

Life Challenges Faced By Chinese Workers In Africa

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Abstract

The presence of Chinese workers in Africa has grown significantly in recent years, driven by large-scale infrastructure projects and economic initiatives. While attention has been devoted to the broader landscape of Chinese foreign enterprises operating abroad, there is a notable lack of comprehensive research into the specific challenges faced by Chinese workers in Africa. This essay delves into the multifaceted challenges experienced by Chinese workers in Africa, focusing on personal safety, health concerns, and cultural conflicts. This essay proposes several potential solutions to address these challenges. Companies can incorporate crucial provisions in employment contracts to ensure the welfare and quality of life of their workers. Educational sessions for Chinese workers in Africa can help bridge cultural gaps and enhance safety. Additionally, business organizations such as chambers of commerce can play a collaborative role in addressing these challenges and mediating conflicts.

1 Introduction

Chinese foreign enterprises operating abroad have certainly garnered substantial attention from researchers and the media. This reporting typically focuses on huge, state-owned companies and their strategic impact.¹

Chinese state-owned businesses often engage in large-scale infrastructure projects, resource extraction, and other ventures that have the potential to shape the economic landscape of host countries. To exemplify, China has invested in Ethiopia's railway system. The Chinese Export-Import Bank provided 85% of the funding for the \$475 million Addis Ababa Light Rail, which serves 4 million of the city's residents.²

In contrast to the focus on investment, it is surprising that researchers have published relatively few essays about the circumstances of Chinese workers in

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¹For example, see Haydn Shaughnessy, "Chinese Companies Are Transforming Business—and the West Is Struggling To Keep Up"

²Mariam Sow, "Figures of the week: Chinese investment in Africa"

Africa. Given the increasing presence of Chinese labor in various African countries under the influence of transnational projects, such as the Belt and Road Initiative, Chinese workers have become a huge labor sector abroad. As of 2019, there were officially about one million Chinese workers employed overseas, with many additional Chinese citizens working overseas on tourist visas or in other unofficial capacities.³

When attention is paid to labor issues in Africa, it usually frames Chinese labor as competing with Africans for jobs or focuses on African workers under Chinese managers. For example, U.S. politicians, from Hilary Clinton to Rex Tillerson, have criticized China for not hiring enough African workers.⁴ Although these angles are worth exploring, so are the challenges faced by Chinese workers. The U.S. perspective still portrays China as a single entity, without sympathy for the difficult situations many Chinese workers find themselves in.

One of the rare instances in which Chinese individuals are placed in center stage is Howard French's work, *China's Second Continent*. French introduces the pattern of the migration waves of Chinese workers. The book captures these individuals' motivations, actions, and experiences in Africa.⁵ French provides numerous interesting anecdotes about Chinese entrepreneurs and the opportunities they see in China. The Asian arrivals have also faced substantial hurdles due to language barriers in communicating with local administrations. French's book, on the other hand, is full of examples of persistent Chinese migrants who have successfully explored possibilities in this new frontier.⁶ French highlights the spirit of these individuals and their ability to identify and capitalize on opportunities in Africa's rapidly evolving economic landscape. He discusses the sectors they invest in, such as infrastructure, manufacturing, and retail, and how their activities impact local economies.

French's account, while illuminating, contains three important gaps. My opinions diverge from French in these three aspects. First, French's book primarily focuses on entrepreneurs and does not explore common workers in the same level of detail. Chinese workers in Africa face a wide range of challenges that differ significantly from those of entrepreneurs. These challenges may include issues related to labor rights, working conditions, cultural adaptation, discrimination, and more. Neglecting to explore these aspects leaves a significant gap in the narrative, as the experiences of workers are a vital part of the broader story of Chinese engagement in Africa. Second, his use of anecdotes shows the diversity of experiences but makes it challenging to understand the common themes of Chinese experiences in Africa. Anecdotes by their nature are selective and specific. They highlight individual stories or instances, but these may not be representative of the broader population. If the book relies heavily on anecdotes, it can give readers a skewed view of the overall experi-

³Jennifer Hillman and Alex Tippet, "Who Built That? Labor and the Belt and Road Initiative"

⁴Jenni Marsh, "Employed By China"

⁵IPI, "Africa: China's Second Continent"

⁶Chris Hartman, 'China's Second Continent' tells the fascinating yet alarming story of China's economic colonization of Africa

ences of Chinese workers. It may focus on exceptional cases or outliers, making it difficult to discern the typical challenges faced by the majority. Finally, ten years have passed since French’s book was published, which suggests that it requires updating. As the years have progressed since the book’s publication, the landscape of China-Africa relations has inevitably evolved. Trends in labor migration, working conditions, and interactions between Chinese workers and the local populace may have transformed, thereby necessitating a refreshed assessment of the circumstances.

