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ASSIMILATION, PERCEPTION AND RELATION:
A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF THE CHINESE IN ACCRA, GHANA

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Abstract

In the new millennium, Chinese involvement in Africa has been considerably more intensive. At the same time, the number of Chinese immigrants in many African countries has increased several folds. The sudden emergence of Chinese in these African countries has made a lot of impacts to the local societies, which are still understudied. This paper took a close look at the degree of assimilation of the Chinese immigrants in Accra, Ghana, as well as their perceptions about and relationships with the local Ghanaians in order to acquire a better understanding of contemporary Chinese immigration to Africa. Research data comes from in-depth interviews with twenty-nine Chinese immigrants and twelve Ghanaian locals in Accra, Ghana in 2009. The research suggests the overall assimilation of Chinese immigrants is very low, and a combination of different factors can lead to a variation in assimilation, which might further indicate the negative perceptions and attitudes towards Ghanaians. The research also shows that the deterioration of Chinese-Ghanaian relationships may be associated with Chinese assimilation to Ghanaian culture.

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Introduction

In recent years, the relationship between China and Africa has led to increased scholarly and media interest. Recent literature on Chinese international relations in Africa largely focused on the economical and political relationships between China and African countries. However, little has been examined about the presence of Chinese migrants in Africa, especially in the African countries where sizable Chinese activities have just emerged in the new millennium (Park, 2009; Ma Mung, 2008b; Mohan & Kale, 2007). Due to a lack of data and sources about Chinese migrants in Africa, Western and African media tend to present the Chinese in negative and inaccurate ways (Park, 2009; Ho, 2008). Some macro-level research and new reports mistakenly assume the activities of the Chinese immigrants in Africa resulted from Sino-African relations and governmental policies (Ho, 2008). Yet Ho (2008) found that “how Chinese people live and work in different African countries is not what the Chinese government imagines or desires”. It is thus imperative to fill these gaps in conception and obtain a comprehensive knowledge on the Chinese community in Africa.

Needed Research

Up to now, research activities on the migration patterns and the lives of Chinese people in Africa have just started. However, there are an increasing number of publications about these topics in the past two years, as compared to five years ago. For example, Park (2009) has summarized the migration and settlement pattern of the Chinese immigrants in Africa, as well as their relations with the host communities; Ma Mung (2008a, 2008b) has closely examined different flows and types of Chinese migrants to Africa, and their relationships with China’s

foreign policy; Mohan and Kale (2007) summed up the Sino-Africa migration pattern and history, economic activities and social relations; The monthly publication *The China Monitor*, by the Centre for Chinese Studies at the University of Stellenbosch, has looked closely on the updated news on Chinese' activities in Africa since 2005.

It should be pointed out that natural resources, culture, social structure and political environment among 54 African countries vary to a large degree. In each African country, the patterns of Chinese migration differ case by case. Up to now there are a few studies that have researched Chinese migration history, Chinese business, or settlement patterns within one particular African country. For example, Ho (2008) has examined the Chinese networks in Ghana through ethnography. Hsu (2007) has produced a thorough study of the Chinese communities in Zanzibar. Dobler (2005) has done research on frontier towns in Namibia. Esoh (2005) has provided some interesting information on Chinese immigration in Cameroon (Ma Mung, 2008b). Haugen and Carling (2004) have studied the local Chinese *baihuo* (retail shops) in Cape Verde and their impacts on the local community. In sum, study of Chinese communities in different African countries needs to continue in order to reach enough data for a better understanding of the recent Chinese migration flow to Africa.

Much of the above research studied the economic activities as well as lives of the Chinese immigrants or one or several subgroup(s) of Chinese immigrants, mostly traders or entrepreneurs, in an African country. Some papers have touched the topics of Chinese adaptation to the local culture, or relationship between Chinese and Africans, yet the descriptions were very brief. However, to understand the contemporary Sino-Africa migration, it is essential to also know how Chinese immigrants cope and deal with the exotic work and living context in Africa.

For the purpose stated above, this research first focuses on the assimilation pattern of various groups of Chinese immigrants in Accra, Ghana. Assimilation is a process that individuals of minority origins change in order to function in the mainstream society, resulting in the declination and finally disappearance of the ethnic/racial distinction and the cultural and social differences between two (Alba & Nee, 1997). In this case, ideally speaking, the assimilation of Chinese ultimately leads both Ghanaians and Chinese to have zero cultural and social distance. Furthermore, this research will look at how degree of assimilation may help explain Chinese immigrants' attitudes and perceptions about the Ghanaian locals. Paying attention to the thoughts, attitudes and feelings of about thirty Chinese interviewees in Accra, this paper may also serve as a reference for both Ghanaian policy makers and Chinese government officials to improve knowledge of Chinese immigrants in Accra.

Research Questions

The following three research questions will be addressed in this paper: (1) Do assimilation patterns vary among different groups of Chinese immigrants in Accra? (2) How assimilation of Chinese explains their positive versus negative perceptions and attitudes towards Ghanaian locals? (3) How does assimilation affect the relationship between Chinese and Ghanaians?

In order to answer the three questions, I conducted in-depth interviews with Chinese and Ghanaians in Accra. I asked questions about work and living context of the Chinese immigrants as indicators of assimilation. This includes recreation, health care options, utilization of social

network and degree of cultural acceptance. Through interviews, I have also obtained data that infer the relationship between Chinese and Ghanaians from both sides.

Literature Review

In the literature review, I will first discuss the political background and history of the immigration of Chinese to Africa, including the case highlighting Ghana. Then Ma Mung (2008a, 2008b)'s categorization of Chinese immigrants will be introduced. Finally, I summarized the characteristics of Chinese communities in Africa based on previous research.

Sino-African relation after 1949

The relationship between China and Africa is not a new phenomenon. Archaeological evidence has indicated that trade between China and East Africa dates back to the Han Dynasty from 202 BC to 220 AD (Guliwe, 2009). But the significant contact between the two occurred after the establishment of the modern China in 1949. At first, China's interests in African countries were driven by anti-capitalist ideologies as well as the efforts to counter Soviet influence in states like Angola and Congo (Guliwe, 2009). From the 1960s to 1970s, China provided mainly moral and material support for the liberation struggles of a number of African countries (Guliwe, 2009). By 1970 China had established diplomatic ties with all the African countries that had gained independence, with the exception Libya (Guliwe, 2009). During this period of time, China provided support for a series of development projects for improving the infrastructure in some African countries. One of the examples is the construction of Tanzara railway that connected Tanzania with Zambia.

After China's Open Door Policy (*gaige kaifang*) in 1979, especially since the end of the Cold War in early 1990s, the relationships between China and African countries shifted from ideological support to economic cooperation based on common aims (Guliwe, 2009). China's

booming economy has created massive needs for raw materials such as minerals, petroleum and timber, as well as for markets to export cheap manufactured goods such as textiles (Mohan, 2008; Guliwe, 2009; Ho, 2008b).

From the late 1990s, China started to pay much greater attention to cooperation with Africa. This has led to the creation of the Forum for China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) in 2000. The forum is considered by Beijing as a platform to coordinate Chinese foreign policy toward Africa (Davies, Edinger, Tay & Naidu, 2008). Especially under the FOCAC 2006 commitments, China's Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Commerce started to seek a more effective implementation of foreign aid policy toward Africa, causing a rapid growth in foreign aid disbursements to the continent (Davies et al., 2008). The China EXIM Bank, one of the three policy banks, has financed over 300 projects in Africa by mid-2007 (Edinger, 2008). Moreover, top-level meetings between China's leaders and their African counterparts have been occurring at the frequency of at least once every month (Lee, 2009). On the other hand, African countries replied to China's development aid with support of China on international affairs. For example, from 1990 to 2006, African countries have exercised their veto on rejecting Taiwan's application for membership in the UN fourteen times (Pan, 2008).

Some western scholars argued the Chinese involvement in Africa was imperialistic and associated with neo-colonialism. They criticized the Chinese for importing labor from China instead of giving locals jobs, damaging local business with cheap imported goods and ignoring environmental issues (Guliwe, 2009). Many western and African media sources also reported that China's aid to African countries was usually coupled with the importation of oil (Brown, 2006, as cited in Ho, 2008b). However, some Chinese scholars fought back to these criticisms, stating the essence of the relationship between China and Africa is mutually beneficial (Liu,

2006; Pan, 2008). China adopts non-interference diplomatic policy, which gives African countries encouragement and support, not political pressures that are imposed by the western countries (Liu, 2006).

Sino-African political relations since 1949 acts as catalyst of Chinese migration to Africa, although most of the Chinese immigrants are contract workers for Chinese aided construction projects in Africa who finally returned to China. In recent years, workers of both state-owned and private construction companies still comprise a prominent proportion of Chinese immigrants in Africa due to increasing Chinese investment for infrastructural development in most of the African countries. In addition to these construction workers, Chinese Open Door Policy has also encouraged a large number of individuals to seek business opportunities in Africa. This has resulted in an increased number of individual traders as well as private business owners and workers, which diversifies the demography of the Chinese in Africa. In the next chapter, I will discuss the general migration patterns of Chinese immigrants in Africa.

History of Chinese Migration to Africa

The Chinese diasporic communities in Africa received growing media attention in recent years, leading one to assume this is a new social phenomenon (Corklin, 2008). However, the Chinese presence in South Africa dates back to the 17th century (Park, 2009). In late 19th century, Chinese laborers were recruited to work in the plantations and mines in some European colonies in the southern Africa (Ma Mung, 2008a). Modern Chinese migration to Africa started with the establishment of the New China in 1949. From the 1960s mainland Chinese came to Africa predominantly as contract workers (Guliwe, 2009). Between 1970 and 1975, due to Chinese

ideological aid, 50,000 Chinese workers helped build the Tazara Railway, which connects Tanzania and Zambia (Politzer, 2008, as cited in Park, 2009). The support from China to Africa also included sizable¹ temporary migration of medical personnel, agro-technicians, teachers and contract labors over several decades; most of the immigrants in this period returned to China after completion of their work (Park, 2009; Ma Mung, 2008a). Moreover, these migrations were closely supervised by the Chinese government (Ma Mung, 2008a).

Contemporary Chinese migration to Africa is the result of the China's opening up policy, especially the liberalization of immigration control in 1985 (Ma Mung, 2008b). In 1979, China decided to open up to the outside world by taking a series of steps to loosen restrictions on and stimulate exports and imports (Wei, 1995). This led to an annual outflow of 300,000 to 400,000 Chinese to different parts of the world including Africa in the 1990s (Skeldon, 1996, as cited in Ma Mung, 2008b). Mohan (2008) states it is hard to calculate the scale of immigration from China to Africa due to the scarcity of data, misreporting of ethnicity and an unknown portion of illegal entry. The illegal immigration of Chinese may be attributed to "lax immigration policies, poor tracking mechanisms and corruption in many African countries" (Park, 2009).

Park (2009), through combining different sources, estimated that there were somewhere between 583,000 to 820,000 Chinese in Africa (Table 1). Table 1 also shows the drastic increase of Chinese in Africa since 2000. Before 2000, South Africa, Madagascar, Mauritius and Reunion were the four African countries with the largest and the earliest establishment of Chinese communities. However, within the last ten years, countries of West, North and East Africa have experienced a great influx of Chinese people. Most of the Chinese came directly from China,

¹ This includes nearly 150,000 Chinese sent to projects in Africa to develop agriculture, transport infrastructure and other major constructions between 1960s and the early 1980s (Perret, 2007, as cited in Ma Mung, 2008a).

while a small number of them also came from Europe or migrated from African countries to another (Park, 2009).

(Table 1 about here)

The Case of Ghana

China established diplomatic relations with Ghana in 1960. Before 2000, China's aid and development assistance to Ghana was relatively small. Still, during this period Ghana and China shared common aspirations in liberation struggles, and they also supported each other on critical issues (Baah, Otoo, & Ampratwurm, 2009). For example, in 1971, Ghana fully supported China to reclaim a permanent UN seat which was lost to Taiwan (Baah et al., 2009). After the first FOCAC Summit in 2000, China has undertaken a series of projects in aim of helping with infrastructure building in Ghana (See Table 2). The 2006 FOCAC Summit further led to bilateral talks around six agreements between China and Ghana, including the construction of Bui Dam, the largest aid commitment from China to Ghana. Further assistances also include a 200 MW gas-fired plant, two new stadia in Takoradi-Sekondi and Tamale, fiber-optic cable that links Accra with the Northern Region and various poverty alleviation programs in Ghana (Davies et al., 2008). These constructions were undertaken by various large Chinese state-owned enterprises (SOEs). Therefore, China's mounting economic and technological assistance undoubtedly brought a number of Chinese SOEs skilled workers to Ghana, especially after 2000.

