania. Only when they have been there for a while do those factors come into play – perhaps affecting their length of stay.

Furthermore, I found that while financial incentives are major considerations for the majority of expatriates, their underlying motivations within that vary. Money contains different meanings for expatriates with different socio-economic backgrounds. Monetary considerations can be both a push and a pull factor, depending on whether it is for the purposes of survival or lifestyle. When the salary increase in the host country is a big attraction for them to maintain a typical urbanite lifestyle or even level up life quality for social mobility, it forms a pull factor. When the salary increase is just to solve their financial difficulties – to sustain the family's daily expenses, it is a strong push force. That is to say, the stimulating effects of the 'money motivation' on expatriates are varied. Normally, the extant literature does not differentiate such subtle differences within economic factors, and they are usually summarised as a general drive for making money (Cleveland, et al., 1960; Richardson & McKenna, 2002). However, the longer I stayed with those expatriates, the more I felt the differential effects of such subtle differences on their experiences. For example, when money becomes a push factor, those people are usually struggling for survival: expatriation is rather a must than an option. When it becomes a must, expatriates don't have much room for retreat or hesitation, even if the circumstances are not as expected. In such a situation, they are more tolerant of poor living conditions and hard-working environments. Some of them, particularly the ones from rural areas, may have already adapted to this lifestyle in China. The priority of the international assignment for those ‘survival’ expatriates is making money in order to ‘feed’ themselves and their families. Such a mindset is critical in job performance as it is directly related to their economic source of livelihood but is not necessarily conducive to their adaption to the local community. These expatriates have little motivation to learn local languages, local cultures or to make local connections unless they are relevant to their ‘investment’. Compared to the burden of sustaining the daily expenses of the family, lifestyle in a foreign country is the least they care about. However, if their job or business requires a great deal of contact with locals, such as shopkeepers selling cheap household goods, they can be sophisticated in both local language and culture as those are directly linked to their ability and opportunity of earning money. For ‘survival’ expatriates, they are trying to make ends meet, pay debts, and save money for marriage or simple to have a place to live in the future. A similar situation is found in the study of Driessen (2016), who describes the relocation of Chinese to Africa as ‘migrating for bank’ as they primarily work in Africa to pay off their mortgage in China and this group of people tend to stay longer.

By contrast, when money shows more of a pulling effect, which is what is usually discussed in expatriation studies for western expatriates (Miller & Cheng, 1978), it mainly refers to a salary increase for maintaining a typical urbanite lifestyle or even a better one. This can be applied to those senior management members who are assigned to manage subsidiaries. To draw an analogy, the concern of ‘lifestyle’ expatriates is not whether they have food, but what kind of food is tastier. Like many expatriate managers, they might already have a decent salary at home. But the salary increase leads to a superior lifestyle. In a word, ‘survival’ expatriates are more tolerant of hardship than 'lifestyle' expatriates, while both groups will decide whether to adapt to a local culture based on the return on investment (ROI).

The expatriates themselves use these subtle differentiations to make fun of themselves. Expatriates from private firms generally categorise themselves as 'struggling for survival', while expatriates from SOEs are seen as those who go to Africa to 'enjoy life'. Such jocular language indicates that the economic status varies between expatriates from private firms and SOEs (although the latter may also have a sense of discontent), which interacts with the differences in their financial pressure. The distinct socio-economic background of expatriates leads to different valuing of money and life which further affect their motivation and experience in Africa. This echoes a study by Fei (2022) who pays attention to the heterogeneous composition of contemporary Chinese migrants in Africa and found the subtle distinctions of motivations among three subgroups: managers, professionals, and operational staff. According to her, managers and professionals are usually facing a financial burden to maintain a decent lifestyle while operational staff are struggling to sustain the family's daily expenses. Similarly, in expatriation studies, we categorise these three groups as high-status, middle-status and low-status expatriates accordingly (a distinction mirrored in recent western literature Selmer, et al., 2022). I therefore conclude that high-status and middle-status expatriates are usually 'lifestyle' expatriates who are attracted by the high income in the host countries to maintain a typical lifestyle, while low-status expatriates are pushed to leave China and seek possible opportunities to sustain themselves and their families, fitting into the group identified, both by their lack of visibility *in situ* and their almost total absence from the academic literature as 'hidden expatriates' (Haak-Saheem & Brewster, 2017).

Reaching a specific life goal is commonly found as a personal ambition among middle-aged expatriates. Because of the relatively tough living and working conditions there, middle-aged expatriates usually go to Tanzania with a clear financial goal, with determination and ambition. They carry considerable responsibilities in life, such as paying debts, buying a flat, children's education, or caring for elderly family members. Thus, saving money becomes a norm in their life in Tanzania (Fei, 2022; Sun, 2017). A formal contract does not necessarily determine their length of stay. Instead, the realisation of their saving plan often becomes a point of departure. One CEO I spoke with found that some of his employees had calculated how much money they want to earn and, fairly precisely, how many years it would take them to save such an amount of money even before coming to Tanzania. Once they reached the appropriate number, they would resign immediately. Driessen (2016), in her study, also found that Chinese expatriates in Africa usually calculate the required income beforehand. A previous study (Rui, 2017) found that some companies transferred money and bonuses directly to the account of expatriates' partners or other family members so that they had less money available in Tanzania for gambling. I found cases of companies delaying payments from monthly to annually with the same purpose of encouraging saving. Instead of complaining about such behaviour, taken without a contractual agreement, to my surprise, my informant showed respect for such an approach. As his daily life needs were taken care of by the company, and no additional expenses are needed in the camp (or compound), he believed that the company was helping him get into the habit of saving money and avoiding profligacy.

In general, few Chinese expatriates bring family members to Tanzania, and nor do they plan to do so. It is not that these Chinese expatriates do not value family relationships. Rather, they value it very much and are prepared to sacrifice their own time with their families for the children's future happiness and prosperity. It is common to see couples separate, especially for the sake of children's education. Expatriates told me that they had usually already negotiated these family issues with their partners before they came to Africa. This echoes the discovery of Lee (2018) that 'collective asceticism' or the culture of 'eating bitterness' practised by

Chinese expatriates contrasts with the more 'individualistic careerism' of expatriates in other international firms (p. 29). Since group and collective interests take precedence over individual interests in the Chinese society, individual well-being is only realised as family or group goals are fulfilled. It also supports the study of Haak-Saheem and her colleagues (2021) which shows that low-status expatriates usually put family-oriented welling-being ahead of personal-oriented well-being.

The above discussion goes some way to answering Ali's question at the beginning of this chapter. Chinese expatriates practise asceticism not because they receive oppression as convicted labours or because they have witchcraft. They work hard and endure separation from their families because they have no better choices back home. Ali has a stereotype that is shared with many others, that expatriates are those who have prestigious status in senior positions with high salaries. He used to think:

> *"Those Chinese, why do they work like this? …he or she worked with the work which is supposed to be done by the professionals. Because they are from other countries, we believe we are the ones who are poor. So when some people come from other countries, work with, living with such work we can do, there must be a problem" (Casual conversation\Ali, Pos. 24).*

Perhaps it is the colonial imprint or perhaps it is the economic imbalance, but Ali has the impression that expatriates should be rich. What he may not realise is that although China has developed rapidly over the years, it is still a developing country with a population of 1.4 billion. In 2021, the Chinese government finally announced the complete eradication of absolute poverty, measured against the equivalent of US$2.30 per person per day as applied to rural areas (Lugo, et al., 2021). There is uneven development between regions and a wide gap between the rich and the poor. Not every Chinese expatriate who comes to Tanzania is a 'big boss'. They can be working class living on a shoestring.

Some determined entrepreneurs were seeking opportunities in the African continent. The 'time machine theory' found in my study, refers to the situation that expatriates from emerging markets whose home countries have gone through economic development believe that they have the ability to predict and detect potential business opportunities in a newly developing region. Many Chinese expatriates feel that their country's success makes them qualified to mentor and help developing countries like Tanzania. They are the ones with the 'magic power' to travel in a time machine. Sun (2017) has a similar observation in her fieldwork where she found that whether expatriates were Chinese government officers or migrant entrepreneurs, they believe they can foster development in Africa in a different way from the post-colonial Westerners, since Africa is in the same position as Chinese itself was a few short decades ago. This applies in particular to what I came to call 'transitioned migrant entrepreneurs': initially typical AEs or SIEs when they entered the host country who used the international experience as a springboard to accumulate economic capital, social capital, and business resources, to benefit their business exploration at a later point. The transition from expatriates to entrepreneurs might be a sign of opportunism for some of the Chinese (Borozan & Pfeifer, 2014). But to those mentioned above, this transition is a strategy that comes with determination and is carefully orchestrated. Of course, there are also Chinese investors in Africa, who arrive with certain entrepreneurial goals in mind. Usually, expatriate entrepreneurs come to Tanzania with some visions, but their ultimate goal is to make money. Thus, I will argue that expatriates with a personal ambition to set up business also see their expatriation as an economic investment and their behaviour is guided to some extent by this mentality. As one informant Mr Li said:

"Most Chinese people come to Africa because they want to work and make money, not many people come here looking for friendship, or looking for anything else… And based on the fact that it takes a long time to build that friendship, it's not like you meet one person and you can build that connection immediately… No one comes here to enjoy life, to enjoy entertainment and to make contact with a lot of people, (all I) think is how I can make money, in what way, and if I contact this person, I also think about whether he can bring me some benefit, everyone thinks in this way." (Interviews\18. Li, Pos. 491)

Although those businesspeople are normally in a good financial position, it seems that they don't quite care about the lifestyle in Africa. If socialising is not helpful to their business, they will try to avoid it rather than waste time and energy. Since I know Mr Li used to work for both an SOE and a private firm, I asked him how he felt about the different management styles in those two companies. Instead of answering my question directly, he said:

"Essentially I am a businessman, I do not care (about how they manage), all I care about is making money" (Interviews\18. Li, Pos. 316).