In this essay, I will introduce the core challenges that are faced by Chinese workers in Africa—personal safety, staying healthy, and cultural conflict. I show that these three factors are the most concerning factors that bother Chinese workers. African food systems often suffer from inefficiencies, poor infrastructure, and post-harvest losses. These issues can result in irregular and insufficient food supplies, leading to food insecurity for Chinese workers. Inadequate food safety measures can expose Chinese workers to health risks. Contaminated or unsafe food can cause illnesses and undermine their well-being and Chinese workers may face substandard housing conditions, including overcrowding and lack of basic amenities. I argue the potential solutions to solve their living problems, such as the improvement of employment contracts, education sessions for Chinese workers, and communication regularly with local governments to help both sides resolve problems.

2 Personal Safety

What is the primary challenge initially encountered by Chinese workers in Africa? While research delves into various dimensions, a focal point emerges regarding safety concerns as one of the most central themes. The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences notes that 84% of China’s Belt and Road investments are in medium to high-risk countries. Three hundred and fifty serious security incidents involving Chinese firms occurred between 2015 and 2017, from kidnappings and terror attacks to anti-Chinese violence, according to China’s Ministry of State Security.⁷ Ongoing conflicts, political uncertainties, and economic trials in certain African nations have cultivated an atmosphere characterized by escalated and unforeseeable risks. Kate Bartlett, a journalist based in Africa, reported that the killing of nine Chinese gold mine workers in conflict-ridden Central African Republic in March 2023, highlighted the risks some projects face in volatile areas.⁸ Against this complex backdrop, Chinese workers, frequently engaged in critical endeavors such as infrastructure development and resource extraction, have encountered a multitude of challenges directly tied to safety apprehensions, labor disagreements, and interruptions to their undertakings stemming from local upheavals. A report last year by the U.K.-based Business and Human Rights Resource Center found 181 human rights allegations connected to Chinese investments in Africa between 2013 and

⁷Paul Nantulya, “Chinese Security Firms Spread along the African Belt and Road”

⁸Kate Bartlett, “How Chinese Private Security Companies in Africa Differ From Russia’s”

2020, with the highest number of incidents in Uganda, Kenya, Zimbabwe, and the Democratic Republic of Congo.⁹

These challenges stem from a confluence of factors. The precarious nature of the political climate in some regions not only jeopardizes the stability of existing projects but also undermines the overall security of Chinese workers. Moreover, the intricate web of economic hardships prevailing in certain African countries can exacerbate the challenges faced by Chinese workers. Financial constraints and resource limitations in these regions can impede the timely execution of projects, thereby increasing the exposure of workers to potential hazards and uncertainties. In contrast, most Chinese companies just meet the basic standards of local laws, in contrast to some Western transnational enterprises and mature local companies.¹⁰

Military takeovers are a further source of instability and danger. According to Cobus van Staden, senior researcher at the South African Institute of International Affairs, “One of the contributing factors in all of this is the perception you see in African countries that Chinese people keep lots of cash on hand,” making Chinese workers favored targets for kidnappers.¹¹ Chad, Mali, Guinea, Sudan, and more recently Burkina Faso have all witnessed successful military takeovers. The aftermath of these political shifts has heightened concerns about the safety and security of Chinese workers operating within these regions.¹² These abrupt leadership changes, often accompanied by civil unrest and power struggles, introduce an added layer of complexity to an already intricate situation. After military takeovers, institutions and governance structures can falter, leading to instability. This can result in higher lawlessness, weakened law enforcement, and increased criminal activities, all contributing to jeopardized safety for foreign workers, including the Chinese workforce. According to the United Nations, in 2008, xenophobic violence resulted in the death of over 60 people and contributed to the displacement of at least 100,000.¹³ Although there is an estimate that more than 500,000 Chinese citizens live in South Africa, violent crime cases are increasingly high which cast double over their lives.¹⁴