(Table 2 about here)

Nevertheless, before the recent tide of Chinese immigrants, the Chinese entrepreneurial community had already existed in Ghana for over forty years, independent of Chinese state agendas (Ho, 2008b). According to Ho (2008a), the first significant wave of Chinese in Ghana coincidentally occurred in mid-20th century. This started with several Hong Kongese sailing around the Gulf of Guinea. Their ship ran into mechanical problems around the then-British Colony of Gold Coast (today's Ghana), leading them finally to go on shore and establish their business (Ho, 2008a).

Chinese immigrants in Ghana primarily involved in manufacturing industries with a majority in textiles and some in metalwork between the 1950s and late 1980s. After the construction of a harbor and industrial sector in Tema under the regime of Kwame Nkrumah, the first president of independent Ghana, many Chinese factories were established in Eastern Ghana. These factories brought mostly male employees from Hong Kong, who subsequently also brought their wives in the 1960s and 1970s (Ho, 2008a). From the mid-1970s to the 1980s, Ghana's political and economical instability led many Chinese immigrants to leave the country. A small number of Chinese remained in Ghana, either keeping their employee status or starting businesses themselves. At the same time, a few Chinese from mainland China started to arrive due to the Chinese open-up policy (Ho, 2008a).

Since the late 1990s, a new wave of Chinese merchants mostly from mainland China came to Ghana. Many of them imported Chinese products into the Accra and Tema region, and some Chinese restaurants were established with the arrival of these Chinese (Ho, 2008a). According to the Ghana-Chinese Chamber of Commerce, there are approximately 250 Chinese companies registered in Ghana (Davies et al., 2008). Chinese presence in Ghana is relatively small in scale compared to that in South Africa and Angola, however, the number has been

significantly increased since 2000. In addition, Ho (2008a) believes Chinese migration to Ghana is temporary.

Types of Chinese Migrants

It seems Ma Mung's categorization of Chinese immigrants in Africa is widely accepted by scholars. He contends there are three groups: temporary labor immigrants, entrepreneurial immigrants and transit immigrants (Ma Mung, 2008a; 2008b). The largest group consists of temporary labor immigrants (Park, 2009). They came to Africa because of Chinese-aid development projects and/or raw material extractions in many African countries, which were mostly done by state-owned enterprises (SOEs). It is estimated that in 2006 there were 700-800 Chinese companies operating in 49 African countries (Ma Mung, 2008a). The activities of these companies brought around 80,000 Chinese contract workers (Ma Mung, 2008a; 2008b).

Often the decision on importing Chinese labor was due to a lack of local skilled laborers (Davies et al., 2008). However, the temporary labor immigrants not only are brought in for their special skills, but also engage in manual labor along with the locals workers (Davies et al., 2008). Most of them went back to China at the end of the contract, which usually lasts one to two years (Ma Mung, 2008a; Corklin, 2008; Park, 2009). Moreover, some of the labor immigrants have remained in the country and established their own businesses (Ma Mung, 2008b). Park (2009) further argues that Chinese labor immigrants can be divided into semi-skilled laborers and managerial/professional workers, and the latter are more likely to remain in the African host country even after the completion of projects. They become independent immigrants and established their own business, and thus fall into the category of entrepreneurial immigrants.

A subgroup of temporary labor immigrants is the technical assistants sent by the Chinese government since 1950s. Thanks to the recent improvement of relations between China and many African states, a regular influx of Chinese teachers, medical personnel, and agricultural experts from different parts of China are sent to Africa to provide core expertise in various fields (Davies et al., 2008). They usually stay one to two years in the countries of destination and leave (Hsu, 2007).

The second type of Chinese immigrants is comprised of entrepreneurs, traders and small investors (Park, 2009). Among them, Chinese traders who sell Chinese products in Africa often caught attention of many scholars. They belong to a global trend of Chinese diaspora of merchants due to an increasing production of consumer goods in China (Ma Mung, 2008a). The unprecedented expansion of Chinese manufacturing industries pushed Chinese traders to look for access to new markets, many of which are located in the continent of Africa. The traders play roles as wholesalers or retailers in the urban markets of many African countries. The products they sell are almost exclusively imported from China, such as clothes, shoes, wigs, minor electrical devices, etc.

To most of these immigrants, their arrivals are associated with family networks. In Namibia, for example, migration of Chinese merchants starts with core immigrants who heard of business opportunities in Africa from relatives, newspaper and advertisements. After these pioneers established businesses in Africa they might employ other family members to come and work in their shops (Dobler, 2005). The origins of these entrepreneurs are diverse. A majority of the traders come from traditional sending regions in China, like Guangdong, Fujian and Zhejiang (Ma Mung, 2008b; Carling & Haugen, 2004). However, since the 1990s, an increasing number of entrepreneurs came to Africa from other regions in China, such as Beijing and Shanghai (Ma

Mung, 2008b). The entrepreneurs may also have various educational backgrounds. In Namibia, both people with MBA degree and middle school degree were doing business in the same market (Dobler, 2005).

The third type of Chinese immigrants, as pointed out by Ma Mung, is the Chinese who took Sub-Saharan African countries as transit points to subsequently migrate to Europe. Coming from different parts of China, they risked immigrating to some African countries without legal status. They are either employed as workers by some Chinese, or able to legally become traders and small entrepreneurs. At this time, little has been done with details about this group of immigrants (Ma Mung, 2008a; 2008b).

Chinese Settlement Patterns and Relations with Locals

As stated before, the characteristics of the Chinese communities are different across the fifty-four African countries. A description of Chinese community patterns in Africa can only rely on limited sources, such as the research about Chinese in Ghana by Ho (2008), in Tanzania by Hsu (2007), in Namibia by Dobler (2005) and in Cape Verde by Haugen and Carling (2004), etc.

In terms of the community aspect, many scholars pointed out Chinese immigrants in many African countries are not clustered to form an organized group as people would assume (Ho, 2008b; Dobler, 2006). In reality, first, many Chinese-aid construction sites are self-contained camps located outside of the major cities, which limit employee's social network (Corklin, 2008). Second, Chinese traders are cautious of the possible competition that may threaten their exploration of fortunes in Africa. Haugen and Carling's (2004) research on Chinese shops in Cape Verde reveals that Chinese retail shop owners tend to see the new comers

from China as competitors rather than partners. Thus the Chinese traders would rather keep themselves, or organize in terms of kinship, not nationality (Dobler, 2006; Carling &Haugen, 2004). Third, although in some African countries there are organizations formed to unite a certain groups of Chinese entrepreneurs, the functions of them are usually questioned. For example, a Chinese chambers of commerce in Ghana was described by a member as “superfluous, useless, a puppet of the founder to manipulate his own personal networks and for him to claim some fame” (Ho, 2008b). Fourth, the Chinese embassies in Africa often have weak influences on holding Chinese immigrants together (Ho, 2008b; Carling &Haugen, 2004). These factors, combined with each other, result in overall loose cohesion of Chinese communities in Africa.

Chinese came to Africa in looking for possibilities to better their lives (Dobler, 2006). Wages in Africa could be 30% to 400% higher than in China, which motivates the Chinese to overcome difficulties in life, work hard and earn as much as possible before ultimately returning to China with a better life (Park, 2009). Thus, Chinese immigrants in Africa generally do not seek integration into local communities. For example, Chinese construction employees in Angola live and work in camps that isolate them from the host communities (Park, 2009). This has incurred unfounded rumors from many Angolans that Chinese laborers were prisoners who work off their sentences in Africa (Park, 2009). In Namibia, young men occasionally went to public places such as bars, yet many merchants would rather chat or play football with Chinese and locals in front of their shops after their work (Dobler, 2006). However, Mohan (2008) suggests that Chinese immigrants are more likely to assimilate in the early Chinese settlement in Africa such as South Africa, in which many cases of inter-marriage between Chinese and locals can be found.

Tensions between Chinese and Africans also caught the attention of scholars. Mohan (2008) pointed out many tensions are related to economic factors. He classified four different types of conflicts between Chinese immigrants in Africa and the locals: (1) low cost imports that threatened the domestic counterparts; (2) poor quality Chinese goods; (3) unfair competition; (4) tension over labor practices. The previous three types occurred often between Chinese traders and the local entrepreneurs. This is in consequence of an influx of cheap and low quality Chinese goods to many African countries, which tend to drive the local business out of the market. In the Southern part of Africa, anti-Chinese sentiment was so high that there were movements seeking to halt or limit the importation of Chinese-made goods (Park, 2009).

Conflicts due to Chinese' labor practices usually happen in Chinese construction companies because many Chinese SOEs or private entrepreneurs hire locals to work for construction projects. According to Guliewe (2009), Chinese construction firms in Ghana, Namibia and Angola often pay their workers wages lower than the local and other foreign firms, or even below the minimum standard, unless strong trade unions were present in some of the companies.

Mohan's classification only focuses on locals' feeling of the presence of Chinese immigrants. On the other hand, Chinese also had negative feelings towards the locals. In Cape Verde, Chinese shop owners mistrust hired local workers in that they stole the property of their employers or purposefully look away when their friends were stealing (Carling &Haugen, 2004).

Besides the tensions and conflicts generated by Chinese presence in Africa, Park (2009) also pointed out the positive impact of these Chinese immigrants. Many Africans see an increasing of their purchasing power thanks to the inexpensive nature of Chinese goods. There

are also increasing social contact between Chinese and Africans with the form of Chinese-Ghanaian friendships, romantic relations or even marriages (Park, 2009).

To summarize, Chinese immigrants were present in most of the African countries for a short period of time. Park (2009) defined the Chinese immigrants in Africa as modern-day sojourners or transnational citizens rather than settlers. Generally speaking, they live in an isolated life away from both locals and many other Chinese. Many came to here because of higher income or business opportunities, so they do not intend to stay in Africa for a long time. Their presence in Africa has caused both positive and negative impact to local societies.

However, literature does not explain much on the relationship between the lives of Chinese immigrants in Africa and their interactions with the locals. This leaves room for discussing whether work and living context of one group of Chinese led to higher likelihood to adjust and assimilate to the local environment they encounter in Africa than another, and how these affects their relationship with the local people. These questions became my research interest, and will be discussed in the paper.

Theories

Assimilation Theories

According to Alba and Nee (1997), “assimilation” is a concept subject to criticism for its bias and ambiguity. In the most general usage, it is defined as “the decline, and at its endpoint the disappearance, of an ethnic/racial distinction and the cultural and social differences that express it” (Alba & Nee, 1997). This means assimilation could occur among ethnic minorities as well as among ethnic majority and minorities. In the latter situation, individuals of minority origins assimilate by changing in order to function in the mainstream society (Alba & Nee, 1997). In other word, the minority group starts with acculturation in order to adopt the “cultural patterns” of the host society by surrendering their own extrinsic cultural traits (Gordon, 1964, as cited in Alba & Nee, 1997). Guarnizo, Portes and Haller (2003) contend longer stay will eventually lead immigrants to assimilate into the mainstream culture and progressively lose loyalty and attachments to their origin countries. But large sociocultural differences between newcomers and the host society cause difficulties in the process of assimilation (Srole, Lanner, & Mitchell, 1962, as cited in Guarnizo, Portes, & Haller, 2003).

Many scholars have contributed to the study of assimilation to the U.S. culture. Waters and Jiménez (2005) suggest assimilation can be measured on four primary benchmarks: socioeconomic status, residential patterns, linguistic patterns, and intermarriage. Socioeconomic status includes educational attainment, occupation, and income. Higher socioeconomic status of immigrants results in faster catching up to the native-born in terms of human capital characteristics. Spatial concentration of immigrants’ settlements is negatively associated with assimilation. Linguistic patterns suggest the ability of speaking English and the degree of losing one’s native tongue is associated with generations. Immigrants usually make progress in

language assimilation, while their native tongue remains dominant. Inter-marriage is considered as the ultimate proof of assimilation and social integration (Waters and Jiménez, 2005).

Assimilation of Overseas Chinese

Assimilation theories that are developed in the U.S. only partially fits the assimilation patterns of overseas Chinese immigrants. “Chinese overseas”, as argued by Wang (1993), not just refers to *huaqiao*, or Chinese sojourners, but also to “all those descended from a Chinese father who were still recognizable as Chinese”.

The characteristics of overseas Chinese are that they identify themselves as ethnic Chinese and reject total assimilation. They hope to restore so-called “Cultural Greater China” by many accessible means (Wang, 1993). Especially when the host countries discriminate against them, they are more likely to “be defensive and proud of their forefathers” (Wang, 1993). For example, discrimination in the United States made it difficult for the Chinese population in New York City to assimilate. Chinatown functioned under such constraint, and cultural identity has been preserved as a result (Wong, 1978). Therefore, total assimilation is unlikely among overseas Chinese due to Cultural Greater China (Wang, 1993).