The above discussion of personal ambition further argues my point that the majority of Chinese see their international assignments as profit-maximising investments, and it is also evident that their motivation is highly linked to monetary consideration, while there might be subtle differentiations among expatriates of different status due to their distinct socio-economic background. Not all Chinese who come to Africa will necessarily succeed, but they come with courage, hope and determination.

5.1.4 Investing in career

Those who invest for career advancement are usually working in the SOEs. Although I found that the majority of Chinese expatriates, whether from SOEs or private firms, are motivated by financial incentives during their international assignments, there is a different focus between those two groups. A previous study shows that while career progression plays a central role in motivating AEs to relocate abroad (Miller & Cheng, 1978), SIEs show less interest in traditional career and hierarchical advancement (Doherty, et al., 2011). What I found in my fieldwork is that the great internal contrast comes from expatriates from SOEs and private firms, instead of AEs and SIEs: expatriates from SOEs are more likely to invest in career capital, while expatriates from private firms are more money-oriented. One possible explanation might be that the status of official 'SOE' employees is equivalent to that of civil servants in China and a political career path is their main focus under the national civil-servant system. The reason I emphasise the word 'official' here is because SOEs work with a wide range of contractors who are just temporary employees. If you don't know their internal relationships, you would think that the SOEs send a large number of expatriates to Tanzania. For example, those employees from contractors work and live with 'SOE' staff in the camp, and accept their rules of management. But they are just employees of third parties those SOEs work with. I found that those employees from contractors usually identified with their SOE status when approached, whereas the official 'SOE' employees refused to acknowledge it and would emphasise they were only in a cooperative rather than a subordinate relationship. In a word, 'official' expatriates from SOEs can only be assigned and much of their relocation has to do with their future political aspirations. Noteworthy, due to the reform of SOEs, many of them have started to implement the contract system, rather than the civil-servant system. This means that when those expatriates complete their international assignment, their contract with the company is automatically terminated without the further arrangement of repatriation. Some

‘SOE’ staff are self-initiated, but they are relatively few in number. Those people were initially assigned by a company and turned into self-initiated expatriates after completing their initial contract.

Expatriates invest in their careers in exchange for a broader platform to sharpen their skills or for the possibility of faster career progression. There is an old Chinese saying, 山高皇帝远 (the mountain is high and the emperor is far away). It refers to the situation where someone is out of the reach of the emperor’s long arms. Expatriates from the SOEs believe that being far away from parent companies, they have more flexibility in Tanzania to exploit their talents and they are able to take on more significant assignments than their counterparts in China. According to Mr Jun, the positions at home usually have higher requirements for technique, while being abroad, you are expected to have both technical skills and management skills. You will be exposed to management work only when you are in a managerial potion if you are based in China. But in Tanzania, you will be involved in project management such as communicating with (business) owners, and subcontractors (Interviews\21. Jun, Pos. 259).

5.1.5 Investing in lifestyle

Young expatriates are more likely to romanticise their African experience as a way of exploring the world and investing in a lifestyle. Although in Driessen’s study (2015), young expatriates from rural areas are found to be a modern type of slaves who sold their freedom to the bank for the purpose of buying a house, I would argue that such observations are based on what happened seven years ago when this study was completed and might not capture the picture today. It is intuitive during my fieldwork that young people know how to enjoy life, and you can get such an impression from conversations with them or their posts on their social media. Photos of food, blue skies, sun, beach, sports etc., appear frequently in their social media feeds.

Sometimes you have the illusion that these young people are not staying in the same Africa as their older colleagues.

Findings in the existing literature on the young generation of Chinese expatriates are rather contradictory. While Rui et al. (2017) believe that it will be difficult to attract the younger generation to emerging markets, with their harsh conditions and the need to sacrifice family life, given that they grew up with improved living standards in China, Feng and Jacques (2016) argue that it may not be so difficult since they are often ready to work in countries with 'bad conditions' considering the potential improvement of both their salary and their position after repatriation. I can offer an alternative understanding for this group of people: younger generation expatriates are more likely to romanticise their African experience as a way of exploring the world. Because of the improved living conditions in China, they are less likely to be driven by purely materialistic goals to go to Africa – instead, it is the spiritual exploration and rich experiences they seek.

Such a mindset impacts their adjustment to local culture, to a greater or lesser extent. Although Zhu and Warner (2018) worry that the challenges of globalisation and new technology development might lead the new generation to have a more negative perception of their jobs, my observation dispels such a concern. Or, at least, this has not yet happened. Instead, the new generation in China has grown up with a more open and tolerant mind under globalisation and with the use of highly developed technology. As one of my informants argued, since they have learned about, heard about or even experienced different cultures in their formative years, they are more willing to embrace new things rather than seeing them as signs of backwardness. It is not that they live in good conditions and don't suffer. Rather, maybe they do not see it as suffering but as an exciting adventure? They are still highly motivated by the income differential over their domestic peers, but they also carry with them the romanticism of their African dream. In general, I found that young generation expatriates show a widely divergent mentality towards their African journey compared with their older colleagues. Of course, it may just be that they may not be at an age where they need to take on the responsibility of supporting a family and their desire for money, therefore, is not as great as that of their older colleagues at this stage.

When expatriates invest in lifestyle, they become more aware of their surroundings and emotional care. The first is living conditions. Mr Yu, a CEO of an SOE, noticed that employees who were born after the 90's are less willing to share a bedroom with others, which used to be quite common among Chinese expatriates in Africa. Rather than interpreting it as 'no tolerance' of difficult conditions, I would rather argue that new generations have more individualistic values. Rui et al. (2017) found that the young generation in China, influenced by western culture, is more individualised and might challenge traditional corporate culture or 'inhuman' traditions. My observation supports the findings from Rui et al. (2017) and shows that young generations are more conscious of their privacy.

The second is the social circle. Another difference between young and old expatriates is that there are no restrictions on their social connection among the former while the latter is more likely to stay with 'their own people' (from the same organisation, or the same type of organisation: SOE or private firm) or only make business contacts. I have discussed in the previous section that those expatriates who invest in economic capital are less willing to waste time and energy building contacts that they do not think will benefit their ROI. In contrast, young expatriates who invest in lifestyle do not show such a mentality: their social circle is more mixed and interest-oriented. For example, there are various kinds of sports groups that connect young expatriates from different companies and backgrounds.

The third is emotional care. Mr Jun's company is conducting a reform in HRM. He found the turnover rate is higher among young employees. Mr Jun said the young generation is susceptible to negativity in their lives or relationships and they need more humanistic care in their management.

Investing in lifestyle has made young expatriates more emotionally attached to Africa, more willing to enjoy life, and have greater cross-cultural adaptation. This is a significant difference from their ascetic predecessors. But it is also because they are growing up in a new era, the practice of individualism and the need for human management can be new challenges for some Chinese firms.

5.1.6 Catalysts for the investment

Several factors have contributed to expatriates' investment behaviour.

Personal connection

Family ties and social connections offer expatriates the courage and confidence to come to the host country. Previous studies have found family factors play a critical role in expatriates' decision-making (Brett & Stroh, 1995; Carr et al., 2005; Froese, 2012; Jackson et al., 2005; Tharenou, 2008). Family factors are involved in two situations in the literature, one is family ties (e.g. Froese, 2012) and the other is family responsibilities (e.g. Carr et al., 2005). In this study, we consider family ties as a type of personal connection and family responsibilities will be discussed in the next paragraph as family considerations. In general, internationally mobile workers are likely to follow other family members on their relocation (Carr et al., 2005). This theory can be applied to a few of my informants, who were in Tanzania mainly to support the family business. What is interesting is that these informants are all educated in western countries, so culturally aware, and went to Tanzania after their graduation. In general, that was not common amongst the Chinese I met in Tanzania. Other expatriates are motivated by other social connections, such as their friends, old schoolmates, or previous colleagues. Hence this motivation is better phrased as a personal relationship rather than a family factor since it contains a wider range of connections.

Family consideration

Family responsibilities have been found to be primarily relevant to expatriates from collectivistic cultures (Chang, 1992; Granrose & Chua, 1996) and my study supports such a claim. As discussed, Chinese expatriates are willing to sacrifice their own immediate family life in order to provide a better material life for their families back in China. This pressure, which I classify as monetary consideration, is identified as an important push force in this work. Another type of family factor is related to the upbringing of children (Carr et al., 2005), which is categorised as a pull factor in the studies of Jackson et al. (2005) and Thorn (2015). For many assigned and higher-status western expatriates, their children will be educated at expensive private boarding schools at home or in high-quality' international schools in the host country. This was rare among Chinese expatriates in Tanzania. The quality of education in Tanzania is a great concern for them. The majority of them simply cannot afford to send children to international schools and, even if they were able to support their children to receive education in 'superior' schools, they are afraid that once they go back to China, their children's learning will not match the Chinese education system, ruining the children's future. None of these expatriates had any long-term plans to stay in Tanzania and they would have to go back one day, even if it was not certain which day. Studies have shown that concerns about children's education in international settings make people more reluctant to relocate (Brett & Stroh, 1995) or they choose not to take children with them (GMAC, 2004). The majority of my observations fall into the latter situation as they choose to leave their children to receive their education in China. Family consideration is a prominent factor that 'drags' expatriates to go back to China. Previous studies found declining international assignments may be due to the responsibility of taking care of parents, especially for the generation under 'One Child' Policy (Yao, 2014; Yao et al., 2016). My study shows that concern for the elderly is also one of the main reasons that expatriates chose to go back to China.

Employment environment

In general, the employment environment plays a significant role in pushing expatriates to move and pulls them to come, which has been identified as a typical reason for migration in the existing literature (Richardson & McKenna, 2002; Winchie & Carment, 1989). As a country with a large population, China faces serious challenges in employment. A great number of expatriates from private firms are relatively poorly educated and they are disadvantageously positioned in the job market at home. The job opportunities they can obtain in China cannot compare with those they can get in Tanzania, in terms of salary and position. Graduates of language majors (mainly in English) are relatively common among expatriates. In China, the employment of English-majoring graduates is saturated. Tanzania is an easy choice for them compared with developed English-speaking countries, providing them with more accessible job opportunities.