Wang Wei, who has been employed at a Chinese company in Johannesburg for half a decade, emphasized the heightened caution he has exercised when venturing outside, particularly in the aftermath of the tragic murder of Zhong Zhiwei. Zhong Zhiwei, the former president of the Township Association of Shandong Province in South Africa, and his wife were tragically gunned down in broad daylight in Johannesburg on August 13. Wang Wei is among the participants in a collective effort led by a local Chinese association, urging the South African government to swiftly apprehend and bring to justice the perpetrators responsible for the couple’s killing. “This is the least I can contribute,”

⁹Kate Bartlett, “Are Rights Abuses Tarnishing China’s Image in Africa?”

¹⁰Wenjie Zhao, “Research on the rights and interests protection of local workers in Chinese-funded enterprises in Africa – taking Zimbabwe as an example”

¹¹Kate Bartlett, “Chinese Working in Africa Face Threat of Kidnapping”

¹²Reuters, “Recent coups in West and Central Africa”

¹³United Nation, “South Africa: UN experts condemn xenophobic violence and racial discrimination against foreign nationals”

¹⁴Ufrieda Ho, “Chinese in South Africa learn to live with violence”

he remarked.¹⁵

Moreover, the prevalence of civil conflicts between local governments and various military factions further amplifies concerns. This prompts many enterprises to enlist security guards to safeguard both their assets and their workforce. According to the Private Security Industry Regulatory Authority (PRISA), there were 9,539 registered security companies in South Africa in 2022. There are also almost 2.5 million registered security officers.¹⁶ The need for security guards to protect both properties and employees becomes a strategic necessity in an environment characterized by uncertainty and potential risks. Phoenix International, a Chinese think tank with strong state-owned enterprise (SOE) ties, reports that no more than twenty of these state-owned firms conduct activities overseas protecting SOEs and other Chinese interests. By 2013, they employed around 3,200 personnel, according to the Germany-based Mercator Institute for China Studies, more than the number of United Nations (UN) peacekeepers China furnishes, a figure that stood at 2,534 troops and police as of June 2020.¹⁷

In the pursuit of profit maximization, certain enterprises may opt to cut costs, particularly in areas such as safety measures and security provisions, inadvertently putting the lives and well-being of their workers at risk. Instances of accidents, injuries, or even loss of life can have profound effects on workforce morale, productivity, and reputation. The negative impact on the enterprise's image, both locally and internationally, can overshadow any initial cost savings, leading to the potential loss of business opportunities and investor confidence.

3 Staying Healthy

Chinese laborers are now more prevalent than ever in Africa's dynamic panorama of economic development and infrastructure projects. Beyond the difficulties posed by safety concerns and operational complexities, a crucial but sometimes under-appreciated worry remains large: the health risks that these workers encounter while engaged in their profession. These individuals are exposed to a variety of health risks, such as infectious diseases and environmental contaminants, as they work on various projects across the continent. The multifaceted health risks that Chinese workers in Africa face are examined in this essay, along with the wider implications for project continuity, labor force sustainability, and the pressing need for coordinated efforts to protect their safety.

Chinese immigrants frequently experience a difference in food culture when arriving in African nations. This difference can be found in taste, ingredients, and cooking techniques. Their typical eating habits may greatly differ from the local food, which could cause discomfort and even intestinal problems. Cross-cultural interaction includes learning new tastes and nutritional practices, but if handled carelessly, it might pose acute health hazards. Finding familiar meals

¹⁵Global Times, "Chinese in S. Africa fear for safety amid rising murder cases"

¹⁶Wise Move, "Top Security Companies in South Africa — Complete List 2023"

¹⁷Paul Nantulya, "Chinese Security Contractors in Africa"

and maintaining dietary habits can be difficult, leading to physical and mental exhaustion and impacting employee happiness and performance.