However, assumption that overseas Chinese do not assimilate is not true. Policies in the host country may play a large role in facilitating assimilation of the Chinese. For instance, Chinese in Lima are influenced by the *compadrazgo* (godparenthood) system. Because Peru is a Catholic country, marriage should be held in the church. Thus ninety percent of Chinese in Peru were Catholics. The Chinese “godsons” benefited largely from their “godfathers”, and were able to interact with the middle or upper classes of Peruvian society (Wong, 1978). In South-east

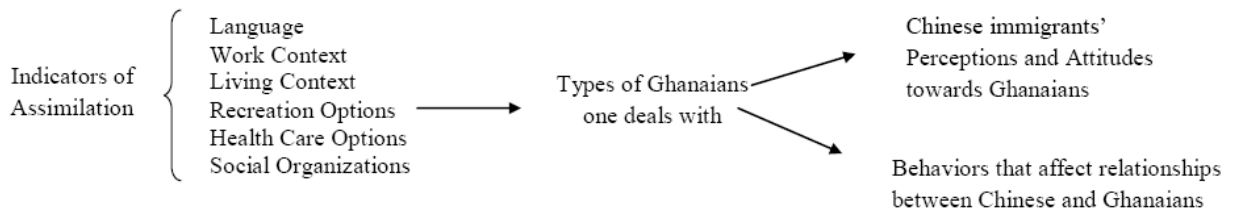
Asian countries where assimilation policies are strong, Chinese are also more assimilated because these policies force Chinese to pledge total denial of their Chinese culture and affirm loyalty to the host country (Wang, 1993). Religion is another important indicator for Chinese to assimilate. The Buddhism of Thailand presents less of a barrier than the Islam of Indonesia for assimilation of the Chinese immigrants (Skinner, 1960, as cited in Edmonds, 1968). Furthermore, Wang (1993) suggests that a rich and strong Great China (including Mainland, Hong Kong and Taiwan) strengthens the loyalty of overseas Chinese towards their culture.

Assimilation theories and their applications to the overseas Chinese are helpful in identifying the indicators of assimilation of the Chinese immigrants in Accra, Ghana. In accordance, I included settlement pattern, institutions, length and purpose of stay, work and living conditions, language abilities and cultural understanding into my interview questions. Through these questions I hope to find how different groups of Chinese vary in the degree of assimilation in Ghana.

Theoretical Framework

Combining assimilation theories with the current knowledge of Chinese migration to Africa, I decided to select several indicators which may help me to understand the assimilation pattern of Chinese immigrants in Ghana. The indicators are *language ability, context of living and working, recreation options, health care options* and *social organizations*. I assume these indicators partially determine what type of Ghanaians the Chinese immigrants deal with, which may further affects Chinese' perceptions and attitudes towards Ghanaians, as well as Chinese' behavior and treatment towards Ghanaians. This framework helps answer the research question

on whether assimilation patterns vary among different groups of Chinese immigrants in Accra, how assimilation of Chinese explains their perceptions and attitudes towards Ghanaian locals, and how these affect the relationship between Chinese and Ghanaians. The research framework is illustrated through the following diagram.



Methodology

Site Selection

I chose Accra, the capital and the largest city of Ghana, as my research site. Since 2000, particularly within the last five years, Ghana has witnessed a rapid expansion of its Chinese population. Most of these immigrants worked or lived in the Great Accra Region, with many others in Kumasi, the cultural center and the second largest city in Ghana. Chinese immigrants in the Great Accra Region can further be divided into two subgroups of Accra and Tema. Tema is a manmade harbor built in 1960, 25 kilometers away from central Accra (GhanaWeb, 2009). Tema's function as an industrial zone has attracted many Chinese entrepreneurs to establish factories or do import/export businesses. The close distance between Accra and Tema allows Chinese living in these two places to easily commute to one another. However, only three of my interviews were conducted in Tema because Accra is easier for me to reach. Thus, my research largely focuses on the Chinese in Accra, and my understanding of the Tema Chinese community is largely based on conversations and interviews with the Accra Chinese immigrants.

To explore the assimilation of Chinese immigrants in Accra and their relationship with the locals, I sought to conduct 40 in-depth interviews within three months, including 28 Chinese and 12 Ghanaians. The data not only consist of interviews with participants, but also participant-observations at several Chinese restaurants, shopping malls/grocery stores, state-owned construction camps, Chinese private companies and wholesale shops.

Sampling Methods and Data Collection

Due to limitations of available data and literature, in the first several weeks, I conducted a pilot study from which I gained preliminary perceptions of the Chinese community in Accra and designed several ways to recruit research participants. I also found an online discussion board operated by the Chinese immigrants in Ghana. The immigrants posted articles written in Chinese to share their feelings and attitudes towards the foreign environment in Ghana. These articles helped me target several issues existing in the Chinese community, such as the relationship between Chinese and Ghanaians.

Next, I tried to recruit Chinese immigrants to participate in interviews and collect the interview data about their living and work situations in Ghana. I considered in-depth interview as a useful method in this research as it allows me to explore detailed and personal stories behind the numerical data about the Chinese immigrants, and to ask follow-up questions for further investigation of certain issues (McNamara, 1999, as cited in Valenzuela and Shrivastava, n.d.).

The recruitment of possible participants is by use of convenience sampling, where participants were selected at the convenience of the research. This method has received many criticisms about its low external validity, which makes hard for the sample to reflect the situation of the entire population (Castillo, 2009). Nonetheless, convenience sampling was the only method available since there was no accurate and accessible data for me to draw representative samples from a pool during the research. Officials in the Embassy of China in Accra were reluctant to share the information about the Chinese activities in Accra, which according to them is only for internal uses. In addition, a newspaper article indicated that even the embassy might not have accurate data about Chinese immigrants in Ghana (Anas, 2009). Neither did the Ghana Immigration Services due to the large yet number of Chinese immigrants without legal status here.

Because Chinese immigrants in Accra live separately, the recruitment was relatively challenging. At first I noticed every weekend about 30 to 50 Chinese immigrants came to the University of Ghana to play basketball and soccer. From chatting with several of them at the basketball court, I established a small network. Those who were interested in my research recommended that I visit places where Chinese people were relatively concentrated. One place is the Makola Market at the center of Accra urban area, with a large number of Ghanaian wholesalers and retailers and a small number of Chinese merchants selling commodities like shoes, cloths, hardware and so on. I found it hard to approach many of them since they were very cautious to the strangers. In consequence, only three Chinese working as wholesalers in the market agreed to be interviewed.

My “basketball field contacts” also suggested me to recruit Chinese in the Accra Mall, a shopping mall with two supermarkets and a lot of western exclusive shops. The customers are usually middle- and upper-class locals and foreigners, including a large number of employees of Chinese state-owned and private companies. During the peak time within several weekends, I stood at the entrance of the mall and introduced my research to about 20 Chinese people I encountered. Most of them agreed to participate, but had dropped off later. Only two people participate in the interviews finally.

Moreover, I also found it relatively less difficult to get access to Chinese restaurants because they were easy to find. The workers and owners were usually not busy in the afternoon as well. I have interviewed four restaurant owners and two restaurant workers in five different Chinese restaurants. Through recommendation of some restaurant owners, I also interviewed several high level managers in state-owned and private companies.

(Table 3 about here)

Besides interviewing Chinese, I collected opinions from Ghanaians to obtain a balanced view of the relationship between Chinese and Ghanaians in Accra. The demography of these Ghanaian interviewees is shown in Table 4.

(Table 4 about here)

Table 3 and Table 4 listed all the 41 interviewees during the research. Chinese participants are labeled from C1 to C29 and Ghanaian participants are labeled from A1 to A12 in terms of chronological order of the interviews. For the Chinese participants, I listed their category, age, origin, occupation, length and expected total length of stay and additional characteristics. I did not list gender as a criterion because my interviewees were predominantly males. With respect to their occupations, I classify the Chinese immigrants in Accra into five categories, including Chinese state-owned enterprises (SOEs) workers/managers, private company workers/managers (including restaurant workers/managers) and traders. The rationale behind such categorization will be discussed in detail in the *Findings* section. What should also be pointed out is that I interviewed participant C5 three times, and C2, C3, C4, C6 and C10 twice. For the Ghanaian participants, I only listed their gender, age, occupation and additional characteristics.

Table 3 shows the demographic description of the Chinese immigrants I interviewed. My research is designed to include not only people from mainland China, but also from Hong Kong, Taiwan and Chinese from overseas countries. However, most of the interviewees of my research are mainland Chinese who hold a Chinese passport. There are only one Hong Kongese (C5) and two Taiwanese interviewees (C6 and C26). One reason is that my background as a mainland

Chinese made it seemingly easier for me to get in touch with the people from the mainland China than from Hong Kong and Taiwan. In fact, there were also much less Hong Kongese and Taiwanese than the mainland Chinese at least in the public areas in Accra. On the other hand, C5, C6 and C26 have all stayed in Ghana for over 20 years, who are amongst the longest residents during my interview. This fact coincides with Ho's (2008) finding that the oldest tide of Chinese immigrants in Ghana was from Hong Kong.

Protocol Development

The interview procedure strictly follows the U.S. regulation of research, and has been approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of both The Pennsylvania State University and University of Ghana. First, I explained the research purpose, research methods, and confidentiality protection to every potential participant. Second, people who agreed to be interviewed were asked to sign two copies of the identical consent forms. Usually Chinese participants signed on the form shown in Appendix 1 (see Appendix 2 for the translated version), and Ghanaian participants signed the one showed in Appendix 3. The interview language used for Chinese is Mandarin Chinese (*pu tong hua*). For Ghanaian I use English to communicate because almost every Ghanaian in Accra is able to speak English. In the end of the interviews, I asked especially the Chinese interviewees about one to two names they would recommend me to interview in the future. Frequently, however, Chinese interviewees seemed unwilling to provide additional contacts to me.

I used open-ended questions during the interview. For each Chinese participant, I explored his or her cultural adaptation and working situation, while I also asked about their

opinions and attitudes towards Ghanaians in all circumstances. For the Ghanaian participants, I focused on their opinions towards the Chinese immigrants. Interviews usually lasted around one hour, with several cases lasting two hours and others half an hour. The research was designed to have voice recorder running during the interviews. Nevertheless, most Chinese were reluctant to talk in front of a voice recorder. As a result, I took notes during most of the interviews with Chinese immigrants, which impeded me from recording every sentence exactly as what the respondents said. For the interviews with voice recorder on, I transcribed them via my laptop.

Research Limitations

I am aware of the weaknesses existing in my research. The biggest concern is that sampling of convenience may not be representative to the population. First, I collected data from those who are willing to be interviewed. Nevertheless, many Chinese refused to be interviewed, or just simply did not pick up my phone call. One Chinese told me that Chinese are generally not interested in social investigation because they think it is unrealistic and not problem-solving (he actually told me that my research is unpractical and suggested me to write about “something more practical”). Also, many Chinese stay in Ghana illegally or are doing illegal businesses, so they refuse to engage in any conversations with the one they do not trust. Last but not least, my research participants are predominantly male.

Second, I was unable to interview Chinese of managerial positions in the SOE and public companies. This is partly because most of them are too busy to pick up my phone. Sometimes these people gave me ambiguous agreements, whereas I was never able to reach them using their contact information. Yet I believe, albeit a lack of data, that Chinese with higher rank have very

different patterns of life patterns, willingness to assimilate and experiences of dealing with Ghanaians.

Third, Park (2008) mentioned that interracial marriage between Chinese and Africans exists. I also heard from several Chinese who has been here for a while about a Chinese marrying a Ghanaian. However, these informants were unwilling to provide contact information of such interracial couples. Finally, I have no data about interracial marriage between Chinese and Ghanaians, which would have served as a great indicator of assimilation.

Fourth, I notice that gambling and prostitution prevail in the Chinese community in both Accra and Tema. In fact, Chinese in Accra often travel to the casinos or the karaoke halls in Tema. Since going to Tema at night is not safe, most of my information about prostitution and gambling comes from casual conversations with Chinese immigrants. Therefore, possibility that the research conclusion is not fully applicable to the actual situations may be high.

Findings

In the finding section, I will start with introducing the demography of Chinese immigrants in Accra, followed with their living and work contexts, which serve as the indicators of their assimilation in my research. Then, Chinese immigrants' perceptions and attitudes towards the locals will be categorized and summarized. Finally, I will discuss the relationship between Chinese and Ghanaian using my interview data.

Population and Types of the Chinese Immigrants in Ghana

It is very important to address the number of Chinese immigrants in Ghana first. Although estimated data from various sources showed the current Chinese population in Ghana is less than 10,000, most of my Chinese interviewees disagreed with the data. Several Chinese interviewees who have been in Accra for more than two years have noticed a significant increase of Chinese people in the public spaces, such as supermarkets, restaurants and casinos.

“If you say there are only 5,000-7,000 Chinese in Ghana, then the chance for me to encounter Chinese would be very low, however, now I see a lot of Chinese shopping in the Accra Mall during weekends” (C23).