Business environment

Migrant entrepreneurs and business investors are attracted by the business environment of Tanzania, which they believe is full of potential and easy to enter. Their 'time machine' theory suggests that Tanzania, as a developing economy, offers attractive business opportunities for Chinese expatriates who have witnessed the rapid development of their own country in the past few decades. The business environment in China is a push force for some business owners: increasingly stringent environmental policies are causing some players to start relocating their factories outside of China, for example to Southeast Asia and Africa. Nor do all these difficulties arise from a formal business policy – some are affected by the informal business environment. For instance, excessive advances in construction projects have left some contractors unable to make ends meet. They aspire to a more accessible model of cooperation abroad. In short, the influence of the business environment from both the host and home countries have combined to contribute to their decision to go to Tanzania.

Institutional environment

The business environment is intertwined with the institutional environment. Political concerns are also considered as a component of lifestyle (Jackson, et al., 2005). However, for the people I was living and working with, the institutional factors or political factors in the host country played a more significant role than expected so that they can be separated from other domains as independent factors. The institutional environment has a pivotal role to play throughout the full cycle of the international experience. It is, in particular, a primary reason that 'throws' expatriates out of Tanzania. Usually, the political environment in the home country is a major force to push migrants to move abroad (Carr, et al., 2005; Chang & Deng, 1992; Lam, 2002). The perceived lack of political freedom in China that has been identified in the studies of Chang and Deng (1991) and Lam (2002) did not seem very relevant to my informants. Only one person explicitly expressed disappointment at the nepotism and *guanxi*-oriented working ethos in the public sector while he was applying for a civil servant-like job. After that, he was disillusioned with the political system and decided to leave. Nevertheless, the political environment in the host country in this study becomes a salient throw factor that pushes Chinese expatriates to leave Tanzania. Petty corruption and visa issue are the most vexing problems they encountered on a daily basis. The hatred and helplessness of corruption encouraged them to re-think their African plan or just leave as soon as possible.

Based on the findings and discussion, a framework of influencing factors of the expatriation cycle is offered. This framework captures the influencing factors in both the expatriation and repatriation stages. In particular, two concepts are introduced – drag factor and throw factor. It can be argued those two factors have similar functions as push and pull factors – attracting someone to a place and pushing someone out of a place. However, I would argue that such an approach is not redundant; it clarifies the direction in which these factors act. Rather, it facilitates academics and HR specialists to understand more clearly which factors will make expatriates stay longer in the destination country and which factors may lead them to return home without completing their assignments. The content of each category can be explained as below:

- Employment environment: job market, career-related factors…
- Institutional environment: political environment, policies, education system…
- Business environment: business opportunities, business culture…
- Living environment: lifestyle, natural environment, food safety…
- Monetary consideration: economic factors
- Personal relationship: family ties, friends, schoolmates…
- Personal ambition: personal interest, personal goal…

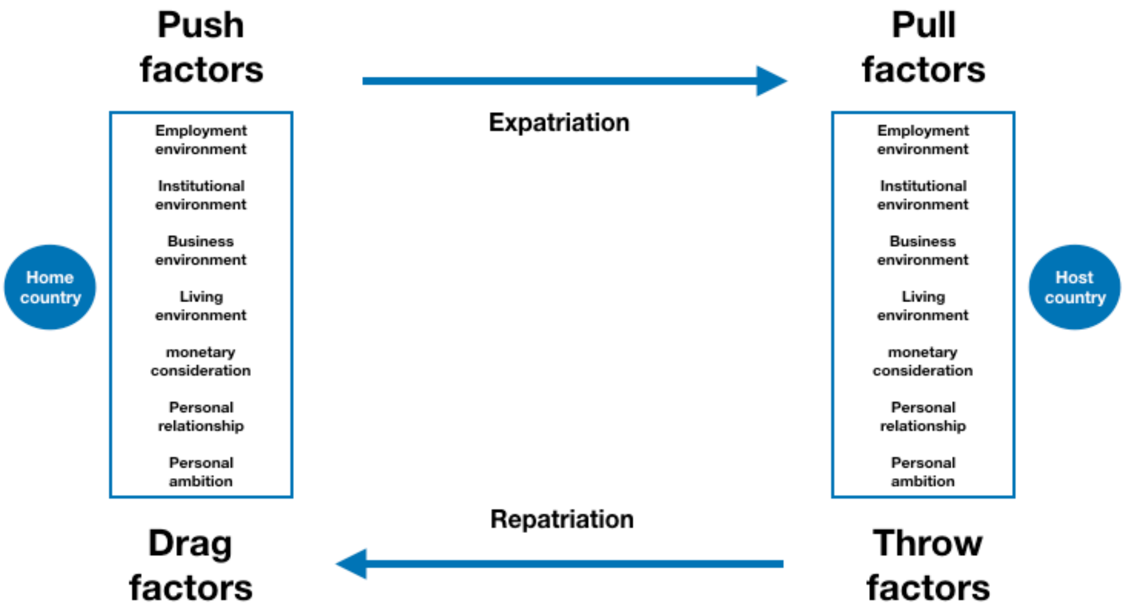

Figure 28 Framework of influencing factors of expatriation cycle

5.1.7 Conclusion

The major difference between Chinese and Western expatriates is that their motivation for expatriation is pragmatic rather than idealistic. Financial incentive is their primary, and sometimes the only, motivation for expatriation. Chinese expatriates in Tanzania generally see their overseas experience as an 'investment' and primarily seek to maximise economic efficiency. Their behaviour is greatly guided by the return on investment. The asceticism they have to practise is a price they are willing to pay in exchange for economic benefits. What they choose to do or choose to avoid revolves around the principle of whether it is beneficial to such investment. The heterogeneity of Chinese expatriates - different socio-economic backgrounds and ages - leads to different motivations and behaviours of expatriates. Although the majority of expatriates are money-driven, high-status and middle-status expatriates are usually ‘lifestyle’ expatriates who are attracted by the high income in the host countries to maintain a typical lifestyle, while low-status expatriates are pushed to leave China and seek possible opportunities to sustain themselves and their families. There is a small group of people relocating for career advancement and they are mostly concentrated in the SOEs. The young generation shows more common traits with western expatriates in terms of motivation, and they tend to romanticise their African journey, seeking a balance between making money and enjoying life.

5.2 Corruption, status and power

5.2.1 Introduction

Petty corruption, as a specific category of corruption, has rarely been touched upon in expatriation studies, although its specific forms (e.g., bribing immigration officers, and police officers) have been discussed marginally by some scholars (Dobler, 2009; Zi, 2015). This is because corruption, regardless of its levels, is usually analysed at the macro level, such as policymaking. Petty corruption is defined by Yoo (2008) as:

> *"…commonplace when private citizens (such as investors and business managers) have to deal with relatively low-level bureaucrats in getting approval for specific privileges or economic activities, and 'small' bribes are involved in completing a particular transaction within a reasonable time-span." (p. 268)*

Although the situation improved after 2015 when President John Magufuli started significant efforts to fight corruption, petty corruption is still a constant problem in the experience of Chinese expatriates in their interaction with local authorities, in particular in the delivery of public services. Baez-Camargo *et al.,* (2020) discovered a similar situation in their study of three Eastern African countries: Tanzania, Uganda and Rwanda. In my study, petty corruption is one of the problems mentioned most frequently by my informants, and it is also one of the most prominent problems that appeared in my participant observation.

Inspections by street-level bureaucrats are common for Chinese expatriates in Tanzania, and are often solved by giving tips. Local immigration authorities, tax revenue officials and traffic police constantly target Chinese expatriates and look for 'troubles' intentionally. This is also discovered and discussed by Sheridan (2019) who did his fieldwork on Chinese immigrants in Tanzania. Such encounters rarely end in severe consequences such as arrest. Instead, it is a hidden script for people to follow - paying tips - if you are experienced with such a situation. My findings also echo the study of Stevens and Newenham-Kahindi (2021), which shows corruption is inevitable in East and Central Africa and expatriates usually choose to avoid it or acquiesce to it. In the findings section, I have explored the reasons why the Chinese are targeted by the low level of bureaucrats, how they are targeted and what they want to achieve by committing small bribery. That thick description suggests a complex dynamic of power and status between the Chinese and locals.

5.2.2 Connection to extant literature

While international business studies have discussed how corruption affected FID (Desai et al., 2004; Habib & Zurawicki, 2002; Khanna & Palepu, 2006), little is known regarding how weak institutions allowing corruption impact the daily lives of expatriates. Sociologists Sheridan (2019) and Lam (2015) have found that micro-bureaucrats (petty corruption) are one of the major issues Chinese expatriates encounter in Africa. Their studies have illustrated the complex power dynamics between Chinese and locals, suggesting taking into account African agency in the analysis of the presence of China in Africa. Similarly, Mohan and Lampert (2013) call for attention to various actors beyond statist and elite dialogues in the context of China in Africa. The social network has been proved to be powerful in shaping social behaviours as individuals are connected based on unwritten rules such as reciprocity, entitlement and obligations through such a network (Baeze-Camargo et al., 2020) and Chinese expatriates are found using socio-economic advantages in investing social capital in African countries. However, Sheridan (2018) argues that Chinese and Tanzanians have a fundamentally different understanding of and approach to reciprocity, and their relationship tends to be more instrumental than affective. Scholars also found there is an unspoken hierarchy of nationality among expatriates which has a direct impact on the experience of expatriates (Kuper, 2022; Sheridan, 2019; Yan et al., 2019).

5.2.3 'Powerful' Chinese and 'vulnerable' Tanzanians?

The embarrassing and paradoxical aspect of Chinese expatriate status is that their economic privilege is accompanied by the political vulnerability. This is especially reflected in daily micropolitics (Sheridan, 2019). Sheridan (2019) believes such a phenomenon resembles the concept of 'middleman minorities' from Bonacich (1973): people who lack political power but have relative economic power over the locals. This seems contradictory to the conventional and popular thinking, mainly from the western world, that China is exhibiting its neo-colonial power in Africa (Jauch, 2011). Based on the abundant data from ethnographic studies, both Lam (2018) and Lee (2018) argue that such preconceived and untested assumptions of 'powerful' or 'bullying' China should be re-evaluated, and suggest paying more attention to African agency when studying the interaction between Chinese and Africans. Lam (2018) rejected the "linear, static and binary power hierarchy" (p.6) of powerful China and weak Africa.