Beyond only individual preferences, Africa’s larger food systems have significant flaws and food safety issues. The ability of these systems to supply the rising food demand of expanding populations has been put under strain for a number of reasons, including extreme weather events, climate change, frequent outbreaks of pests and diseases, and limited adoption of modern agricultural technologies.¹⁸ This can lead to worries regarding the accessibility, efficacy, and security of food for Chinese workers as well as the surrounding community. For example, Africa’s food security challenges are compounded by the war in Ukraine, by supply chain shortages, conflict, and drought. This has caused many staple food prices in Africa to increase by an average of almost 25% between 2020 and 2022.¹⁹

The interplay of these factors can potentially lead to compromised food safety. Inadequate food storage, lack of access to clean water for cooking and washing produce, and challenges in sourcing ingredients that meet both dietary and safety criteria can all contribute to health risks. Illnesses arising from food-borne pathogens can disrupt work schedules, impede productivity, and even result in long-term health issues for workers. More importantly, the shortcomings in the healthcare infrastructure and the vulnerability of the healthcare systems are obvious issues that have a serious influence on the safety and well-being of Chinese employees. When employees become unwell, the lack of hospitals and medical services across different locations presents a difficult obstacle, emphasizing the vulnerabilities they face in their quest for professional prospects.

For those seeking medical care, the lack of hospitals and other medical facilities—which is sometimes exacerbated by a shortage of medical personnel and resources—creates a catastrophic scenario. Like locals, Chinese laborers encounter a dearth of easily accessible healthcare services. The travel time to the closest medical institution can be rather long, and in rural regions, this might result in delays in receiving life-saving medical care. The inadequate healthcare systems in many African nations further exacerbate the situation. The effectiveness of healthcare supply is compromised by a lack of resources, poor staffing, and restricted access to necessary drugs and treatments. Chinese workers may see a sharp contrast when navigating Africa’s healthcare system because they are used to more developed healthcare systems. When they become ill, the challenges of communication gaps, new medical procedures, and disparate standards of care may make an already difficult situation even worse.

In addition to physical illnesses, mental health conditions pose significant challenges in Africa. It is worth noting that in certain African countries, mental illnesses are sometimes attributed to spiritual causes, resulting in limited attention and resources being allocated to address them. For these workers, grappling with illness while navigating a foreign healthcare system can be emotionally and physically taxing. The fear of misdiagnosis, inadequate treatment,

¹⁸WHO, Food Safety

¹⁹Danielle Resnick and Aloysius Uche Ordu, “Africa’s food security challenge”

or lack of proper medical attention can intensify their anxieties. Through mental health questionnaires and binary logistic regression models from the Chinese Center for Disease Control and Prevention, among 154 employees, 48.70% had mental health problems.²⁰ The sense of homesickness is a common emotional response among Chinese workers in Africa. Being separated from their homeland, families, and the familiar cultural and social context can be emotionally taxing. They may yearn for the comforts of home, miss important family milestones, and feel disconnected from their roots. This homesickness can lead to feelings of sadness, anxiety, and a sense of isolation. Chinese workers often find themselves in environments where the local culture and language are different from their own. Language barriers can hinder effective communication and limit their ability to form meaningful relationships with locals. This can contribute to a pervasive sense of loneliness and social isolation, making it difficult for them to integrate into the local society and establish a support network. The demands of their work, which often involve long hours and high-pressure responsibilities, can further exacerbate feelings of loneliness and homesickness. The absence of a strong social support system can make it challenging to cope with the stressors inherent to their professional roles.

The issue of an excessive workload coupled with limited leisure time has emerged as a recurring concern, evident in numerous research papers and survey questionnaires. Chinese workers find their rights not being adequately safeguarded, both by the People's Republic of China's labor laws and the local regulations of the host African countries. This deficiency in legal protection can result in a situation where workers face challenges in asserting their rights and achieving a work-life balance that promotes their well-being.

Finally, the health of Chinese workers in Africa is at risk from potential exposure to various diseases, notably Ebola and malaria, which pose significant health risks within certain regions. Ebola, a highly contagious and frequently lethal disease, has caused alarm in several regions of Africa. Quarantines, restrictions on movement, and increased fear among workers can result from outbreaks. Employers and employees must bear higher costs as a result of the necessity to establish stringent health standards and safety measures to stop the spread of Ebola. Another major threat in many African nations is malaria, a disease that is frequently transmitted by mosquitoes. Chinese employees are particularly vulnerable to infection because they are oblivious to the disease's patterns of transmission and defenses. Malaria can have a major negative impact on health and productivity by increasing absenteeism. The prevalence of the illness highlights the significance of preventative measures including insecticide-treated bed nets, anti-malarial drugs, and appropriate sanitation to safeguard employees' health. Using a cross-sectional approach, ninety-six (37.5%) participants contracted malaria more than once within a year.²¹