However, no official data was available at this time to verify this number. C5, a secretary in the Chinese Embassy in Accra confirmed there are more than 10,000 Chinese immigrants in Ghana, but he did not tell me the exact number. The Ghana Immigrant Service also lacked accurate data. Many interviewees agreed that the rough number of the Chinese immigrants in Ghana was around 30,000 in 2009.

One important reason of the inability to obtain an accurate number is due to illegal entrance. Through my interview, I heard many Chinese stay in Ghana without valid document.

One way to remain in Ghana is to enter with a tourist visa or a short-term business visa, without renewing after expiration. An informant told me many Chinese immigrants chose to do so intentionally. They could avoid being deported by bribing, and sometimes the cost of bribing was even lower than the fees and tax they need to pay had they legally extended their visa. I did not obtain enough data for this issue as not many people were comfortable to talk about it.

Previously, I introduced Ma Mung's (2008a, 2008b) categorization that breaks Chinese immigrants in Africa into three general groups: transit migrants, temporary labor migrants and entrepreneurs that include small investors and traders. Since the transit migrants are hard to identify, the Chinese immigrants fall either into the rest of the two categories. However, after my field work, I realized that the assimilation pattern of Chinese in Ghana can be explained better if the typology is not just based on the expected length of stay (as what Ma Mung suggests) but also focuses on occupations. Hence, I classify the participants into three different categories: (1) overseas employees of the Chinese state-owned enterprises (SOEs), the majority of who are doing construction work in Accra as well as many other places in Ghana; (2) owners or workers of Chinese private companies; and (3) Individual traders and wholesale store owner/workers.

Table 3 shows that among 29 Chinese interviewees, there are eight SOE employees (labeled as "1"), fifteen private company owners or workers (labeled as "2") including six restaurant owners or workers (labeled as "2.1"), four individual traders and owners or workers of wholesale stores (labeled as "3") and two interviewees whose occupation does not fall into the previous four categories (labeled as "4"). I separate wholesale store traders from private company managers and workers because of their distinctive exposure to the local environment. Wholesalers working in the Makola Market need to deal with Ghanaian retailers and customers every day, which creates a unique relationship within the market. As for the private company

owners and workers, they are mostly likely to interact with Ghanaian workers, clients, customers and government officials.

In Ma Mung's (2008a, 2008b) categorization, temporary migrants refer mostly to the government sent or SOE workers. However, in the situation I have encountered, some interviewees are employed as contract workers and may return to China within two years across all the three categories. All of those who have been in Ghana for over ten years are entrepreneurs owning private companies or restaurants. Still, I met or heard about some SOE managers who have stayed in Ghana for more than five year as a result of longer period of commitment to their positions. As for the origin, the interviewees come from different locations in China, rather than just several traditional sending regions. Another important finding is that Chinese immigrants in Accra have various educational backgrounds and socio-economic status, and their income largely differs. Since I did not collect every participant's demographic data, I will not discuss these factors in detail.

I found the weakness in my typology is that it ignores occupational flexibility and transitions. For example, C18 used to be an SOE employee in Ghana, but has discovered commercial opportunity and chosen to start his business in Ghana. Also, some restaurant owners, including the ones I did not have chance to interview with, operate restaurant as their secondary job.

"I have been selling Chinese porcelains in this country for more than ten years...years ago I decided to open a restaurant as my secondary occupation for extra income... there aren't many things to do at night anyway".

"I am doing international trade here. After my wife came here to live with me, she felt life was boring. So we decided to open a restaurant for her to operate...Now we don't need to cook dinner on our own".

Although there might be weaknesses in this typology, breaking the interviewees in these categories helps with answering the research questions.

Reasons of Migration to Ghana

“If you ask Chinese to do low-wage jobs, they would not even think about coming to this country”.

In almost every interview with Chinese, the interviewee admitted that money is an important incentive to come to Ghana. The SOE and private company employees self-reported an average of two to three times increase of salaries compared to the same types of jobs they had in China. Private entrepreneurs and traders were attracted by lower requirements for capital and money inputs in order to start businesses compared to the West as well as China. They also enjoy the relatively stable political situation and safe community environment in Ghana.

I also realize a large percentage of the Chinese in Accra are in age between 20 and 30. The influx of the young generation Chinese to Ghana is a combination of many reasons. Among the interviewees between 20 and 30, a majority of them were fresh out of college or with less than two years work experiences when they came to Ghana. In their opinions, this was not only a result of high domestic competition in China, but also because working in countries like Ghana leads to a better income, higher social prestige in the local society and an increase of future career opportunities through developing human capital, such as English skills and leadership. C3 was offered by his multinational Chinese medicine company a regional manager position that a recent college graduate like him was unlikely to get if he was in China. Young interviewees also expressed their desire to see the world and gain international experiences of at least five years in order to be a competitive job applicant when they return (C1). Furthermore, young employees in

multinational companies or SOEs tend to be sent by their managers to overseas branches or working sites, thanks to their single marital status, good health and good potential to grow.

What is also worthy of discussion is that not all the Chinese migrants intentionally chose Ghana as a destination of their emigration. To overseas construction workers or employees, they had no choice or few choices on where they can go. They usually move from one international site to another after the project in the previous one has been completed. For example C12, a construction engineer went to Fiji for one year before arrival. Employees of some multinational private companies also migrate as a result of the companies' arrangement (C27). Family network plays an important role in the decision of migration especially among restaurant workers and wholesale shop owners/workers. One interviewee said he came because his relatives needed help from the family members to run the wholesale store (C4), while another told me his parents know the boss and introduce him to work for the employer.

Living and Work Contexts of the Chinese immigrants

Acquiring knowledge of the organizational context, namely, living and work context of the Chinese immigrants in Accra, is essential as they reflect the degree of assimilation. To get the information, my interview questions mainly focus on the Chinese immigrants' language ability, work and living environment, recreation options, health care options and social networks.

LANGUAGE AS AN OBSTACLE

Language is an important factor that impedes Chinese from communicating with Ghanaians well. In Accra, most of the Ghanaians can speak English, the nation's official language. But different ethnic groups also speak different native languages, such as Akan, Ewe and Ga. Also, Chinese who came to Ghana were of different education background and as a result, some are able to speak good English whereas others cannot. In general, Chinese SOE workers speak better English because they received English training before arrival.

“In order to work in an overseas site in my company, he or she needs to be in the overseas department, which requires you have certain English skills, like passing CET-4² (da xue si ji kao shi)...if you are selected to go abroad, you need to go to a class three to four times a week to learn English from a native-speaker...if the manager thinks you are ready, he or she will agree to send you abroad” (C16).

However, many Chinese immigrants in Ghana had no or very little English skill upon arrival. Some of them were learning English by themselves through reading textbooks or having conversations with the Ghanaian colleagues and clients. In a construction company, Chinese supervisors prefer to use a combination of body language and ungrammatical English sentences to deliver messages and send commands the Ghanaian workers.

Language barrier between Chinese and Ghanaians results not only from Chinese's inability to proficiently use English for communication, but also from Ghanaians' Pidgin English pronunciation as well as their unwillingness to speak English in some occasions. English, albeit the official language, is a non-native language to most of the Ghanaians in Accra. Even the Chinese who speak decent English have told me the difficulties to understand the “broken English” spoken by Ghanaians. Also, many Ghanaians tend to use their native languages to communicate with other members of their ethnic groups, especially when they do not want the

² CET-4 (College English Test Band 4) is a standardized English test in China that usually a college student needs to pass in order to graduate.

Chinese to know what they are discussing. Therefore, language is an obstacle of communication between Chinese and Ghanaians.

LIVING CONTEXT

Although the population of Chinese immigrants increased dramatically in Ghana, they do not cluster to form Chinese enclave. My interviews revealed that Chinese live in scattered places in Accra. These places include urban area such as the Makola Market, commercial zones such as Osu, upper-class communities such as East Legon, Airport Residential Area and Cantonment, the industrial area between Circle and Tesano/Achimota, as well as average communities such as Labadi and Achimota.

Living arrangement varies amongst different groups of Chinese in Accra. There are many Chinese-aid construction projects within the Accra area that have brought in a large number of Chinese temporary skilled workers. These workers usually live in the dormitories inside the construction camps and do not go out often. The entrepreneurs and private company owners live in the houses in some upper-class communities by themselves or with their family members. The Chinese traders or workers in the Makola Market tend to live somewhere not far from their shops.

What should be emphasized is that a large number of SOE and private company employees live together in villas or dormitories arranged by their employers. Most of the dormitories or villas are compounds well protected by walls and wire netting, with Ghanaian guardians reinforcing security. In many cases these villas or dormitories are both for living and working. For instance, in a warehouse of an SOE company, the first floor is equipped with pool table, large-screen TV and comfortable couches; the offices are on the second floor; and the

dormitory rooms were located above the second floor. Almost all the SOE and private companies provide automobiles for commuting or business uses. Ghanaians were hired to drive for the Chinese. Consequently, a large number of the Chinese immigrants I have interviewed, especially the employees living in these camps, construction sites, dormitories and villas, have rarely stepped out of the area they live. Even if they go out, they mainly make contact with the Ghanaians necessary to their work.

Chinese seem not to have interests in Ghanaian food. A majority of the interviewees told me they never or rarely had Ghanaian local food such as *fufu* and *banku* because they had no motives to try, or disliked the tastes, or concerned with poor sanitation. Sometimes Chinese business people and sales persons were invited by their Ghanaian clients to have local food at the clients' home or local restaurants. One interviewee told me he felt awkward because he saw his client using fingers to eat everything. Only a few Chinese I have encountered during my research period told me they liked to occasionally try Ghanaian food.

On the other hand, many Chinese immigrants can have Chinese food on a daily basis. No matter in camps, construction sites, villas, houses or apartments, every Chinese I have interviewed either live with their Chinese colleagues or family members. Large SOEs and private companies usually hire Chinese or Ghanaian chefs to cook Chinese food for the Chinese employees. In one construction site, the Chinese workers vote for the Chinese with the best cooking skills to prepare for meals every day. Moreover, in several wholesale shops in the Makola Market, Chinese with family relationships work and live together, and cook by themselves at home. Because there are not as many selections of vegetable and meat here, Chinese usually consider food as one of the hardship they endure in Ghana. Some large-scale

SOE companies and private companies are more likely to diversify the menu for their Chinese employees than the small-scaled ones.

Another hardship Chinese bear while living in Accra is infrastructure deficiency.

Although the capital city, Accra still suffers with frequent electricity and water problem. Such problem was more serious ten years ago compared to today.

I came to Ghana in 1985 during the political upheaval, the electricity supply was considered as good even if the supply was normal only seven days a month...My car was broken one week after I bought it!... The road condition was too bad” (C22).

Last but not least, safety is not a big concern to many Chinese, perhaps because of good protection by walls and guards around their living spaces, or of overall good political stability and security in Accra. Some merchants especially choose to do business here rather than in countries like Nigeria, thanks to Ghana’s safe and stable social environment (C26). However, robberies and thefts do exist. When I was in the Chinese Embassy in Accra, I saw notice on the wall, reminding people to be cautious of robbery when going out at night. Chinese interviewees also told me the safety in Tema, the harbor and industrial zone near Accra, is much worse than in Accra.

WORK CONTEXT

Many employees of many SOEs and private companies are asked to sign a contract that usually lasts one to two years, or terminates once the construction projects are completed (usually within two years). After that most of them will return to China and never come back again, or rest for one to three month before the next work session in Ghana or another country.

Traders and owners of private companies tend to stay longer. They may leave and go back to China or other countries when business goes bad.

It is hard to generalize the average income of Chinese immigrants through three-month-long field work. My estimation is based on interviews and casual conversations with Chinese I met. Young employees of Chinese companies earn around US\$ 5,000-15,000 per year. SOE managers, individual traders, restaurant owner and private company owners may have a much higher income. A trader told me his annual profit is more than US\$ 100,000. Although data might be unrepresentative, it is certain that the income gap between Chinese and Ghanaians is large. An average Ghanaian worker in Accra may only earn around US\$ 800 to US\$1,600 per year in 2009, which is lower than one-fifth of the income of average young Chinese immigrants. Not surprisingly, Chinese immigrants are considered as “rich people” by Ghanaians. Class difference made Chinese unwilling to step into an average Ghanaian’s life.

Behind a high salary is hard workload, especially for the younger immigrants as they are motivated to earn money and gain experiences in the exotic land within a short period of time. Working hours vary in different occupations and companies. In a state-owned construction company, the Chinese engineers work every single day from 8 or 9am to 5 or 6pm, except the last two days in a month (C12). They might also be assigned extra work at night. Sometimes when thieves were stealing company properties at midnight, they needed to go out and chase them. One interviewee commented he earns twice as much as the job in China, whereas working three times as hard.

However, many interviewees do not mind sacrificing their leisure time for hard work.