To respond to the calls from Lam (2018) and Lee (2018), I reviewed the interaction between Chinese expatriates and Tanzanian in the performance of petty corruption by taking into account African agents. I found that the power dynamic between Chinese expatriates and Tanzanians is complex, and is not solely determined by the economic power of the two countries. The conventional dichotomous understanding of Chinese and Tanzanians, such as rich vs poor or powerful vs weak should be re-considered when discussing the experience of Chinese expatriates in Tanzania. The status of the Chinese is not always as privileged as it is described in media and literature. In fact, the majority of Chinese who work and live in Tanzania are middle-status expatriates or close to middle-status, who are neither well educated nor proficient in foreign languages. Their high economic status is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, as a result of unequal economic status, they are more easily targeted by local bureaucrats for financial gain, as also evidenced by Lam (2015). This carries over into day-to-day interactions, where they feel that friendship between Chinese and locals also seems to be based primarily on their financial strength, rather than true friendship. This is consistent with the discovery of Chang (2013) who found that the friendship between Chinese and Zambians is not 'pure'. It also echoes the observation of Sheridan (2018) who found the relationship between Chinese and Tanzanians is rather instrumental than emotional. On the other hand, they can use the money to 'buy' preferential treatment in micropolitics. In particular, they see paying tips as an investment in social capital which they expect to bring them further convenience. However, expatriates do not always find the reciprocity they expect. They believe social capital might just work as a ticket for entry, but the actual assistance is based on a monetary transaction. Non-reciprocity is the main reason Chinese see themselves as 'victims' in the relationship with locals, whether it's local officers or local employees. Some Chinese simply summarise it as their lack of gratitude (Field Notes\18, Pos. 5; Field Notes\13, Pos. 14). Some Chinese feel that locals would thank God rather than the person who lent the money to them. As atheists, the Chinese believe that acquisition is earned through perceived effort, while the locals might think it is given by God. Chinese expatriates are frequently surprised by the apparent straightforwardness of material requests. I have a similar experience with a local taxi driver. Ice creams in Tanzania are usually sold from carts on the side of the road, and one time I asked the driver to stop so I could buy an ice cream. He turned around and told me I could buy one for him as well. I was new to Tanzania at that time and I did not quite understand why he would have such a request, but what I was even less sure about was whether it would be rude in their culture if I expressed surprise and rejection. Of course, I bought the ice cream for the driver. But I was not the only one who was asked for something from strangers. Ms Shu was asked to give her bag (because “it looks pretty”) or freshly bought cashew nuts (“because I like them”) (Interviews\13. Shu, Pos. 192). Such cases demonstrate significant cultural differences between the two societies and one of Sheridan’s studies (2018) provides a possible explanation. He argues that in relation to the ideology of social relationships, the Chinese emphasise balanced reciprocity and the morality of returns, while Africans tend to focus on the moral obligation to assist, meaning that counter obligation is not always necessary (Sugimura, 2004). Sheridan (2018) explains that the directness of material requests is usually expressed in a way of joking and he mainly attributes the misunderstanding to “the ambiguity of these exchanges between Chinese and Tanzanians [which] contributed to both the amiability of joking relationships but also reinforced Chinese stereotypes about a presumed local propensity to make demands” (Sheridan, 2018, p. 19). In my research, I cannot confirm whether those requests were jokes or not. What is certain, however, is that in the context of Chinese dealing with local authorities, the disparity in political status can lead to jokes being taken as an authoritative command, especially if there are language barriers that hinder further communication.

The close power distance between the Chinese and the Tanzanians brings both advantages and disadvantages to expatriates. The ‘brotherhood’ relationship facilitates communication and interaction between people from the two countries, but it might also remove the safety shields in-between in certain situations. This is what is called the “paradox of social life” by Sheridan (2018, p. 21), in that the necessary interaction is accompanied by increasing exposure to a variety of social dangers. At the level of government cooperation, the Chinese are proud that they do not have a history of colonisation and praise the collaboration between themselves and the Tanzanians as equal and mutual. However, at the level of daily interaction, the Chinese see the lack of a colonial past as a weakness and a reason why they cannot be treated the same as other expatriates. The Chinese feel strongly about an unspoken hierarchy and discrimination among expatriates, which is not caused by the colour of skin, but by the residual power derived from colonial history. Sheridan (2019) argues that it is not just the Chinese, Indians also face a similar doubling of privilege and vulnerability. However, this study finds that the status of Indian immigrants is somehow higher than that of the Chinese in daily interaction. This is probably because Indians have the advantage of a shared language (English) with locals in a country previously colonised by the British. In addition, Indian immigrants have been settling in this country and have been active in various roles there for a long period of history. But the most important factor mentioned by Chinese expatriates is the power distance caused by history. As Bertz (2021) describes, Indian subjects participated in the British suppression of the slave trade as a wedge to declare protection for Zanzibar and establish Tanganyika on the continent. Thus, although India was not a colonial ruler, they had the privilege granted to them by the British to govern locals. In this way, the Indians also had a certain authority, like the colonisers, thus making the relationship between the locals and them not as relaxed and equal as that of the Chinese.

Zi (2015) argues that twin handicaps put the Chinese in a position where it is difficult for them to protect their rights: language barriers and ignorance of regulations. This is largely consistent with what I and others have found in Tanzania. The vulnerability of the Chinese is reflected in their tendency to be taken advantage of economically and their inability to raise their voices in their own defence. Zi (2015) found that most Chinese merchants in Botswana "are rendered mute” (p. 37) due to language barriers and ignorance of local laws. Only when the matter is considered serious will they spend time going through the legal procedure or spend money hiring a lawyer. This has also reflected the cultural differences in the understanding of time between the Chinese and Tanzania. Chinese believe that ‘time is money’ and they are cautious about how much time they invest. In general, their behaviour is guided by cost-benefit calculation. If it is not worth wasting time, they would rather pay a small number of tips to get away from further loss.

When it comes to language, expatriation studies usually focus on its communicative function and argue that language barriers have a negative impact on adjustment because expatriates are unable to communicate with locals (Peltokorpi, 2008; Selmer, 2006; Takeuchi et al., 2005). Living and working with Chinese expatriates in Tanzania for 7 months, I witnessed the power imbalance and the information asymmetry posed by language barriers between expatriates and locals. Fear and uncertainty due to language barriers put Chinese expatriates in a vulnerable position and they fail to raise their voices. This further weakens their political power when facing local officers. Without knowing the situation and its potential consequences, the Chinese choose to pay tips to minimise the risks when dealing with bureaucrats. They are unable to communicate and argue with local officials to protect their rights when necessary. It has increased their chances of being taken advantage of. This finding is broadly in line with the discovery of Zi (2015) who found that language barriers increased the possibility of unfair treatment among the Chinese.

Nevertheless, jumping to the conclusion of vulnerable Chinese and powerful Tanzanians is also inaccurate. Firstly, the ignorance of regulations and even non-compliance with the laws make it difficult for the Chinese to legitimise themselves. It is they who give others the opportunity to 'find trouble'. Secondly, their high economic status empowers them to buy their way out. They spent an amount of money that does not matter to them to buy time, convenience, and special treatment. They also invest money in building and maintaining social capital. This behaviour can be seen as a power exchange between 'vulnerable' Chinese and 'powerful' Tanzanians – the former is in a disadvantageous position in politics but possess relative high economic power whereas the latter is disadvantaged in its economic status but has great political power over the Chinese.

5.2.4 Conclusions

This chapter re-assesses the relationship between Chinese and African actors and uncovers more complex power dynamics through the lens of petty corruption. The paradoxical aspect of Chinese expatriate status is that their economic privilege is accompanied by political vulnerability, which leads them to trade economic advantage for political convenience. However, the return on investment in social capital is not as high as they expect, possibly due to the different cultural understanding of reciprocity. The unspoken hierarchy among expatriates is reflected in micropolitics. Chinese perceive the lack of colonial history of their motherland, which is seen as a solid foundation for Sino-Africa friendship and cooperation, as a disadvantage in day-to-day interaction.

It seems difficult to decide whether it is the Chinese who are responsible for the corruption because they are rule breakers and they like using money to solve problems, or whether it is the local authorities who need to self-criticise their behaviour. It is not the aim of this chapter to answer who should be blamed. Instead, it aims to provide a thick description of the daily encounter and challenges of expatriates and an alternative perspective to understand the experience of Chinese expatriates, illustrating the complex power dynamics in the day-to-day interaction between Chinese expatriates and locals.

5.3 Language differences, language capital and identity

5.3.1 Introduction

Language has been found to be prominent in expatriates' experiences in Tanzania. Its impact goes beyond the instrumental function of communication and constantly constructs the identities of both expatriates and locals, further shaping their relationship to the social world. I argue that language is used as a resource as well as an identity while taking account of both African and Chinese actors.