²⁰Shuo Chen, Mingfan Pang, Xiaopeng Qi, Lili Wang, Xiaochun Wang, "Analysis of mental health status and influencing factors of employees in Chinese-funded enterprises in Ethiopia"

²¹Li Zou, Ke Ning, Wenyu Deng, Xufei Zhang, Mohamamad Shahir Sharifi, Junfei Luo, Yin Bai, Xiner Wang, Wenjuan Zhou, "Study on the use and effectiveness of malaria preventive measures reported by employees of chinese construction companies in Western Africa in 2021"

4 Culture Conflicts

Chinese workers in Africa often encounter significant cultural barriers, especially when it comes to their working habits with colleagues. These challenges can have wide-ranging implications for both the Chinese workers themselves and their interactions with local African colleagues.

In countries such as Ghana, local governments and communities often exert pressure on Chinese-funded projects to ensure that a significant portion of the workforce is composed of local hires. This requirement reflects a desire to maximize job opportunities for the local population and distribute the economic benefits of Chinese investments. For example, in the construction of the Bui Dam, the agreement between Sinohydro, the Chinese state-owned behemoth contracted to complete the project, and the Ghanaian government stipulated that a certain proportion of the workforce would be local.²² Chinese workers may find it challenging to adapt to working alongside local colleagues who have different cultural backgrounds, work practices, and expectations. Chinese workers in Africa may struggle with language barriers when working with local colleagues who may speak different languages or dialects. Miscommunication can lead to misunderstandings, errors, and strained working relationships. According to Business Insider, only 130 million of the approximately 1 billion people in Africa speak English (13%).²³ Moreover, these Chinese employees are not fluent enough in English, which enhances their difficulties living and working in Africa with severe communication problems.

Chinese and African cultures also often have different work ethics and expectations regarding punctuality, productivity, and work hours. Chinese workers may be accustomed to a more rigorous work schedule and faster pace, while local colleagues may have a different approach. These differences in work habits can lead to friction and misunderstandings. Among Chinese employees in Tanzania, the adaption to the material environment is the most successful, followed by the adaption to life culture, while the adaption to work culture is poor. More specifically, the Chinese employees believe that the overall environment in African countries is kind and polite, but the scenes on streets, such as begging habits on the streets, and lazy working style are not acceptable.²⁴ Chinese workers' adaptation to the local work culture may be poor, as suggested by the example from Tanzania. Local work cultures in African countries can be significantly different from what Chinese workers are used to in terms of hierarchy, decision-making processes, and the pace of work. This lack of adaptation can hinder collaboration and productivity.

In summary, Chinese workers in Africa face various cultural barriers when it comes to their working habits with local colleagues. These challenges encompass

²²Pippa Morgan, Andrea Ghiselli, "Chinese workers on Africa's infrastructure projects: The link with host political regimes"

²³George Feng, Xianzhong Mu, "Cultural challenges to Chinese oil companies in Africa and their strategies"

²⁴Qingmin Li, "A study on cross-cultural adaptation of Chinese employees in Chinese-funded enterprises in Tanzania"

issues related to local employment requirements, language barriers, differences in work ethic, adaptation to local work culture, and cultural sensitivity. Overcoming these barriers requires cultural awareness, effective communication, and a willingness to adapt and collaborate across cultural boundaries, which are essential for the success of Chinese-funded projects in Africa and the harmonious coexistence of diverse workforce.

5 Potential Solutions

As China's presence in Africa continues to grow, finding effective solutions to address these challenges becomes increasingly crucial. This exploration delves into innovative approaches and practical solutions aimed at improving the lives and well-being of Chinese workers in Africa, while also promoting sustainable development and fostering positive relations between the two regions. By addressing these challenges comprehensively, we can pave the way for a more prosperous and harmonious coexistence between Chinese workers and their African host communities.

First, to effectively address the challenges faced by Chinese workers in Africa, companies can play a pivotal role by implementing certain crucial provisions in their employment contracts. To begin, it is imperative to establish comprehensive insurance coverage for employees, encompassing both health and life insurance. Adequate coverage not only ensures access to healthcare in remote areas but also offers financial security to workers and their families. Stipulating tax-free status for income earned in Africa can significantly enhance the economic well-being of employees. Furthermore, companies should commit to providing reliable transportation options and suitable living conditions to alleviate the challenges of remote work environments. Setting age limits for specific job positions can ensure that employees are adequately equipped to handle the physical demands of their roles, while also promoting safety and well-being. By incorporating these conditions into employment contracts, Chinese companies can proactively address the welfare and quality of life for their workers in Africa, fostering a more conducive and harmonious working environment.