“I came here just for earning more money and getting experiences. So I don’t mind working extra time at night...plus, if boss asks you to work more, it shows he wants to train you ...you don’t want to lose these opportunities” (C21).

RECREATION

Chinese interviewees often complained about how tedious their lives are in Ghana not only because they have heavy workloads, but also because few recreation options were available. First, amusement facilities are absent in many places where Chinese live.

“We don’t have much entertainment facilities, even without ping-pong table. After all we came here to earn money. There is little profit in our project. If you can’t earn a lot, who is going to build a lot of facilities for you? ”

However, employees of most of the state-owned companies and some multinational private enterprises have relatively more choices of entertainment. Facilities such as swimming pools, ping-pong tables and/or basketball courts were offered by the companies and built in the compounds, dormitories and camps where the Chinese overseas employees live. Many of these employees also have access to Chinese satellite televisions, which allows them to watch Chinese news, TV shows and festival performances (e.g. Chinese New Year).

Second, most of the Chinese companies prohibit or discourage the Chinese employees to go out after 6pm during the week days, as the labor contract guarantees the safety of every migrant worker. In the weekends, Chinese may go out together for a drink or to play sports, while many chose to stay at home, chatting online, playing pool or table tennis, and watching movies or Chinese satellite TV (if these facilities are present). Only occasionally did they have chance to travel outside Accra.

Third, the public recreation options that match Chinese' interests are very limited.

Although there are many bars and night clubs in Osu or other commercial areas of Accra, only few Chinese immigrants like to go there frequently.

“You know the Chinese drinking culture. We don't like to drink ‘quiet alcohol’ in western pubs, neither do we like to drink ‘noisy’ alcohol in clubs—the music is too loud. We like to drink and eat Chinese food!” (C3)

Fourth, the embassies sometimes held some banquets in celebration of some national holidays such as the National Day and Spring Festival. However, invitations were only sent to “the Chinese who have remarkable achievements or reputations in Ghana” (C2).

In order to satisfy the need of entertainment, numerous Chinese in Accra flew into Tema during weekend nights. This is because the development of the Chinese industries in Tema that has led to a thriving Chinese community, with numerous Chinese restaurants, casinos and karaoke halls opened by the Chinese immigrants. I have heard stories that some Chinese immigrants lost all they earned in Ghana to slot machines and have to return China with almost nothing. It is also well known by many Chinese immigrants that prostitution occurs in some of these public places. Unfortunately, I was unable to access to these information given short amount of research time and inconvenience of going to Tema at night.

In conclusion, limited choices of recreation further restricted Chinese immigrants, especially the ones living in villas and construction camps, from interacting with Ghanaians outside of their living space.

HEALTH CARE

During my field work, I have collected many opinions about health care from Chinese immigrants. By the time I left Ghana, there were more than five Chinese clinics in Accra. According an interviewee, Chinese immigrants are the only foreigners allowed to open clinics without having certain working experiences in Ghana, thanks to a Chinese acupuncture master who had cured arthritis of the former Ghanaian president, Jerry Rawlings. As far as I know, the Chinese clinics in Accra provide traditional Chinese therapy, including massage and acupuncture. They also offer western treatments for diseases such as malaria. Almost all the doctors and nurses are from China.

It is costly to receive medical treatment in Chinese clinics according to the interviewees. An interviewee told me the Chinese clinics tend to diagnose any ailments as malaria. And a whole treatment of malaria might cost over 200 Ghana Cedis (US\$ 133), which was more than the average monthly income of Ghanaian workers. Sometimes such treatment was not even effective (C2, C9, C19).

“When I had noticeable diseases, I will purchase a plane ticket to fly back to China...I am afraid of misdiagnosis” (C19).

However, a lot of Chinese immigrants told me they would still prefer to go to a Chinese clinic in spite of its costly services. The first reason is that they were afraid of the sanity of the local hospitals. For example, C2 worries about contracting HIV in a Ghanaian hospital. Second, Chinese people found it challenging to describe their symptoms in English, even if they spoke fluent English, not to mention that a large percentage of Chinese did not understand simple English spoken by a Ghanaian. They felt Chinese doctors were more trustworthy. Third, many companies compensate the medical fees for their employees, just as concerning about the safety of employees.

“I recently went back to China to see doctor for my sickness. My company took it as an industrial injury and compensates all of my travel costs...Because [the company] sent you out, they need to ensure you are healthy and safe” (C16).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Social connections among Chinese individuals are very loose. Due to the fact that many Chinese came just for earning money in a short period of time, making friends with Chinese is not quite important (C9, C25). Close contact with other Chinese in the same field is considered by some Chinese business owners as a threat owing to the fear of leaking business secrets (C15, C23). When I attempted to recruit an employee of a Chinese multinational enterprise to participate in my research at the Accra Mall, he declined. He told me his labor contract specifies that no one is allowed to be interviewed without permission. As a result, the cautiousness as to avoid possible risks affecting their income may make Chinese stay distant from one another.

Nevertheless, the overall looseness of the Chinese community does not preclude the unity of small communities formed by the Chinese of same interests. Today, there are three to four Chinese chambers of commerce that unify different groups of Chinese entrepreneurs in Ghana for internal share of network and resources. These associations do not relate to each other.

Interestingly, as the physical contact of Chinese stays low, there are several thriving online communities used widely by the Chinese immigrants in Ghana. Many Chinese are access to the internet at the places they live or (and) work. Thanks to the popular Chinese instant message software, “QQ”, Chinese immigrants were able to form online groups and interact with each other. They often post articles about their feelings towards Ghana and Ghanaian people, or use it as a platform to seek business opportunities in Ghana. QQ is also a vital communication

tool that links the Chinese immigrants to their families in China. As C20 has commented, “My life may be collapsed without internet”.

CONCLUSION OF THE ASSIMILATION OF CHINESE

To summarize, Chinese immigrants have a low level of assimilation. To begin with, most of the Chinese, especially the new comers, know little about the country. Also, many have no motivation to learn about the culture because the main purpose of their stay is to gain higher income and overseas work experiences. Sometimes the managers of Chinese companies even discourage the employees to be distracted from work by learning these “unnecessary” things.

Living and work contexts further restricts the Chinese from having enough opportunities to assimilate. From my research, the level of assimilation appears to vary among different groups of Chinese. The SOE workers have especially low motivation to assimilate. They tend to live and work at the same places, and do not go out often. Provisions of different recreational facilities, such as pool table and Chinese satellite TV, may further decrease their needs for stepping out. Good health insurance provision allows them to seek treatments in the clinics operated by Chinese. They also spend most of the time working, knowing they will leave within a short period of time.

The workers and owners of Chinese restaurants appear to have the highest degree of assimilation, even if the overall assimilation level is still low. The characteristics of the work allow the owners of restaurants to have frequent interaction with Ghanaian government officials or wealthy Ghanaians, both of whom can afford to have expensive Chinese food. Thus they sometimes received invitations to visit these Ghanaians, through which they accumulated the

knowledge about the culture and the locals. One could argue that these relationships helped strengthen their businesses, which allowed them to stay longer. To the restaurant workers, many of them have breaks during the day, enabling them to step out to explore the surrounding area (C1), or chat with the Ghanaians colleagues (C20).

However, many factors intertwined together, making it hard to predict assimilation patterns of the Chinese immigrants in Accra solely based on a single factor such as occupation. For example, traders whose shops are operated in the center of the city have more exposure to the local environment, yet they seem not to assimilate to the environment but rather keep to themselves. On the other hand, not all the SOE workers refuse to know about the Ghanaian culture. SOE and private companies with good policies to foster cultural exchange within the company may have its Chinese workers more likely to adapt to the environment. Those who stayed in Ghana for a long period of time or had a relatively long overseas work experiences, are more willing to chat with Ghanaian workers even if they do not have much time going out (C4 and C23).

Additionally, several factors do not appear to have indications to assimilation, such as language ability, younger age and frequent contact with Ghanaians. First, the Chinese with low English skills but high motivation to learn through practices are more likely to engage in conversations with Ghanaians and learn about their culture (C21). On the other hand, even a translator who has interactions with Ghanaians frequently may have negative perceptions and attitude towards the environment and the locals (C2). Second, frequent contact with Ghanaians means more opportunities to gain knowledge about the Ghanaian culture, but restaurant owners and workers are more likely to take advantage of them than SOE workers. Third, younger age does not seem to foster assimilation because many young Chinese workers are indifferent to

acquiring understanding of the local culture because of sole motivation to earn money and return to China in several years. Therefore, more research should be done in order to accurately point out what type of Chinese has higher possibility to assimilate than another.

The Chinese Immigrants' Perceptions and Attitudes about Ghanaians

As elaborated above, interactions between Chinese immigrants and Ghanaian locals are restricted to mostly work contexts because Chinese immigrants live with each other, rarely step out, appear indifferent to acculturate and tend to share their social resources exclusively with other Chinese. My understanding of the interactions between Chinese and Ghanaians is from the interviews and personal observations in various companies, stores, construction sites and restaurants in Accra.

In the three SOE constructions companies I have been to, Ghanaians were hired as laborers to work onsite, driving vehicles, and guarding gates or construction materials. Most of them are subordinate to Chinese skilled migrant workers who supervise them. In one company, some Ghanaian engineers have the comparable human capital to their Chinese colleagues.

In two private companies I visited, Ghanaians were hired not only as manufacture laborers and gate guards, but also as sales representatives and administrative supporters. The Chinese employees also dealt with Ghanaian clients who are doing business with Chinese.

In five Chinese restaurants I have been to, Ghanaians were hired as waiters, bartenders and chefs. On the other hand, Ghanaian customers with high income and social prestige show up frequently. Restaurant workers usually have afternoon breaks for several hours, which allow the

Chinese workers to take a walk outside and possibly meet different Ghanaians. The reality is most of the Chinese workers still choose to stay in the restaurant and take a nap.

Around three stores in the crowded Makola Market, Chinese wholesalers frequently deal with Ghanaian retailers who relied upon the imported Chinese goods. Because in Ghana, foreigners are not allowed to do retail businesses, I saw some Ghanaian client purchased products from Chinese stores, and sold them at their booths outside of the Chinese stores.

Moreover, Chinese owners or high-rank managers also frequently deal with government officials and chiefs (community leaders in rural areas). Chinese who go out often also frequently encounter with Ghanaian police officers.

In summary, most of the Chinese gain perceptions and attitudes towards Ghanaians through various work relations, such as relationships between Ghanaian employees and Chinese employees/managers, between Ghanaian clients and Chinese entrepreneurs, or between Chinese business owners and Ghanaian law enforcers. My research shows that Chinese' attitudes towards Ghanaians were more negative than positive. To demonstrate, I have grouped several themes of both negative and positive perceptions, demonstrated as follows.

“LAZY”

The first type of the complaints is related to Ghanaians' “lack of work ethic”, “not punctual (and always looking for excuses)”, “lazy”, and “not obedient”. This often occurred where Ghanaians were employed by Chinese immigrants, and were unable to meet the expectations of the Chinese employers or supervisors.

“I asked a black³ worker to pick up a colleague in the airport... I reminded him to be on time again and again, but he was still late. I feel headache about blacks’ punctuality” (C2).

“Blacks like to oppose you. You should always control them. We can chat during break. But I dislike when they don’t work hard enough during the working time, but either go out or chat with the [Ghanaian] guards (C29)”.

Some Chinese also see this as a cultural contradiction between Chinese philosophy of sturdiness and obedience and Ghanaian culture of slow paces.

“Blacks are unsuccessful. Their living environment is the best among all the races in the world...if you are hungry, you can just pick a fruit on the tree...in the end they depend too much on natural resources. So they are not like us [Chinese] who attempt to improve our lives by all means” (C23).

Also, the Chinese employers feel most irritated when Ghanaians came to borrow money because of their low motivation to work hard.

“Some blacks came to work for two days, and disappeared for three days. They rather went to church than coming to work. When they ran out of money, they came to borrow from me. I dislike this a lot because it is ok to go to church, but if you don’t put extra time on working and come to beg money from me, this is so irresponsible” (C27).

However, in response to the criticism of Ghanaians’ laziness, a Ghanaian argued,

“You know what? The boss just recently asked a (Ghanaian) driver to drive him to Tema so he can gamble. The boss let the driver wait in the car until 4 am, and only gave him one Ghana cedi (66 US cents) to buy some snacks. The next day the driver still needed to come to work at 7am, or he would have been fired. Being treated like that, do you think that person will be happy and work well?” (A8)

“GREEDY”

³ Chinese tend to call Ghanaians “*Hei Ren*”, or “blacks”. This is a neutral word with no or little implication of discrimination.

The second group of negative comments is associated with Ghanaian's "greed". Many Chinese supervisors dislike the fact Ghanaian workers always ask for tips for extra work assignments which are considered as part of their duties by the Chinese.

The Chinese private company representatives and traders also dislike the corruption of Ghanaian government workers.