5.3.2 Connection to the extant literature

Language skill is both an empowering and disempowering resource in social interaction (Vaara, 2005). The notion of 'linguistic capital' reveals that language can work as a resource that can be invested to acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources (Peirce, 1995). Morrison and Lui (2000) argue that linguistic capital reproduces the status quo of inequality and differential status as well as distorts power relations. Language is also a salient marker of identity, which might be more relevant than age, gender and ethnicity in certain situations (Giles & Johnson, 1981). Language-related issues can cause status loss (Neeley, 2013) and lead to imbalanced power relations between expatriates and locals (Sliwa and Johansson, 2014). While Ai et al. (2022) call for developing a hybrid identity through language in responding to an identity crisis in transactional communication, Peltokorpi and Pudelko (2021) remind us to pay attention to the degree of language proficiency as ''more is not better'' (p,78). 'Too good' language fluency might pose a threat to HCNs' intergroup boundaries. Withdrawal, avoidance, and code-switching are three coping strategies expatriates often used to respond to their anxieties, which inevitably led to the loss of information and difficulty in transmitting knowledge. Code-switching is generally considered as a negative phenomenon, leading to feelings of discomfort and trust issues between expatriates and local employees (Aichhorn & Puck, 2017; Tenzer et al., 2014),

5.3.3 Language as a resource and language as an identity

The Chinese expatriates' preference for languages reflects their perception of language as a resource – a capital that can bring economic and social benefits through investment. It echoes Peirce's argument (1995) that the concept of investment captures the relationship of the language learner to the changing social world. By investing in a second language, expatriates expect to acquire a wide range of symbolic and material resources, which in return might transform into other forms of capital. Investing in Swahili, the mother language of Tanzania, will allow investors and employees of private SMEs to gain insight into local customers and penetrate local markets. Such a choice is primarily determined by the size and industries of the business. Business owners who run factories and sell their products (e.g., household products) locally to low-end customers are more willing to devote time to learning Swahili. But more expatriates have expressed their interest in Swahili from a social perspective.

Firstly, the transformation function of capital enables expatriates to transfer linguistic capital into social capital. Speaking the local language guarantees that expatriates have more direct access to local authorities, customers, and clients, through which a solid social network is likely to be established. Burt (1995) argues that social capital is the arbiter of competitive success, which increases the opportunities to transform financial and human capital into profits. Similarly, linguistic capital has the potential to turn social capital into profits.

Secondly, the symbolic power of language can work as a protection for expatriates to avoid bullying and deception. It can be achieved in two ways: 1) Identity transformation. Language is more than an instrument for exchanging information, but constantly shapes the identity of expatriates and their relationship to the social world. Speaking Swahili turns expatriates from outsiders into someone who has been living in Tanzania long enough to be familiar with the environment and culture – *lao tansang* 老坦桑. Expatriates who have extended experience categorise themselves as *lao tansang* (in-group), while others are generally considered as newcomers (an out-group). The term 'old Tanzanian' suggests a sophisticated, experienced, and fearless identity of Chinese expatriates. By calling themselves 'Tanzanian', expatriates reveal a more inclusive mentality towards the local environment and people. It is an intermediate identity that is moving closer to locals while differentiating from newcomers from China. It is also a form of hybrid identity (Ai et al., 2022) where expatriates are able to enter different cultural spheres freely and switch their identities flexibly. Previous studies focused on how language creates identity-based boundaries between expatriates and locals (Zhang & Peltokorpi, 2016) or in global teams (Hinds et al., 2014). This study shows that language-based identities can also be formed within the same ethnic group, which will further influence how locals view and treat Chinese based on such identities. 2) Cultural appreciation. Zhang, Harzing and Fan (2018) found that making efforts to learn a host-country language, as an indicator of embracing the local culture, works as an important facilitator for acceptance. Consistent with previous studies (Zhang, Harzing and Fan, 2018; Zhang and Peltokorpi 2016), in my research I found that locals hold more positive views toward expatriates who speak the local language. The Swahilisation project in the post-colonial era has consolidated the position of Swahili as a national language in Tanzania (Bwenge, 2012), generating enhanced cultural confidence and national pride. Speaking Swahili will gain favour from locals and might further exempt expatriates from being treated unfairly. While Peltokorpi and Pudelko (2021) argue that when expatriates are ‘too good’ in the local language it might violate the salient intergroup boundaries between HCNs and expatriates, I found no such phenomenon. This might be because the language fluency of Chinese in Swahili has not reached a professional level – it is mainly limited to daily listening and speaking. Most of them do not acquire Swahili through systematic training, but in day-to-day communication. It is still at the beginning of the curvilinear U-shaped relationship of Peltokorpi and Pudelko’s study (2021) – increasing of expatriates’ host country language proficiency leads to low levels of HCN expatriate outgroup categorisation.

Similarly, investing in English linguistic capital can bring expatriates both economic and social benefits. The status of English as a medium of instruction in Tanzania along with its reputation as a world language gives it a great capital value that expatriates believe will bring both short- and long-term benefits. Since many Chinese SOEs are doing business with local governments, such as infrastructure construction, the majority of Chinese expatriates from SOEs believe English is of more significance. For private investors, English functions beyond a working language, giving it a role that can be used as the criterion for customer segmentation. Chinese expatriates associate the language spoken by locals with their social status. In the post-colonial era, English still demonstrates its symbolic power in Tanzania. The language policy, Swahili in elementary school and switching to English from high school, constructs senses of superiority and inferiority. It reflects the characteristic of cultural capital in the institutionalised state (Bourdieu, 1986), where language capital (a form of cultural capital) is usually associated with education qualifications. Expatriates are given the impression that those who can only speak Swahili are usually less educated while those who speak good English must have received a relatively high level of education. Thus, they use language as a criterion to segment their customer base – English-speaking customers are high-quality customers with whom it is worth maintaining long-lasting customer relationships.

Language is usually studied as a salient marker of identity (Giles & Johnson, 1981), and it creates identity-based boundaries between expatriates and locals, and among international teams (Hinds et al., 2014; Zhang & Peltokorpi, 2016). I found that expatriates don't really reveal the transformation of their own identity by knowing English. Instead, locals are ascribed different social identities and placed in different social categories based on their levels of English proficiency by Chinese expatriates. In this sense, proficiency in English will win expatriates more opportunities to access English-speaking customers, who they believe will be high-quality customers. Thus, for expatriates, the transformation from linguistic capital into social capital is a great attraction for them to learn English, and ultimately, they expect to turn social capital into economic capital. Moreover, the dominant power of English as a *lingua franca* makes it a more economically viable choice in the long run. Especially in the situation that many Chinese plan for or expect a short stay in Tanzania, with limited time and energy, investing in English linguistic capital seems a cost-effective decision for them, which will continue to deliver benefits even after repatriation. While Bourdieu (1991) argues that the more linguistic capital speakers possess, the more they are able to "exploit the system of differences to their advantage and thereby secure a profit of distinction" (p.18), Chinese expatriates seem to be more practical – they prefer choosing the most relevant one to their work and life. Besides, as Mr Yu explained, with the development of technology, a lot of communication can be done through translation applications and possessing more linguistic capital might not be as special as before. However, such a view only focuses on the features of language as a resource – the instrumental role of language but fails to capture the features of language as an identity – the social function of language. It is imperative for expatriates and

HRM to give importance to local language for both roles, as language is not merely used for exchanging information, but is also associated with status and power in relation to the complexity of the social world.

Scholars generally associate linguistic capital with a dominant, worldwide language, and those who possess such capital are considered to maintain a higher level of socio-economic power and status (Morrison & Lui, 2000; Nawyn et al., 2012). Those definitions fail to capture the internal variability and relativity of linguistic capital. I would argue that there might exist different levels of linguistic capital and their status is not static, varying with contexts and users. In this study, for example, although English maintains a worldwide status, it is less relevant to investors and employees of small enterprises that target low-end customers. On the contrary, Swahili is a high-value linguistic capital that can generate greater benefits for this group of people. In a word, English is low-level linguistic capital and Swahili is a high-level linguistic capital in this context. In contrast, English linguistic capital benefits employees from SOEs and MNEs or those who target high-end customers, by enabling them to have direct access to high-quality customers and partners. Table 4 illustrates how an investment in linguistic capital will benefit expatriates.

TABLE 4 LINGUISTIC CAPITAL AND RETURN ON INVESTMENT

Linguistic capital	Swahili	English
Economic benefits	Explore local markets	A criterion to segment customers (language-based identity)
Social benefits	Build solid local connections (transformation from linguistic capital to social capital)	Access to high-quality customers (transformation from linguistic capital to social capital)

	Symbolic power for protection through 1) identity transformation 2) cultural appreciation	International influence beyond the Africa region and long-term use after expatriation

Table 4 Linguistic capital and return on investment

5.3.4 Language differences, vulnerability, and trustworthiness

Language difference is a relative concept. When we describe language as a barrier, we subconsciously draw attention to one side of the dialoguers – the one who lacks language proficiency. In the situation when we need to take into account both players in communication, language barriers are not appropriate to capture the characteristics of both interlocutors. Therefore, I propose and use here the notion of 'language difference' rather than 'language barrier' to discuss the influence on language for both Chinese and African actors.

Language differences put expatriates in a vulnerable position and three common coping strategies for anxiety identified in the study of Aichhorn and Puck (2017) have also been found in this study. Firstly, the defence mechanism is deactivated. The inability to communicate in daily life and work generally causes inconvenience for the adjustment of expatriates. In this study, expatriates expressed greater concern about their inability to defend or protect themselves when dealing with local authorities. They cannot argue or explain, even though sometimes they do hold valid reasons. Withdrawal (e.g. giving up arguing with local officers) and avoidance (e.g. avoiding meeting with local officers) are the coping strategies they usually use in responding to their anxieties when the defence mechanism is deactivated. In this situation, the power imbalance is exacerbated due to the loss of information and difficulty of transmitting knowledge, and expatriates are more likely to be taken advantage of. Secondly, psychological distance is aggravated. Anxiety deriving from uncertainty make it more difficult for expatriates to confront hostile situation. Moreover, stress due to lack of proficiency in the local language leads to expatriates avoiding participating in local activities and code-switching is applied frequently in meetings. Such behaviour might be seen as an unwillingness to collaborate, which might further aggravate the psychological distance between Chinese or Chinese communities and locals. Thirdly, information asymmetry is increased. While language nodes are found to facilitate engagement between expatriates and local employees (Marschan et al., 1997; Peltokorpi, 2007), Piekkari et al.(2013) argue that when language nodes take the role of translators, there might be some gatekeeping behaviour that influences the information flow with messages being filtered, modified, and distorted to adapt to local interests. This study confirms the concern of Piekkari and her colleagues. Chinese expatriates suspect local interpreters extract information and hide partial information from the Chinese. Moreover, insufficient local language ability narrows the channels for expatriates to receive local information. They are unable to read and watch local news, relying on sources of information that cannot be identified or verified by themselves.