Second, implementing education sessions for Chinese workers in Africa is not only feasible but also highly advisable, serving as a valuable recommendation for companies operating on the continent. These sessions can be conducted by local tutors or even experienced workers who have previously been employed in the region. Such educational initiatives can cover a range of topics, including language proficiency, cultural awareness, understanding forbidden zones, and crucial safety instructions. By harnessing the expertise of local instructors or experienced colleagues, companies can empower their workforce with the essential knowledge and skills needed to navigate the unique challenges of working in African contexts. This proactive approach not only enhances the effectiveness and efficiency of operations but also fosters a stronger sense of cultural integration and safety among Chinese workers, ultimately benefiting both employees and the host communities.

From a business perspective, implementing educational sessions for Chinese workers in Africa is a strategic investment that aligns with a company’s interests on multiple fronts. These educational initiatives need not be costly, making them a cost-effective way to equip workers with essential skills and knowledge. By enhancing the attention span and engagement of employees, companies can address the difficulty of lower productivity and efficiency often associated with inadequate training and cultural adaptation. Lower turnover rates among employees who have undergone such training are immensely beneficial to businesses. The cost savings associated with reduced hiring and onboarding expenses, along with the preservation of valuable time and energy, provide tangible benefits. Retaining experienced workers contributes to the cultivation of expertise, ultimately leading to a more skilled and competent workforce. Thus, these education sessions emerge as a win-win solution that not only enhances workers’ capabilities but also proves highly advantageous for a company’s long-term sustainability and profitability in the African context.

Third, the involvement of business organizations, such as chambers of commerce, in addressing the challenges faced by Chinese workers in Africa is a valuable and collaborative solution. Chambers of commerce serve as associations or networks of business people dedicated to safeguarding and advancing the interests of their members. These organizations often comprise business owners sharing geographical or sectoral interests, and they can also have an international scope. Companies operating in Africa can forge close partnerships with chambers of commerce to navigate the complexities of the local business environment effectively. These chambers often engage in regular dialogues with local governments, facilitating the resolution of mutual challenges.

When conflicts or issues arise between African and Chinese workers, businesses can turn to chambers like the China-Africa Business Council (CABC) for assistance. CABC can serve as a mediator and advisor, helping to find amicable solutions to address societal conflicts within the workforce. One practical approach could involve conducting interviews or surveys among Chinese employees to identify the most significant challenges they face in the business context. This data can then be compiled into a comprehensive report, highlighting key concerns and areas that need attention. Subsequently, the CABC can engage in discussions with national governments to propose further investment in projects that result in a "win-win" situation for both Chinese workers and local communities. For example, in regions where safety is a concern, collaborative efforts can be undertaken to improve the security of society. This concern can be raised with the national government to initiate measures aimed at enhancing safety and social well-being.

6 Conclusion

Life challenges faced by Chinese workers abroad that are inadequately documented and often overlooked by mainstream reporting is a significant issue that deserves our attention. When these challenges are not thoroughly explored or

properly documented, they can have far-reaching consequences that affect individuals, communities, and even entire societies.

Whether it be hazardous working conditions, inadequate access to healthcare services, or the need to adapt to a culturally diverse work environment, Chinese workers confront many challenges that make it difficult for them to succeed. As China continues to invest in its relationships with African countries, it should also invest in the personal relationships between Africans and Chinese employees. Strengthening insurance requirements, providing additional training, and improving communication through chambers of commerce will hopefully facilitate a mutually beneficial collaboration, addressing these challenges and creating an environment where both Chinese workers and African communities can thrive and succeed together.

The recommendations above are even more urgently needed because of the nearly 90% drop in Chinese workers in Africa due to COVID-19.²⁵ Those who remain are even more isolated than before and in even more need of assistance from their employers. If Chinese workers are to return and continue building China-Africa ties, they will need robust support from their home country.

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²⁵China Africa Research Initiative, “DATA:CHINESE WORKERS IN AFRICA”

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