"The Ghanaian custom is very corrupted. [The custom officers] always want to find reasons to ask money from you, or they won't leave" (C8).

In addition, many Chinese complained about being unfairly treated by the corrupted Ghanaian traffic police officers. Almost every Chinese who drives car in Ghana has encountered the situation when their cars were stopped by police for things they have not actually done, such as passing a red light. Then the police officer gave hints for bribery to the Chinese, and threatened that otherwise the Chinese would be sent to the court. Usually Chinese had to offer the bribe because the opportunity cost very high if the case is tried in a court. As a result, a vicious circle is formed. Some Ghanaian police officers know that Chinese will pay, so they specifically look for stopping a vehicle driven by Chinese and ask for bribe.

"LACK OF INTEGRITY"

The third negative perception about Ghanaians is associated with a lack of integrity, which means stealing, telling lies, cheating and other behaviors that hurt the benefit of Chinese individuals or companies mainly in the work context. Almost every Chinese employee I interviewed told me Ghanaians have stolen the properties such as construction materials from construction companies, food or alcohol in Chinese restaurants and commodities from markets.

“If you catch them on the spot with evidence, they will beg you, like a minion; if not, they never admit they have done that” (C8).

Although there is a lack of detailed evidence, I still want to stress that Chinese entrepreneurs often told me stories of being cheated by Ghanaian merchants.

“Every Chinese who has been doing business for over two years here has a history of blood and tears. Many were cheated in Ghana, even if they were prudent” (C11).

“SIMPLE-MINDED”

Ghanaian’s average education level is far below the average Chinese immigrants’. And in many circumstances Ghanaians are the subordinates of the Chinese in the work context. Often Ghanaians are criticized by the Chinese for their low learning ability and lack of knowledge about money management. Sometimes I could sense a feeling of superiority over Ghanaians through the way Chinese interviewees expressed.

“... [Ghanaians] never remember what you taught them. If you pull all the workers aside and ask them to measure two meters on the scale, their measurements will be different from each other...They always tell you ‘ok, ok...’ but tomorrow they will forget. It seems they don’t care about remembering these. (C24)”.

“Blacks’ knowledge about engineering is like ours in the 1980s. They only know how to operate mechanically, but not truly understand what we taught” (C12).

“They don’t know how to multitask. Different things that we can grab at once may take them several times” (C19).

“Blacks are not sensitive to number. If you go to a supermarket, you’ll get very impatient waiting for them counting prices (C8).”

CULTURAL DIFFERENCES

Alden (2007) wrote that “to many Africans, the relatively sudden appearance of Chinese settlers in their midst is certainly puzzling”. Sometimes the negative attitudes from Chinese towards Ghanaians simply resulted from cultural difference. Many Chinese people came to Ghana with little knowledge about this country. Especially when they see the infrastructure is bad, they automatically look at things negatively. This, along with a huge cultural difference between two countries, had led some Chinese employers to look down on the Ghanaian employees’ habits, life styles and religious beliefs.

For example, in Accra, a large number of the Ghanaian locals are firm believers of Christianity (including Catholics and Protestants) or Islam. On the other hand, almost every Chinese I interviewed is atheist. Many of the Chinese disagreed with Ghanaians’ religiosity. They frequently had arguments such as whether God exists, and usually no one can persuade the other. If such debate occurs between Chinese employers and Ghanaian employees, confusion of Ghanaians’ religiosity may be transformed into seeing religion as an obstacle to productivity and work motivations. Chinese assume religious fanaticism has made Ghanaians lazy and dependent.

“Chinese people’s hands face the land. They don’t have religious belief, which I think is good. They are diligent and enduring. Ghanaian people’s hands face the sky. They think poverty and prosperity is arranged by God. So many college students don’t study hard, but go out and pray at midnight...I tell you, Ghana does not lack bridges and buildings, but lacks diligent people like Chinese,” (C11).

“Can I ask you why people from developed countries (China is considered as a developed country by many Ghanaians) don’t believe God? We asked our [Chinese] boss why he doesn’t go to church. He replied, ‘Hey, you go back to work!’” (A8)

However, some Chinese interviewees do appreciate the fact that having a firm religious belief made Ghanaians happy (C18, C19), as long as it does not interfere with work (C27).

POSITIVE ATTITUDES

Compared to negative attitudes, the positive attitudes towards Ghanaians were not frequent in general. Most of the people who gave positive comments are working in private companies, restaurants or urban markets, where encounters with Ghanaians are much more frequent than SOE employees. Most of the interviewees who have been in Ghana for over ten years have positive comments and attitudes about the Ghanaians (C5, C6, C19, C25, and C26). Three of them are restaurant owners (C5, C6, and C19). Moreover, in both Chinese SOE and private companies where the owner or regional managers have positive attitudes towards Ghanaians, their Chinese employees also tend to have more balanced views about Ghanaians, with critics of their work ethics but appreciation of their temper. Ghanaians' friendliness, respectfulness, and optimism usually receive the most compliments (C5, C9, C15, C21, C22, C20, C24, and C26).

“Ghanaians are straightforward, unsophisticated and easy to deal with...unlike China where relationship is much more complicated” (C19).

“... Their (Ghanaians) optimistic life style infected me. I feel I am more relaxed in work and life. This is something I look for” (C21).

Relationship between Chinese and Ghanaians in Accra

Most Ghanaians, even the ones in the capital city Accra, do not have direct interactions with Chinese. I have been to a Ga (an ethnic group in Ghana) community in Labadi. Many people I have talked to do not know about the Chinese immigrants. Their perceptions of Chinese merely come from movies and TV advertisements, which contains a lot of stereotypes. A7, a Ghanaian professor said many Ghanaians think there is Chinese all look the same. He further joked Ghanaians believe that when a Chinese baby was born, his or her parents throw a metal on the ground, making noise “Ching-Chang-Chong”; then they name the child according to the sound.

“It’s not [Ghanaians] fault... [Chinese] are not very open and they keep themselves...even the (Chinese) embassy did not make enough effort for Ghanaians to understand Chinese culture” (A7).

For the comparatively small number of Ghanaians who have direct interaction with Chinese, there are both positive and negative sides of these relationships. For the negative side of the relationship, I observed that conflicts between Chinese immigrants and Ghanaians mostly occurred in the following circumstances: (1) where Chinese employ Ghanaians, (2) in markets between Chinese traders and Ghanaian traders, (3) when Chinese immigrants encounter Ghanaian government officials or law enforcers and (4) Discrimination from Chinese towards Ghanaians.

POSITIVE ASPECTS

Chinese who have been to Ghana for more than ten years are much more likely to assimilate to the culture and have many Ghanaian friends. They also help the local people.

According to my research, most of these people are from non-mainland areas, like Hong Kong and Taiwan. It seems that occupation is also an important indicator of positive relationships. C5 and C6 were both Chinese restaurant owners who have been in Ghana for about 40 years.

C5 told me he treated Ghanaian employees very well. One day when I was interviewing him, a Ghanaian family with two children came to visit him. He appeared to be very amicable to the children, smiling and asking them to kiss on his cheek. Then he invited me to join the lunch he held for this family in his restaurant. He told me that the wife of that family has been working for him over 20 years. He treated her as if they are in the same family.

“I show respect to my employees and treat them well. They know their boss is a good person, and do not make big mistakes like stealing...even if they stole and I had to fire them, I gave them extra amount of money and let them go. So they are all appreciative and sometimes came back to visit me” (C5).

C6, a Taiwanese restaurant owner, has gone so far that he was even invited to become a leader of a tribe in Volta Region when he was doing business there. Also, he told me a Ghanaian named one child after him to show gratitude to his help. He could speak a local language, and was invited to attend local funerals and other ceremonies.

Not only the restaurant owners, but generally Chinese entrepreneurs in Ghana had some long-term friendships with several Ghanaian government officials they deal with frequently. One entrepreneur told me his relationships with Ghanaian officers from the tax bureau and immigration office have made his business much easier. When he had trouble, these friends are willing to help him. But he also confessed such relationships are maintained with money.

In addition, not every new Chinese immigrant cares little about knowing Ghanaian culture. Some Chinese accept Ghanaians' invitation of visiting the local families and joining ceremonies. C1 is one of the examples. He works for a Chinese restaurant. Every afternoon he

has three hours break time. Unlike his colleagues who often took naps, he frequently went out, exploring the region and chatting with the local business people. He felt everyday would have been very monotonous if he followed routines, so he stepped out to familiarize with the environment he lives. But he told me these friendships are not deep and lasting.

As a Chinese myself, I also established close friendships with several Ghanaians during my research time. One of them helped me get the trust of several Ghanaian shop owners in the Makola Market. Another used to take me to Tema and find Chinese community there. I realized Ghanaians are very appreciative when Chinese show basic respect and care for them.

CONFLICTS IN LABOR RELATIONS

However, tensions do exist between the two groups, and have a tendency to escalate. I recognize that conflicts between Chinese and Ghanaians exist mostly in work contexts wherever Ghanaians were employed by Chinese, such as state-owned construction companies, private companies, restaurants and Chinese stores. Chinese accused Ghanaians for not working hard enough to reach the expectation but always ask for money, and for their stealing the property of the companies they work. Ghanaian workers also have negative sentiments towards the Chinese, saying they are disrespectful, treating Ghanaian workers poorly, assigning heavy workloads but paying little and dismissing Ghanaian workers due to small mistakes.

“Working with a Chinese is like working with lion. If they are angry, they will do anything to you. Slight things you do, they sack you...any time in anywhere, without approval from the labor union. They tell you more people will come”.

“They don’t respect Ghanaians. They don’t want black man to use ‘black brain’ to give suggestions. For example, the way they pack things is wasting, in my opinion. I suggested some techniques. They said your ideas are good, but they never adopted.”

“When the construction was failed... a worker’s two fingers were off. The [Chinese] manager refused to give him salary because he couldn’t work. He said ‘in China, no work, no salary’ ... and sacked him. How can he eat and survive now?”

Interestingly, I heard from two Ghanaians that stealing is a way Ghanaians trying to fight back against Chinese’ bad labor practices.

“Because of the way being treated, we workers adopted that either to go away or to steal them. Ok, they don’t understand us and they don’t give us sympathy. My child is hungry. I have nothing to support them. I see my brother (other Ghanaian workers) steal things; I will not talk [if Chinese asked us]. I know maybe [the thief] will share [what he stole] with us. I know this is not good, but [the thief] is also pity. The salary wasn’t even enough to pay for transportations and food. We everyday think how to survive. I always think how I can get more money”.

Although treated badly, Ghanaian workers chose to endure the tough situation when working for the Chinese employers because of high unemployment rate in Accra.

“We know one day they will go, and we will enjoy the road. We are sacrificing ourselves to serve the nation in small ways.”

CONFLICTS IN MARKET

Conflicts between Chinese and Ghanaians also occur in the urban markets. Just like cases in other African countries, a majority of the frictions were due to the influx of cheap and low quality Chinese goods, which have driven off the local business and dissatisfied the consumers. Ghanaians have uncertain positions towards this. Some Ghanaian merchants praised the cheap prices of the Chinese goods, which allowed them to afford more commodities (A3). However, many others, especially the wholesalers themselves, believed the Chinese cheap commodities damaged their businesses. Ghanaians also criticized that Chinese did not do what they promised to create job opportunities for Ghanaians, but instead brought their own people to work here.

CONFLICT WITH GOVERNMENT WORKERS/OFFICIALS

Sometimes incidents happen between the Ghanaian government workers/officials and Chinese immigrants. One occasion, as discussed earlier, is that Chinese immigrants suffer from corrupt police officers who stopped their car and asked for money. This may bring about increasing antipathy towards Ghanaians' greediness from the Chinese immigrants.

Another tension is the allegedly unfair treatment Chinese receive from the government workers. The Ghanaian Immigration Services concerns about increasing illegal activities among the new Chinese immigrants, such as illegal stay, illegal business conduct and illegal activities (i.e. human trafficking). A10, a Ghanaian Immigrant Service officer I interviewed, expressed his worry:

"If you want to do trading, you need to have at least \$300,000 investment in this country and employ ten able-bodied Ghanaians... [But] most of them (the Chinese) don't have enough amounts. They bring products worth \$5,000 and sell on the street... We may arrest them. [Also, if Chinese came to do] government work for China, they don't need visa. But [some people] stay in Ghana after work and apply for other jobs. Local contract workers were disturbed. Government protects you, but you abused it!" (A10).

However, many Chinese business owners who operate legally complain the way the immigration office investigates their business operations in some occasions.