By contrast, language differences also put local people in a vulnerable position in that they cannot be fully trusted by their Chinese employers, colleagues, and partners. Code-switching from English to Swahili in the workplace increased the suspicion of the Chinese towards locals. It is broadly consistent with the findings of previous studies that show code-switching leads to feelings of discomfort and trust issues between expatriates and local employees (Aichhorn & Puck, 2017; Tenzer et al., 2014). Figure 24 illustrates how language differences affect the behaviour of both Chinese and African actors and put them in a vulnerable position.

5.3.5 Conclusions

In this study, I see language as both a resource and an identity. When it is understood as a resource, I argue that it is more accurate to use the concept 'investment' than 'motivation' to understand the reasons for second language learning, as it captures the socio-economic links between language learners and the world. Investing in linguistic capital can bring both economic and social benefits to expatriates, depending on how relevant that language is to their work and life. It also mirrors my argument in the previous chapter that expatriates in general see their expatriation as an investment and their behaviours and experience are determined by the return on investment. In social interaction, language can be further transformed into social and economic capital. Language is also a salient marker of identity. The symbolic power of language can work as a protection for expatriates to avoid bullying and deception, which can be achieved in two ways: 1) Identity transformation. 2) Cultural appreciation. Since language is closely associated with one's status, it is also adopted by the Chinese to differentiate local customers.

I proposed the concept 'language difference' to replace 'language barrier' in discussing the influence of language on both African and Chinese actors. Language differences put both expatriates and locals in a vulnerable position by increasing the power imbalance and causing trust issues. When expatriates lack local language proficiency, the defence mechanism might be deactivated, psychological distance be aggravated, and information asymmetry be increased. All of them contribute to the construction of imbalanced power. Meanwhile, due to language differences, local people might have gatekeeping behaviour or use code-switching strategy when dealing with Chinese, which further increases the distrust of the Chinese towards to locals.

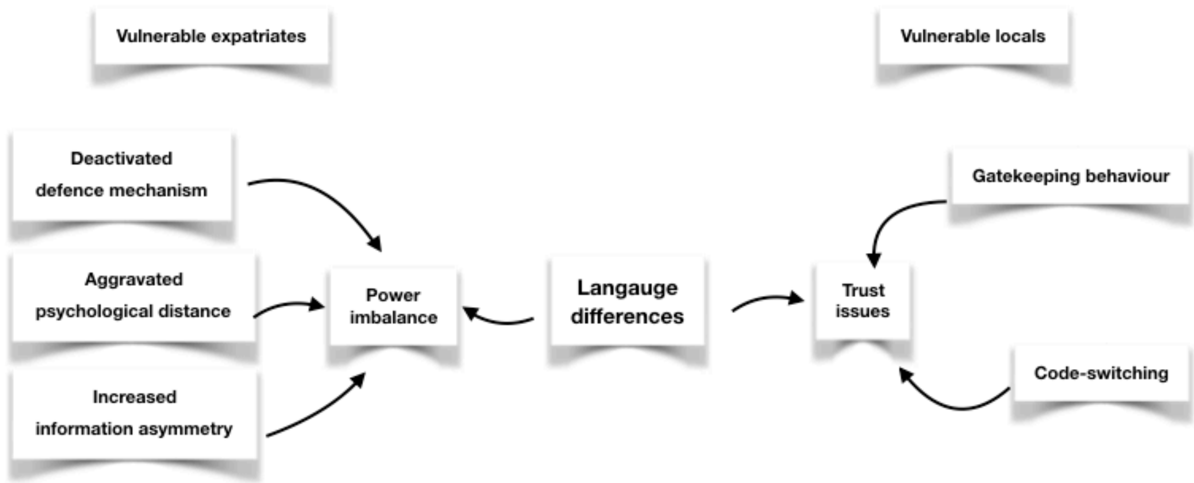

Figure 29 Language differences and vulnerability

5.4 Chapter summary: linking research themes

The interconnectedness of research themes in this study can be illustrated as figure 27. The personal background, including financial status, education, previous experience, social ties and the ownership of the firms they come from, has determined their motivation for relocation. To be more precise, expatriates who lack economic capital (e.g., money) and cultural capital (e.g., education) tend to be primarily motivated by monetary considerations when deciding to relocate. On the other hand, those with greater economic and cultural capital may choose to relocate for career advancement or to pursue a particular lifestyle. By having personal connections with relatives or friends in Tanzania, individuals are often highly motivated to select Tanzania as their destination.

In addition, expatriates who have lower levels of education have inadequate English language skills on average, whereas those from SOEs exhibit stronger language abilities. It has been observed that expatriates employed in private SMEs are more motivated to learn Swahili due to its relevance to their daily life and business operations. On the other hand, expatriates from SOEs place a higher priority on learning English, as their customers are mostly English-speaking government officials. Motivations, to a certain extent, can also influence expatriates' attitudes towards the languages spoken in their host country, as well as their eagerness to learn them.

Both motivation and language ability determine expatriates’ attitudes towards corruption and the corresponding strategies. In contrast to Western expatriates, Chinese expatriates tend to have a more pragmatic motivation, which is to earn and save money for their families' future. Consequently, to expedite normal procedures, they are willing to pay small fees. Furthermore, expatriates who have limited language proficiency may find themselves at a disadvantage and susceptible to extortion by local officials. Without the language ability to defend or protect themselves, they resort to paying money to avoid potential troubles. In contrast, Expats who possess a higher level of language proficiency are more likely to be able to effectively navigate their work and living conditions in Tanzania. They may be viewed as less of an outsider and more trusted by the locals, which could ultimately reduce the need to pay tips.

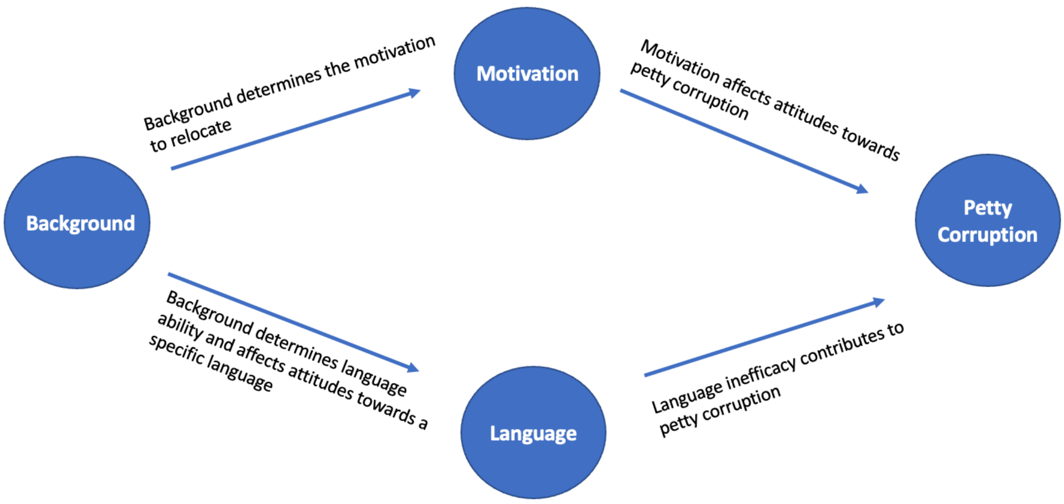

Figure 30 Interconnectedness of research themes

6 Chapter Six: Conclusions

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I bring the study to a conclusion by summarising the main findings in relation to my research aims and research questions. I then discuss the value and contribution of my work. I review the limitations of the study and propose opportunities for future research. Finally, I complete this chapter with my closing thoughts.

6.2 Summary of key findings

This ethnographic study aimed to explore the lived experience of Chinese business expatriates in Tanzania. Combining a seven-month participant observation and 37 in-depth interviews, I have investigated the background of those expatriates, explored their motivation to go and its impact, identified two key issues to relevant stakeholders in terms of their expatriation experience - petty corruption and language differences - and how they influence the experience of expatriates.

6.2.1 Background of expatriates

Chinese business expatriates in Tanzania are a heterogeneous group. Compared with the conventional way of distinguishing and categorising expatriates, such as SIEs vs AEs, I found the type of firms they come from is more relevant in this context –private firms vs SOEs. Competition for business resources is the main reason for the fragmentation of these two groups. In addition, expatriates of the younger generation exhibit some distinctive characteristics in general.

Three dimensions have been found critical to understanding the background of Chinese expatriates in Tanzania: family background, education background and personal background.

Chinese expatriates in private firms come from less affluent families or rural areas of China. The responsibilities and burdens of supporting their family become one of the main factors that push them to seek opportunities somewhere outside of China. This group of people are often less educated, which gives them no advantage in the highly competitive job market in China. One issue that arises, along with a low level of education, is language. Another issue associated with a low level of education, according to the expatriates themselves, is low quality (低素质), which refers to ill manners.

In contrast, SOEs have a relatively more rigorous selection process for expatriates, and their employees have higher levels of education and language proficiency. SOEs also have more comprehensive pre-departure training. Expatriates from SOEs are portrayed by locals as more 'exposed'.

As the future anchor of Chinese expatriates in Africa, the younger generation is more well-educated, more exposed, as well as more individualistic. Growing up in a more open and inclusive environment, they are more willing to embrace cultural differences and see new things from a more positive perspective. Their family is more supportive of their African journey and less dependent on their financial gain. Their understanding of filial piety (xiao:孝) is also strikingly different from the older generation.

6.2.2 Motivation of expatriates

The major difference between Chinese and Western expatriates is that Chinese expatriates' motivation for expatriation is often pragmatic rather than idealistic. Chinese expatriates in Tanzania generally see their overseas experience as an 'investment' - an investment that above all seeks to maximise economic efficiency. Youth, hardship, and separation from families are the price of the investment they make and the return they look for is primarily economic efficiency. In this respect, their behaviour is primarily determined by the return on investment.

Chinese expatriates in Tanzania were also found to be ambitious and determined in reaching their goals, whether it is a financial goal to support the family or a business goal to realise their ambition. In contrast with western expatriates who focus more on 'individualistic careerism', Chinese expatriates practice 'collective asceticism' or the culture of 'eating bitterness'. Few of them bring family members to Tanzania, and nor do they plan to do so. They choose to sacrifice personal time and well-being for the happiness and prosperity of the whole family. That is to say, Chinese expatriates prioritise family-oriented well-being over individual-oriented well-being. This is also in line with the collectivism practised in Chinese culture. Since group and collective interests take precedence over individual interests, individual well-being is only realised as family or group goals are fulfilled.

Those who invest for career advancement are usually working in the SOEs. The expected return on investment is a broader platform to sharpen their skills and the possibility of faster career progression. Younger expatriates are more likely to romanticise their African experience as a way of exploring the world. While seeking financial gain, they also try to balance work and life.

The behaviour of expatriates is guided by their motivations. The heterogeneity of Chinese expatriates - different socioeconomic backgrounds and ages - leads to different motivations and behaviours of expatriates. Those who expect money as a return on investment are usually more tolerant of adverse circumstances. The asceticism they must practise is the price they are willing to pay in return for financial gain. Their choices and behaviour revolve around the principle of whether or not it is beneficial to their investment. They value material rewards more than lifestyle. In contrast, the younger generation tends to romanticise their expatriation, showing more common traits with Western expatriates in terms of motivation. Growing up in improved living conditions in China, they are less likely to be driven to Africa by purely material goals - instead, they seek spiritual exploration and rich experiences. Although making money is also part of the plan, they try to find a balance between making money and enjoying life. With such a mentality, they are more willing to embrace the local culture and break down the fragmentation of social circles within the Chinese community (private firms vs SOEs). Meanwhile, they are more demanding in terms of living conditions and emotional care.

6.2.3 Petty corruption

Petty corruption occurred frequently in both my observation and interviews, illustrating its prevalence in expatriates' experiences. It was identified as one of the most salient issues for Chinese expatriates. Through the lens of petty corruption, I found that the power dynamic between Chinese expatriates and Tanzanians is complex, and it is not solely determined by the economic power of the two countries. The embarrassing and paradoxical aspect of Chinese expatriate status is that their economic privilege is accompanied by political vulnerability, which leads them to trade economic advantage for political convenience. Their high economic status is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it makes them an easy target for the financial gain of local authorities. On the other hand, it gives them the power to 'buy' preferential treatment in micro-politics. The residual power derived from colonial history has an impact on the experience of expatriates, forming a hidden hierarchy and causing discrimination among them. While Chinese expatriates are proud of their country's lack of colonial history, which facilitates a more healthy and balanced relationship between the two countries, they also attribute the discriminatory treatment they received to the absence of a colonial past.

Language barriers and ignorance of regulations are twin handicaps that put Chinese expatriates in a vulnerable position. They are unable to raise their voice in their own defence when needed, and their non-compliant conduct makes it easier for them to be caught and exploited.

6.2.4 Language issues

While identifying the key issues to relevant stakeholders, I found that language is another salient problem in their daily interaction with locals. Language can be understood as both a resource and an identity. When it is understood as a resource, it is more accurate to use the concept of 'investment' than 'motivation' to understand the reasons for second language learning, as it captures the socio-economic links between language learners and the world. Investing in linguistic capital can bring both economic and social benefits to expatriates, which also echoes my argument that expatriates, in general, see their expatriation as an investment and their behaviours and experience are determined by the return on investment.

When language is understood as an identity, its symbolic power serves both as a protection for expatriates and a criterion for their segmentation to local clients. By speaking Swahili, Chinese expatriates acquire a hybrid identity where they are able to enter both cultural spheres freely and switch their identities flexibly. For some expatriates, English functions beyond a working language. They use language as a criterion to segment their customer base – English-speaking customers are high-quality customers with whom it is worth maintaining long-lasting customer relationships while those who only speak Swahili might be categorised as low-quality or less trustable.

The language barrier is a relative concept and it subconsciously draws attention to one side of the dialogue – the one who lacks language proficiency. Thus, I proposed the concept of 'language difference' to replace the 'language barrier' in discussing the influence of language on both African and Chinese actors. Language differences put both expatriates and locals in a vulnerable position by increasing the power imbalance and causing trust issues. Lacking local language proficiency causes anxiety in expatriates (psychological distance is aggravated), leading to the inability to defend or protect themselves in facing local authorities (defence mechanism is deactivated), loss of information and difficulty in transmitting knowledge during communication (information asymmetry is increased). Due to language differences, local people might have gatekeeping behaviour or use code-switching strategies when dealing with the Chinese, which further increases the distrust of the Chinese towards locals.

6.3 Contributions

6.3.1 Knowledge contributions

This study fills the research gap in the 'China in Africa' studies on an individual level in the disciplines of IB and IHRM. While the majority of 'China in Africa' studies in academia focus the discussion on macro or meso levels, little research has paid attention to the issues at the individual level. The strategic policies of a nation or a company are surely important. But the actual implementation of a strategic plan is determined by the performance of each individual. The fundamental players in IB and IHRM should not be ignored. This study fills this gap by investigating the experiences of the Chinese expatriates in Tanzania, covering a range of issues from their backgrounds and motivations to their daily interactions with local people.

This study expands our understanding of expatriates from emerging markets who work in less developed regions. Existing studies often contrast IHRM in Chinese MNEs to that in the

WEIRD (Western, educated, industrialized, rich, developed) countries. This country-specific study provides a new context in which the motivation and experience of expatriates are revisited. It discovers a rarely researched topic in cross-cultural adjustment among expatriates - the adaption to and resistance to micro-level of bureaucracy - petty corruption. It also reveals the socio-economic functions of language among expatriates from a resource perspective (linguistic capital) and an identity perspective.

My study also extends and develops the push and pull theories in motivation. It re-examined each category of the factors and enriches them in a new context. It gives importance to the unique dynamics formed by the effects of the country of origin and country of destination. In addition, I have introduced two factors in the push and pull framework – drag factor and throw factor – to draw attention to the factors that affect expatriates' repatriation. Furthermore, I proposed the concept of 'investment' to understand the motivations of Chinese expatriates, as it captures the socio-economic links between expatriates and the world, emphasising the pragmatism or utilitarianism in their behaviour. It helps us to understand behaviours that otherwise may not seem 'logical', such as their separation from families and the asceticism they practised.

This study challenges the conventional focus on high-status expatriates and shifts the attention to the middle-status and low-status expatriates. Compared with expatriates with high income and prestigious status, middle-status and low-status Chinese expatriates are the key players in Africa in terms of their number and depth of integration. This research reveals that Chinese expatriates of middle and low status have a more pragmatic, rather than idealistic, motivation.

This study also challenges the preconceived and untested assumption of 'powerful' or 'bullying' China that weakens the role of African agency in the interaction. While rejecting the linear, static and binary power hierarchy of powerful China and weak Africa, it presents a more complex dynamic between Chinese and African agencies through the lens of petty corruption, a rarely studied but significant problem to Chinese expatriates in Tanzania. It demonstrates that the economic privilege of Chinese expatriates is accompanied by the political vulnerability. Their high economic status empowers them to buy political convenience. This study takes both Chinese and African agencies into account when reviewing their daily interaction.

This study goes beyond the conventional discussion of language on its instrument role and reveals the importance of its socio-economic function. That is, language is a resource (linguistic capital) that can be invested and exploited, and language is an identity that is associated with one's economic and social status. I proposed the concept of 'language difference' to replace 'language barrier' in discussing the influence of language on both African and Chinese actors, as the latter only draws attention to a single side of the dialoguers – the one who lacks language proficiency. Meanwhile, I proposed three mechanisms to explain how language differences cause the power imbalance between Chinese and locals.

In terms of methodology, to the best of my knowledge, this is the first expatriation study that adopts an ethnographic approach to investigate Chinese expatriates in Africa from an IB and IHRM perspective. I have provided rich data and thick descriptions by immersing myself in the Chinese community for more than half a year, living and working with them. It is significant in terms of methodological innovation and depth of fieldwork.

6.3.2 Theoretical contributions

This research study expands on current literature by combining Bourdieu's theory of practice with institutional theory to examine the interaction between social structures and institutional contexts that influence expatriate behaviour and decision-making in Africa. Bourdieu's habitus and field concepts are utilized to explore how Chinese expatriates in Tanzania are ‘trained’ to adopt specific practices and behaviours regarding languages and petty corruption, and how these practices are affected by the institutional environment in which they operate. The study then applies institutional theory to analyse how both formal and informal regulations in Tanzania impact these behaviours and practices, and how Chinese expatriates navigate these regulations to uphold their position within the field. More specifically:

Motivation

This research use Bourdieu’s capital theory to explain how the capital possessed by expatriates, or lack thereof, plays a critical role in their decision to relocate. This highlights the importance of understanding the various types of capital that expatriates might possess, including cultural knowledge, language skills, social networks, and financial resources. By using Bourdieu's capital theory as a lens for examining these factors, the research can contribute to a deeper understanding of the social and economic factors that shape expatriate decision-making. Overall, the theoretical contribution lies in its application of Bourdieu's capital theory to the specific context of Chinese in Africa, highlighting the importance of social, economic, and cultural capital in shaping the decisions of expatriates.

Language

By using Bourdieu's framework to examine the roles of English and Swahili in this particular context, the research can contribute to a deeper understanding of the complex social, economic, and cultural factors that shape the use and value of different languages in different contexts. Specifically, the research can shed light on how linguistic capital and the symbolic power of language intersect to create and reinforce linguistic hierarchies, and how these hierarchies affect access to social, economic, and cultural resources.

The research also contributes to a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between language and identity, as the use of different languages can be closely tied to the construction and negotiation of individual and group identities. By using Bourdieu's framework to examine the roles of English and Swahili in this context, the research can provide insights into the ways in which language use and linguistic capital can shape and reflect identity formation and negotiation. In a word, this research contributes to Bourdieu's capital theory by applying it to a specific linguistic context, highlighting the complex ways in which language, power, and identity intersect to shape social, economic, and cultural outcomes.