"On that day I just opened my store around 8am, three people from immigration office entered, asking to check the legal documents. I gave them, and they left. Later several other officers came and asked for the same documents. I told them I have already given the previous ones, but they didn't believe me, and arrest me with no warranty. When I arrived at the immigration office, I saw forty to fifty Chinese had already been there. More and more Chinese were brought to here later on, even including one who just came to Ghana seven days ago. We all crammed in a narrow corridor, without place to sit and supply of water... Many Chinese were emotional there. Some attempted to rush out, but were stopped by the officers... Later on [the immigration officers] started to interrogate us. In fact they just wanted to see our legal documents and investigate the illegal business operation... In the end of the day they did catch some Chinese who operate business illegally. But the whole process was rude and unnecessary, hurting the feeling of many

Chinese business people. Some officers even tempted the Chinese who do not understand English well to plead guilty!”

Many Chinese think the raid of Ghanaian immigration officers were futile for seeking illegal Chinese migrants or business owners, but disturbed the relationship between Chinese and Ghanaians. They think as long as bribery exists, it is hard to curb illegal immigrants or businesses by solely catching Chinese on the street.

DISCRIMINATION TOWARDS GHANAIS

Mentioned above, some Chinese immigrants tend to see they are superior to Ghanaians. There are circumstances when Chinese immigrants send signals of discrimination and disrespect to Ghanaians, which has potentially damaged the relationships with Ghanaians. A9, a Ghanaian waiter working in a Chinese restaurant, told me,

“They don’t give respect. They think we are not human to them... [When] I opened door for [the Chinese customers] and said ‘Ni Hao’ (‘Hello’ in Chinese), they just walk straight and ignore you. They will also say, ‘Go away! Don’t touch me!’” (A9)

A7, a Ghanaian professor, also commented,

“...a few instances of racial abuse... [The Chinese] insulted Ghanaians, called them ‘black money’, and some of them physically kicked their Ghanaian employees” (A7).

CONFLICT ESCALATION AND RECENT CHINESE IMMIGRANTS

The Chinese who have been in Ghana for over ten years can remember the relationship between Chinese and Ghanaians was better in the past. They point out that the recent Chinese immigrants are more diversified in education background. Some Chinese do not know how to act

properly in the public, and some others conduct business illegally or even do illegal activities such as prostitution. They worry that the recent influx of Chinese has been ruining the fame of the Chinese community in Ghana, which is harmful to their own businesses (C5, C10).

“...I couldn’t even tolerate their behaviors, such as smoking, being loud, dressing inappropriately... Chinese need to change their bad habits” (C22).

C11 also emphasized that unfamiliar with international rules and systems of doing business has caused the recent Chinese entrepreneurs a lot of troubles in Ghana.

“The chamber of commerce did far less than enough to inform you how to follow the business rules here...and the [Chinese] Embassy only tells you to abide by law, but doesn’t tell you how to do so. Unfamiliar with the law, many new Chinese entrepreneurs only know to bribe Ghanaian officials if they cause troubles” (C11).

ATTEMPTS TO IMPROVE THE RELATIONSHIPS

Currently, efforts to improve the relationships from both sides are sporadic and not very effective. Although Ghanaian labor unions have been trying to solve the complaints of Ghanaian workers in Chinese companies, Chinese tended not to listen to the suggestions. The Ghana Immigration Service also attempted to work with the Chinese Embassy so as to help Chinese merchants familiarize with the Ghanaian immigration law. For instance, in 2008, several the Ghana Immigration Service officers were invited to the Chinese Embassy and spoke to some Chinese entrepreneurs and answered their questions. But I reckon that a large number of small business owners and traders did not attend these meetings.

At the same time, some large Chinese companies are aware of the importance of creating a harmonious work environment for the Chinese and Ghanaian employees. I have been able to observe an internal soccer tournament held by a state-owned construction company, whose

regional manager is passionate about facilitating mutual understanding and communication between the Chinese and Ghanaian workers. Such activities not only curb Chinese employees' complaints about a lack of recreation, but also directly and indirectly improve the relationship between Ghanaians and Chinese in Ghana. In this construction company, I noticed more casual chats, jokes between Chinese and Ghanaians, and more positive comments were given towards each other. However, only when the company decision makers realized the importance of such facilitation were these activities encouraged.

Discussion

Assimilation of Chinese Immigrants in Accra

Through exploring living and work contexts of twenty-nine Chinese immigrants in Accra, it appears that the overall degree of their assimilation to the Ghanaian environment is very low. However, assimilation patterns seem to vary among different groups of Chinese immigrants. Across three different groups of Chinese I classified, Chinese traders and SOE workers tend to have very low interests in knowing about Ghanaian culture and making Ghanaian friends, whereas the workers and owners of private companies, especially restaurants, show better understanding and appreciation of the Ghanaian culture and people.

There are evidences that living and work contexts influence Chinese immigrants' willingness to assimilate. Factors such as longer length of stay, ambition to improve English and company policies on encouraging intergroup interactions appear to have positive impacts on assimilation. Factors such as tough workload, short-term labor contract, good health care provision, minimum opportunities to go out and frequency in use of internet for entertainment seem to discourage needs to assimilate to Ghanaian culture. Language barriers, cultural gap and differences in socioeconomic status also made Chinese immigrants generally unwilling to interact with Ghanaians. Institutions like the Chinese Embassy and chambers of commerce were considered as not having done enough to promote a mutual understanding.

Furthermore, my research suggests that younger in age, language ability and frequent contact with Ghanaians themselves appear *not* as an indicator of assimilation. Rather, it might be the personalities and motivation that affect willingness of assimilating. With good interpersonal

skills, people who are older, with low English skills and/or have limited contact with Ghanaians could well adapt to the Ghanaian culture.

Another question is also raised since English is a non-native language to most of the Ghanaians in Accra: should the ability to speak English serve as an indicator to assimilation of Chinese, or the ability to speak at least one native language? All these suggest that more research should be conducted in the future.

Given the fact that almost all the Chinese in Ghana are the immigrant generation, their low degree of assimilation could not be used to contradict Waters and Jiménez's (2005) argument that higher socioeconomic status, low spatial concentration and high language skills are associated with high degrees of assimilation. It is also possible that the future generation Chinese immigrants are more likely to assimilate to the Ghanaian culture if there is a small number of Chinese continue to stay and have children growing in Ghana. However, one could still hypothesize that Chinese immigrants in America have higher level of assimilation than their counterparts in Ghana if other factors are controlled.

The research findings also resonate with other research about the assimilation of overseas Chinese. There is no indication that the social institutions in Ghana foster the assimilation of Chinese. Thus, most of the Chinese immigrants, regardless of their length of stay, chose to preserve their cultural identities, or even feel their culture as superior to the Ghanaian culture.

Perceptions about and Relationships with Ghanaians

Due to the overall low level of assimilation, the perception and attitudes about Ghanaians from the Chinese immigrants are partial and inaccurate. Generally speaking, Chinese immigrants tend to think Ghanaians are not diligent, not integrated, greedy and simple-minded. This may be because of the nature of the context in which they encountered Ghanaians, for example, the employer/supervisor positions of Chinese and lower level positions of Ghanaian within a Chinese company. A feeling of superiority further made Chinese discriminate against Ghanaians. When misunderstanding occurs due to cultural difference, Chinese may attribute the responsibility to the Ghanaian workers.

It seems ambiguous to conclude what factors lead Chinese to have negative versus positive perceptions and attitudes towards Ghanaians. Generally speaking, having more interaction with Ghanaians other than subordinates might increase possibilities for Chinese to obtain a more balanced view about Ghanaians. Hence, whether assimilation relates to the perceptions and attitudes towards Ghanaians is uncertain.

In terms of the Chinese-Ghanaian relationship in Accra, although a number of Chinese have successfully gained trust and reputation in the local community, conflicts between them exist and have a tendency to deteriorate. An important reason is the influx of the recent Chinese migrants, some of whom refuse to abide by commercial laws, labor laws and immigration regulations. This has resulted in an increase of negative sentiment towards Chinese both in the local community and in the Ghanaian government. Sometimes inappropriate reactions of the government have escalated the misunderstanding. The corruption of Ghanaian law enforcement system also introduces conflicts associated with voluntary and involuntary bribery between Chinese immigrants and government workers.

I contend that the low degree of assimilation is also an important reason of increasing Chinese-Ghanaian frictions in Accra. Low motivations to assimilate and negative attitudes towards Ghanaians constrain cultural exchange and mutual understanding. Ghanaian laborers are thus poorly treated, and are seeking ways to retaliate.

Implication to Future Research and Policy Makers

My research is different from many previous studies because it closely examines the life and work of Chinese immigrants as well as their attitudes towards and relationship with the locals in the capital city of an African country. Many of my findings in terms of the Chinese' living and work contexts are similar to the previous research findings in other African countries. However, my exploration of the relationship between Chinese and Ghanaians suggests that the increasing friction between Chinese immigrants and Africans is attributed not only to the misconduct of Chinese, but to that of the both sides. On one hand, the low degree of assimilation among the Chinese may result in negative attitudes and mistreatment towards Ghanaians. On the other hand, some Ghanaians, such as corrupted officers and thieves who stole Chinese' properties, are also responsible for the deterioration of the relationship.

Policy makers should be aware of the large perception gap which appears to result in some of the conflicts between Chinese immigrants and Ghanaians. Promoting cultural exchange may largely increase mutual understanding and racial tolerance, and facilitating the assimilation of Chinese immigrants. In addition, both Ghanaian government and Chinese Embassy should make more efforts to inform the newly arrived Chinese about the Ghanaian regulations, for example, holding more activities to foster cultural exchange.

Because of its nature as a qualitative study, my research is only an explorative study and may not represent the whole Chinese population in Ghana. More research should be conducted to discover the demographic structure of the Chinese community in Ghana. Future studies should also test if causal relationship does exist between the assimilation of Chinese and their perceptions/attitudes towards Ghanaians.

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Table 1: Number of Chinese in select African countries

Country	Ohio U. Database 2001	Estimate for 200X	
Algeria	2,000	20,000	2007
Angola	500	20,000-40,000	2006
Benin	---	4,000	2007
Botswana	40	3,000-10,000	2006-07
Burkina Faso	---	1,000	2007
Burundi	---	150	2007
Cameroon	50	1,000-7,000	2005
Cape Verde	---	2,000	2006
Chad	---	300-500	2008
Congo (Brazzaville)	---	7,000	2006
Congo (Democratic Rep.)	200	500-10,000	2007
Cote d'Ivoire	200	10,000	2007
Egypt	110	6,000-10,000	2007
Ethiopia	100	3,000-7,000	2006
Ghana	500	6,000	2005
Gabon	---	6,000	nd
Guinea	---	5,000-8,000	2007
Kenya	190	7,000+	2007
Lesotho	1,000	5,000	2005
Liberia	120	600	2006
Libya	500	3,000	2008
Madagascar	30,000	60,000	2003
Malawi	40	2,000	2007
Mali	---	3,000-4,000	2008
Mauritius	40,000	30,000+	2008
Mozambique	700	1,500	2006
Namibia	---	5,000 (40,000)	2006
Niger	---	1,000	nd
Nigeria	2,000	100,000	2007
Reunión	20,000	25,000	2004
Senegal	--	2,000	2007
Sierra Leone	20	400-500	2008
South Africa	30,000	200,000-400,000	2007
Sudan	45	20,000-74,000	2007
Swaziland	90	300	2006
Tanzania	600	3,000-20,000	2006
Togo	50	3,000	2007
Tunisia	---	2,000	2008
Uganda	100	5,000-10,000	2007
Zambia	150	4,000-6,000 (40,000)	2007
Zimbabwe	300	5,300-10,000	2005-07
TOTAL	129,605	583,050-820,050	

Source: Park (2009).

Table 2: Overview of China's financial assistance to Ghana from 2000-2007

Year	Type	Amount
2001	Grant for economic development	\$3.6 million
2003	Grant for the construction of Burma Hall Complex	\$1.2 million
2003	Interest free loan by the Chinese government for the construction of the 17.4-km Ofankor-Nsawam section of the Accra-Kumasi Road, and an exchange of notes on the construction of the Kumasi Youth Centre	\$28 million
2003	Military grant	\$0.963 million
2003	Grant for restorations of national theatre	\$2 million
2003	Chinese government grant for the construction of barracks for the military	\$3.9 million
2003	Debt cancellation	\$66 million
2005	Loan, telecommunications equipment (ZTE)	\$75 million
2006	Expansion and upgrading of telecommunications network construction of a primary school and a malaria centre	\$66 million
2006	Donation for treatment of malaria	\$0.25 million
2006	Grant to foster economic and technical cooperation	\$3.75 million
2006	Interest-free loan	\$3.75 million
2006	Loan, construction of two stadia (Takoradi/Sekondi and Tamale)	\$275 million & \$38.5 million
2006	Military grant	\$1.25 million
2007	Loan for Buyer Credit Component of Bui Dam	\$292 million
	Refurbishing government buildings	
2007	Grant in kind, training in China of Ghanaian officials	
2007	2 nd loan agreement in communications (2 percent over 20 years); contractor is ZTE	\$30 million
2007	Agreement signed for construction of Ministry of Foreign Affairs	
2007	Agreement signed for economic and technical cooperation	
2007	Cancellation of debt	\$24 million

Source: Davies, Edinger, Tay & Naidu (2008).