Corruption

This research makes a valuable contribution to the literature on petty corruption by integrating institutional theory and Bourdieu's theory to develop a comprehensive framework for understanding the phenomenon. By examining the interplay between formal and informal institutions, as well as various forms of capital, the research provides insights into the factors that shape the behaviours of individuals involved in petty corruption from both the demand and supply sides.

The framework developed in this research offers a nuanced understanding of how social structures and institutional contexts influence local officials' corrupt behaviours and shape expatriates' responses to street-level bureaucracy. This research highlights the critical role of both formal and informal institutions, including institutional voids and social norms, in understanding the mechanisms of petty corruption in the studied context. Formal institutions, such as institutional voids, are important in shaping the supply side of petty corruption by creating opportunities for officials to engage in corrupt behaviours. On the other hand, informal institutions, such as social norms and power relations, play a critical role in driving the demand for petty corruption by influencing the attitudes and behaviours of individuals.

Moreover, the research contributes to a deeper understanding of the role of various forms of capital, including economic, social, and symbolic capital, in shaping the behaviours of individuals involved in petty corruption. By considering the influence of these forms of capital on demand and supply side behaviours, the framework developed in this research offers insights into the complex and multifaceted nature of petty corruption.

6.3.3 Practical implication

Firm level

This study has some practical implications for organisations operating in a similar context, and its findings can be applied to certain stages of the expatriation cycle.

In the strategic planning stage, the push-and-pull factor framework provided in the motivation chapter will guide HRM specialists toward a more comprehensive analysis of the effects from both host and home countries and increase understanding of how the unique combination of the two countries might affect expatriates' choices. For example, the competitiveness of the job market in the home country, the working conditions and quality of education in the host country as well as the institutional and business environment in both countries. By looking at those factors, HRM staff might be able to identify possible challenges of recruitment in such analysis.

In the selection stage, this study encourages HRM staff to have a better understanding of the background and motivation of expatriates, as they are associated with expatriates' behaviours and experiences. In particular in this context, 'survival' expatriates seem to have a higher level of tolerance to difficult working and living conditions, while 'lifestyle' expatriates aim to achieve a balance between work and life. HRM staff can predict the stability and performance of candidates in conjunction with an analysis of their own organisation and the industry in which they operate. Meanwhile, this study shows the importance of local languages and that HRM staff should give more weight to languages in their selection.

In the preparation stage, this research could guide HRM staff to choose targeted training and knowledge briefing. This research reveals two relevant issues: micro-level of bureaucracy and language barriers. HRM staff can design pre-training that covers issues of petty corruption and its responding strategies. Furthermore, by showing the socio-economic function of language and how it affects the powers between expatriates and locals, it encourages expatriates to draw greater attention to language issues and motivates them to invest in local languages.

Individual level

This study also provides some real-world values for individual expatriates who decide to work and set up businesses in Africa. First, expatriates should familiarise themselves with the 'corrupted' environment in the host countries. Although some scholars argue that those who come from developing countries might have experienced and survived similar bureaucratic situations at home which enables them to be more capable and more flexible in dealing with corruption and political constraints elsewhere, my informants stated the level of corruption they encountered in Tanzania was far beyond their expectation. It is particularly a tough problem for business investors and migrant entrepreneurs. They were primarily attracted by the promising markets and potential business but were handcuffed by various institutional weaknesses. When they were budgeting for costs, they did not take into account the ‘tips’ charged by the local authorities, the various unreasonable taxes and the losses from theft.

Second, whether for work or life, expatriates should pay extra attention to language issues. With the advancement of technology, many expatriates believe AI-based translation devices can help them solve communication problems and learning local languages becomes unnecessary. For example, some business owners use the translation function in WeChat to communicate with local employees. Others may hire interpreters to assist them in dealing with the locals. However, the role of language goes far beyond its instrumental function. This study reveals that the socio-economic function of language is more relevant to expatriates in certain circumstances. Local language proficiency will contribute to the power balance between expatriates and locals. In practice, it is less likely for expatriates who speak local languages to be taken advantage of by locals. Moreover, due to language differences, interpreters might have some gatekeeper behaviours, where information may be filtered, censored, replaced or even hidden. Learning the local language will therefore not only equip expatriates with communication skills but will also save them from being put in a vulnerable position in both work and life domains.

6.4 Limitation

No research can be done without limitation and this exploratory study is no different. The main disadvantage of qualitative approaches is their relatively weak generalisability. Due to the nature of the ethnographic study, the researcher is unable to make observations and collect data from a large number of samples, whom we usually call informants. Therefore, my findings cannot be extended to a wider range of populations with the same degree of certainty as quantitative analysis. Furthermore, the importance of contextual setting in the study indicates that the findings are highly specific to the context where the observations take place, which further affects the transferability of the findings. Thus, my results generated from Tanzania cannot be applied unthinkingly to other African countries or to other expatriates environments.

Another weakness of this study comes from the interpretation of data, which is highly influenced by my personal knowledge and experience. The validity of this study may be challenged as it cannot be replicated. However, it may be worth noting that this study aimed to explore a new phenomenon and make sense of it, rather than to generalise and extend the results to other studies. In this study, I was therefore more concerned with the depth of the research than the breadth of it.

The scope of my fieldwork has limited the findings of the research. The fieldwork was conducted in the Chinese Overseas Service Centre where my main contacts were employees and business owners of SMEs. Therefore, the observation data is primarily from this group. Moreover, due to the strict regulation of Chinese SOEs during the pandemic, I was unable to have regular visits to their factories or sites. Therefore, I tried to balance the number of SOE informants in my interviews.

Lacking the procedure of cross-checking may reduce the credibility of this bilingual study. To keep the originality of the data for an inductive analysis, and also due to the time constraint, I did not translate the interviews from Chinese to English. This could prevent information from being lost in translation, but at the same time, its credibility may be challenged. To balance the situation, all the coding work was conducted in English to ensure linguistic consistency in the analysis process. The adoption of a triangulation strategy in data collection can address the credibility issue, to some extent. The data from multiple sources can support the accuracy of the interpretation.

6.5 Recommendation for future research

A more systematic comparative study might be beneficial to our understanding of the subject of the study. This study already showed some distinctive traits of expatriates from SOEs and private firms. Comparison between selected groups of expatriates within the Chinese community will enhance our understanding of the heterogeneity of the community, for example, AEs vs SIEs; expatriates from SOEs vs expatriates from big MNEs; expatriates from central SOEs and expatriates from provincial SOEs. Comparisons can be also made between Chinese expatriates and western expatriates, which might help us identify the uniqueness or universality of Chinese expatriates.

More attention could be given to female expatriates going to work in Africa. Due to the specificity of the African environment, female expatriates are a minority group and are rarely studied. In my fieldwork, I found that women are no longer just accompanying family members. The number of younger Chinese women in Tanzania is increasing, although the total number is still small compared to the number of male Chinese expatriates. Some of them work for Chinese or even local organisations, and others build their own business. More importantly, I found that Chinese male expatriates in general have very negative comments on Chinese female expatriates and challenge their motivation for going to Africa. It might be worth investigating the motivation and experience of Chinese female expatriates in that context.

Migrant entrepreneurs in Tanzania, as the subject of study, can also provide valuable data to enhance our knowledge of Chinese expatriates. The 'time machine' theory mentioned in this study encourages many Chinese to seek entrepreneurial opportunities in Tanzania. The 'pre-departure' expatriate entrepreneurs come to Africa with a thorough entrepreneurial plan. The 'transitioned' expatriate entrepreneurs might take an international assignment as a springboard or they are just opportunists who changed their original career plan when they detected potential opportunities after they arrive. As migrant entrepreneurs make up a small but significant proportion of the Chinese expatriate community, this group should also be studied in depth: for example, what common traits do they have, what are the influencing factors of their decision to go to Africa, what motivates them to transfer from expatriates to entrepreneurs and what are the conditions, how do they make use of various resources and so on.

Finally, I would very much welcome scholars using quantitative methods to examine this topic and to test, expand and complement my results. This will facilitate a more comprehensive understanding of the Chinese expatriates in Africa.

6.6 Closing thoughts

Since I left Tanzania two years ago, things have changed. Coronavirus seems to be moving away from us, while its 'sequelae' on our life still exist. Late president John Magufuli passed away during the pandemic, and Tanzania welcomed her first female President. Some of my informants have changed their careers and some of them went back to China. One thing that has not changed is that there are still many groups of Chinese people making their journey to Africa.

Seven months of living in Tanzania has made me emotionally attached to this country and its continent. This journey has given me a deeper understanding of my research subjects and the context in which I study them. It also gives me a greater appreciation of the significance of the work I am doing. Meanwhile, I have seen myself grow during this journey, I've learned how to adapt to a new environment, how to approach, deal with and maintain a relationship with informants, how to remain neutral in the research and not let my personal emotions affect my observations, how to avoid possible troubles in interpersonal interactions during participant observation, how to avoid getting involved in political events, and how to guide interviewees in providing in-depth answers. Such experience cannot be given simply by using questionnaires and interviews.

Early this year, I read a special report in the Economist named 'China in Africa' which includes seven articles, discussing China's ambitions and activities in Africa from business, economic, media, political and military perspectives. The preface to the report reads: "To counter China's growing role in Africa, the West must first understand it." As a Chinese, I inevitably felt awkward about this 'unfriendly' description. But as a researcher, I am glad to see this topic being pushed into the limelight and the world's willingness to understand this phenomenon, which makes my study a timely and meaningful one.

Nowadays, the Biden administration initiated the infrastructure programme - Build Back Better World (b3w) to respond to China's Belt and Road Initiative, followed by Europe who launched its Global Gateway infrastructure-for-Africa plan. Japan also pledges $30 billion in African aid at Tunis summit. Whatever the outcome of the game of great powers, there is new hope for African people and new opportunities for us African studies scholars.

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