Table 3: Demographic Characteristics of the Chinese Interviewees

ID	Category*	Age	Origin	Occupation	Length of stay/expected total length	Additional Information
C1	2.1	25	Hu Bei	Restaurant worker	1 yr/ 6 yrs.	
C2	1	25-30	Hu Bei	Translator of a SOE construction company	several mos./?	
C3	2	25-30	Northern China	Regional manager of a Chinese Medical company	several mos./want to leave soon	
C4	3	24	Zhe Jiang	Worker of a shoe store in Makola Market	4 mos./3-4 yrs.	Used to work in Dubai; family business
C5	2.1	50s	Hong Kong	Restaurant owner	40yrs./continue**	
C6	2.1 &?	40s	Taiwan	Restaurant owner	40yrs./continue	
C7	4	?	?	Secretary in Chinese Emabassy in Accra	several months/2-4 yrs.	
C8	3	27-28	?	Worker of a baggage store in Makola Market	2yrs./maybe 5 yrs.	
C9	2	30	Hu Nan	Staff in a private trade company	3yrs./don't know	Live with wife in the company
C10	2.1 & 3	30s	Shanghai	Individual trader in Makola Market	16yrs./continue	Also run a Chinese restaurant with his wife
C11	2	40s	?	Private company--sell mattress	several yrs./want to go back soon	Prefer not to be interviewed
C12	1	35	Gui Zhou	Engineer of a SOE construction company	4 mos./leave soon	Went to Fiji before Ghana
C13	1	26	Shan Dong	Engineer of a SOE construction company	1.5yrs/leave after project (<1yrs)	Have master degree
C14	2	?	Shanghai	managed a factory	very long/has been back	Retired and went back to Shanghai
C15	3	45	Jiang Su	Owner of a cloth store in Makola Market	2yrs./7-10yrs.	Can speak a little local language; family business
C16	1	25-30	?	Engineer of a SOE construction company	?	Now working in a Kumasi camp
C17	3	30s	?	Individual trader	?	
C18	2	30s	He Nan	Private company--sell wigs	4yrs/?	worked in Nigeria before
C19	2.1	40s	Shanghai	Restaurant owner	11yrs/continue	Took ownerships of the restaurant from brother; Her daughter is studying in a high school in Accra
C20	2.1	22	?	Restaurant worker	2 mos. /?	C19's nephew; work in C19's Chinese restaurant
C21	2	25	Jiang Su	Employee of a private factory	1yrs/3yrs	
C22	2	50s	?	Chinese clinic owner	20yrs./continue	Executive board member of a Chinese chamber of commerce in Ghana
C23	1	25-30	Shan Xi	Supervisor of a SOE construction site	6yrs. /?	Has worked in different regions in Ghana, such as a small town in northern Ghana.
C24	1	40s	?	Engineer of a SOE construction company	?	
C25	1	27	Chong Qing	Accountant of a SOE construction company	3yrs./might stay	Recruited through an agency in Si Chuan
C26	2	50s	Taiwan	Owner of a private plastic company	very long/continue	Doing both manufacturing and sales
C27	2	26	Hei Long Jiang	Sales manager	5yrs./?	Work in C26's company; transferred from Uganda
C28	4	22	Nei Meng Gu	Volunteer	6 mos./1yr.	Working for an International Christian organization
C29	1	?	Gui Zhou	Chef of a SOE construction company	10mos./has been back	

*Category: 1. SOE employees; 2. private company workers/managers (including 2.1 restaurant workers/managers); 3. traders and wholesale workers; 4. others

** "Continue" means planning to continue their stay in Ghana for a while.

Table 4: Demographic Characteristics of the Ghanaian Interviewees

ID	Gender	Age	Occupation	Others
A1	Female	30s	Wholesaler	In Makola Market
A2	Male	20s	Unemployed	A9 's brother
A3	Male	20s	Street Vendor	In Makola Market
A4	Female	30s	Street Vendor	In Makola Market; Did business with Chinese 3 years ago
A5	Female	27	Hotel Secretary	Well-educated and with higher income
A6	Male	20s	Engineer	Working in a Chinese state-owned construction company
A7	Male	40s	College Professor	
A8	Male	40s	Driver	In a Chinese state-owned construction company; Also a leader of the labor union
A9	Male	20s	Waiter	Working in a Chinese restaurant; A2's brother
A10	Male	40s	Government Official	Ghana Immigration Service
A11	Male	40s	Specialist	Ghana Trade Union Congress
A12	Male	40s	Government Official	Ghana Immigration Service

Appendix 1: Informed Consent for the Chinese Participants (in Chinese)



社会科学调查知情同意书
美国宾夕法尼亚州立大学
The Pennsylvania State University

研究课题： 中国人在阿克拉和特马的环境适应和生活情况

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研究目的： 本研究的目的在于了解在阿克拉和特马工作和生活的中国人。主要研究问题为：1) 是什么促使中国人来到加纳？2) 近几年来到加纳的中国人是怎么适应当地环境和文化的？3) 中国人和加纳人的交往情况如何？在交往过程中有什么样的问题？为了收集信息回答上述问题，研究者将会采访约 50 个不同背景、职业和生活方式等的，年满 18 周岁，且在阿克拉或特马生活或工作中国人。

研究过程： 在采访过程中您将会被问及关于您在加纳的生活情况以及您在适应生活环境过程中产生的一些想法。您的谈话内容将会被录音和纸笔记录下来，以便进一步分析和研究。您有权力在任何时间要求调查者停止录音或者纸笔记录。

利益： 您的参与可能不会直接使您受益，但是能为学术界了解中国人在加纳的生活情况、文化适应和对加纳社会造成的影响提供宝贵的信息。

持续时间： 每次访谈时间在 1 到 1.5 个小时左右。根据情况您可能会被采访一次或多次，以便研究者能深入了解中国人在加纳的生活情况或者遇到的问题。

参与和资料保密： 您的参与(包括个人资料和谈话内容)会受到严格的保护。在研究论文、报告和出版物中不会出现您的真实姓名和任何能显示您身份的词语和名称。所有的书面记录将被保存在一个上锁的柜子里，所有的录音内容将被保存在调查者笔记本电脑内的加密文件夹中，或者是宾夕法尼亚州立大学学生电脑内的加密文件夹中。只有研究者本人能接触到这些保密性资料。这些录音文件将会在研究结束后被删除。

联系方式： 如果您对研究有任何问题、想法或投诉，请拨打 001-814-865-2527 联系宾夕法尼亚州立大学社会学部。您也可以拨打 (+233) 021500274 联系本研究的指导教师，宾夕法尼亚州立大学人口学和社会学教授、加纳大学 **Regional Institute of Population Studies** 的主任 **Prof. Francis Dodoo**。

自愿参与： 您的参与完全是以自愿的形式。您可以在任何时候终止访谈。您可以拒绝回答任何您不希望回答的问题。您有权力在任何时间单方面终止访谈。拒绝回答问题或者终止访谈将不会对您造成任何负面影响。

本研究要求受访人必须年满 18 周岁。如果您同意参加本研究，并同意以上所有信息，请在下面签名。

本文件一式二份，您和调查者将各保留一份作为记录。

受访人签名

日期

调查者签名

日期

Appendix 2: Informed Consent for the Chinese Participants (in English)



Informed Consent Form for Social Science Research The Pennsylvania State University

Title of Project: *The Life of Chinese migrants in Accra, Ghana*

Investigator: **Jinghao Lu**
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Purpose of the Study: The purpose of this research is to understand the expanding Chinese community in Accra and Tema, Ghana. The specific topics are: 1) The factors that led Chinese people to migrate to Ghana; 2) The ways that the newly coming Chinese immigrants cope with and adapt the society in Ghana; and 3) Level of interaction and conflicts between Chinese and Ghanaians in different social contexts. The research will seek to interview 50 Chinese people who are currently live and work in Accra or Tema, and 20 Ghanaians who are in Accra or Tema.

Procedures to be followed: You will be asked to answer a series of questions about yourself and your attitude towards Ghanaian society and Ghanaian people. Your responses will be recorded on paper and by digital audio recorder. However, you have right to ask the interviewer to turn off the recorder at any time.

Benefits: There are no direct benefits to you. The benefits to society include a better understanding of the Chinese community in Ghana.

Duration/Time: The research is designed to interview every participant two to four times, with each interview lasting approximately one hour and thirty minutes. However, you have rights to decide whether you want to participate in additional interviews after the first interview.

Statement of Confidentiality: Your participation in this research is confidential. In the event of a publication or presentation resulting from the research, no personally identifiable information will be shared. The primary investigator and faculty advisor will be the only individuals with access to your confidential data. All audio recordings of your data will be stored in a secure, locked file on the investigator's laptop and on the computer of the Pennsylvania State University. Only the investigator will have access to your recorded files. The files will be destroyed once the audio information has been transcribed.

Right to Ask Questions: Please contact Penn State Department of Sociology at 001-814-865-2527 with questions, complaints or concerns about this research. You can also contact Prof. Francis Dodoo, director of the Regional Institute of Population Studies (RIPS) in University of Ghana, at (+233) 021500274.

Voluntary Participation: Your decision to be in this research is voluntary. You can stop at any time. You do not have to answer any questions you do not want to answer. Refusal to take part in or withdrawing from this study will involve no penalty or loss of benefits you would receive otherwise.

You must be 18 years of age or older to consent to take part in this research study. If you agree to take part in this research study and the information outlined above, please sign your name and indicate the date below.

You will be given a copy of this consent form for your records.

Participant Signature

Date

Person Obtaining Consent

Date

Appendix 3: Informed Consent for Ghanaian Participants



Informed Consent Form for Social Science Research The Pennsylvania State University

Title of Project: *The Life of Chinese migrants in Accra, Ghana*

Investigator: **Jinghao Lu**
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Purpose of the Study: The purpose of this research is to understand the expanding Chinese community in Accra and Tema, Ghana. The specific topics are: 1) The factors that led Chinese people to migrate to Ghana; 2) The ways that the newly coming Chinese immigrants cope with and adapt the society in Ghana; and 3) Level of interaction and conflicts between Chinese and Ghanaians in different social contexts. The research will seek to interview 50 Chinese people who are currently live and work in Accra or Tema, and 20 Ghanaians who are in Accra or Tema.

Procedures to be followed: You will be asked to answer a series of questions about yourself and your attitude towards Chinese people in Accra. Your responses will be recorded on paper and by digital audio recorder. However, you have right to ask the interviewer to turn off the recorder at any time.

Benefits: There are no direct benefits to you. The benefits to society include a better understanding of the Chinese community in Ghana.

Duration/Time: The research is designed to interview every participant two to four times, with each interview lasting approximately one hour and thirty minutes. However, you have rights to decide whether you want to participate in additional interviews after the first interview.

Statement of Confidentiality: Your participation in this research is confidential. In the event of a publication or presentation resulting from the research, no personally identifiable information will be shared. The primary investigator and faculty advisor will be the only individuals with access to your confidential data. All audio recordings of your data will be stored in a secure, locked file on the investigator's laptop and on the computer of the Pennsylvania State University. Only the investigator will have access to your recorded files. The files will be destroyed once the audio information has been transcribed.

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You will be given a copy of this consent form for your records.

Participant Signature

Date

Person Obtaining Consent

Date

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Education

The Pennsylvania State University, Schreyer Honors College

Major: Sociology, B.A.

Minor: Economics

Thesis Title: Assimilation, Perception and Relation: A qualitative study of the Chinese in Accra, Ghana.

Thesis Supervisor: Dr. Gordon De Jong and Dr. Francis Doodoo

Research/Academic Experiences

Fall 2008, Undergraduate Researcher for Penn State Smart Spaces Center

Summer 2009, American Sociological Association Honors Program in San Francisco

Honors, Awards and Grants

Fall 2008, College of the Liberal Arts Superior Academic Achievement

Summer 2009, Travel Scholarship: Department of Sociology and Crime, Law and Justice

Summer 2009, College of the Liberal Arts Undergraduate Enrichment Awards

Fall 2009, Schreyer Honors College Travel Ambassador Grant

Fall 2009, Department of Sociology Research Grant

2008-2009, Member of Golden Key Honors Society and Alpha Kappa Delta

Employment History

2009, Campus Tour Guide, Penn State Undergraduate Admissions
05/2009 – 08/2009

2007-2008, Student Worker, McKinnon's Café and Java Kitchen

Computer Skills

SPSS

Minitab

Windows

Microsoft Word

Microsoft Excel,

Microsoft PowerPoint

Microsoft Publisher

Language Proficiency

English (fluent)

Mandarin (native speaker)

Shanghai Dialect (native speaker)