**SUPPLEMENTARY FILES for “Apples and Dragon Fruits: The Determinants of Aid and Other Forms of State Financing from China to Africa”**

This paper references five supplementary files that provide additional background information, methodological detail, or robustness checks. They cover: (A) previous published estimates of Chinese development finance to Africa; (B) Aid-Data’s Chinese Official Finance to Africa Data Set: Comparisons and Examples; (C) sources of all data used in the paper; (D) tests for robustness; and (E) disaggregation of the results by funding sector. All five supplementary files referenced in the paper and the replication data for the statistical analysis and the STATA .do file are available at: http://china.aiddata.org/publications.

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A Previous Estimates of Chinese Development Finance to Africa

B AidData’s Chinese Official Finance to Africa Data Set: Comparisons and Examples

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**Supplementary File A.** *Estimates of Chinese Development Finance to Africa*

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Source** | **Year** | **Amount per year** | **Flow type** |
| Alden and Alves (2009) | 2006 | US$ 12-15B | Exim Bank loans |
| Bräutigam (2011b) | 2009 | US$ 1.4B | ODA disbursements |
| Christensen (2010) | 2009 | US$ 2.1B | Aid (external assistance and Exim Bank loans) |
| Christensen (2010) | 2009 | US$ 375M | Debt relief |
| Fitch Ratings (2011) | 2001-2010 | US$ 6.72B | Exim Bank loans |
| Harman (2007) | 2006 | US$ 12.5B | Exim Bank loans |
| He (2006) | 1956-2006 | US$ 109.8M | Aid |
| Kurlantzick (2006) | 2004 | US$ 2.7B | Aid |
| Lancaster (2007) | 2007 | US$ 582-875M\* | Aid |
| Lum et al. (2009) | 2007 | US$ 17.96B | Aid (largely provided as concessional Exim Bank loans) |
| SAIS-CARI (2016) | 2000-2014 | US$ 5.7B | Loans to African governments and SOEs |
| The Economist (2004) | 2002 | US$ 1.8B | Development aid |
| Wang (2007) | 2004-2005 | US$ 1-1.5B | ODA |
| Wolf et al. (2013) | 2001-2011 | US$ 1.7B | Delivered foreign aid and government-sponsored investment activities |
| Wolf et al. (2013) | 2001-2011 | US$ 15.9B | Pledged foreign aid and government-sponsored investment activities |

Notes: This is an updated version of a table in the online appendix in Strange et al. (2017). \*: Authors’ calculations based on mid-point of the estimated range of total Chinese aid ($1.5-2B), and the estimated range of financing in Africa (33%-50%).

Sources:

Alden, Chris and Ana Cristina Alves. 2009. “China and Africa’s Natural Resources: The Challenges and Implications for Development and Governance.” *South African Institute of International Affairs Occasional Paper* 41. Johannesburg, South Africa: South African Institute of International Affairs.

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Lancaster, Carol. 2007. “The Chinese Aid System.” *Center for Global Development Essay* (June 2007). Washington, DC: Center for Global Development.

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SAIS-CARI. 2016. *Chinese Loans and Aid to Africa*. Available at <http://www.sais-cari.org/data-chinese-loans-and-aid-to-africa> (last accessed 15 September 2016).

The Economist. 2004. “Forget Mao, Let’s Do Business: Ideology Has Gone. Business Is What the Chinese Care About in Africa.”Available at <http://www.economist.com/node/2413703> (last accessed 5 December 2014).

Wang, Jian-Ye. 2007. “What Drives China’s Growing Role in Africa?” *IMF Working Paper* 07/211. Washington, DC: International Monetary Fund.

Wolf, Charles, Xiao Wang and Eric Warner. 2013. *China's Foreign Aid and Government-Sponsored Investment Activities: Scale, Content, Destinations, and Implications*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation.

**Supplementary File B.** *AidData’s Chinese Official Finance to Africa Data Set: Comparisons and Examples*

**Table B.1.** Comparison with Official Data from Malawi

In the official Aid Management Platform (AMP) database that is maintained by the government of Malawi, only six records are listed with the People’s Republic of China as the donor entity. These projects total US$ 334.3 million. Five of these projects are included in our dataset. However, our dataset includes 20 additional Chinese official finance projects in Malawi, totaling US$ 418.4 million in commitments (values in current US$). Collectively, these projects more than double the amount of recorded commitments of Chinese official finance in Malawi. This comparison illustrates the added value of using TUFF as another method to track development finance flows in the absence of official project records. The following table provides the details of this comparison.

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Title** | **Sector** | **Amount**  **(mill. US$)** |
| ***Source: MAMP*** | | |
| Karonga et al. Road Building | Transport Infrastructure and Public Works | 70 |
| Malawi Unversity of Science and Technology | Education and Research & Development | 80 |
| Parliament House | Democratic Governance | 50 |
| International Conference Center and Business Hotel Project | Tourism, Wildlife and Culture | 63 |
| Technical Assistance in support of the Agriculture Sector Wide Approach | Agriculture | 0 |
| Malawi National Stadium | Gender, Youth Development and Sports | 71.3 |
| ***Source: AidData*** | | |
| 3rd Medical Team to Malawi | Health | N/A |
| Construction of a Confucius Institute at the University of Malawi (2013) | Education | N/A |
| 600 Boreholes in 6 districts | Water Supply and Sanitation | N/A |
| China provides first batch of anti-malaria drugs to Malawi | Health | N/A |
| Donation of computers to Department of Immigration | Government and Civil Society | 0.0 |
| Mkwichi Modern Primary school | Education | 3.1 |
| Construction of university of science and technology | Education | 80.0 |
| China sends 2nd Medical Team to Malawi | Health | N/A |
| Donations to Mzuzu University | Education | 0.0 |
| Equipment for Malawi parliament | Government and Civil Society | 0.2 |
| Grant for Furniture Donation to Girls' School | Education | N/A |
| Bunda College of Agriculture Donation | Education | N/A |
| Kapichira Hydroelectric Dam Phase II | Energy Generation and Supply | 60.0 |
| Construction of National Assembly Building | Government and Civil Society | 45.0 |
| Donation to Ministry of Women and Child Development | Women in Development | N/A |
| Furniture and Vehicle Donation to Foreign Ministry | Government and Civil Society | 0.3 |
| Two Secondary Schools | Education | 1.5 |
| Fertilizer Donation | Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing | 1.0 |
| Ministry of Youth and Sport Equipment Donation | Other Social infrastructure and services | N/A |
| National stadium construction | Other Social infrastructure and services | 65.0 |
| kwacha Presidential Hotel, International Conference Centre and Presidential Villas | Trade and Tourism | 92.3 |
| 1st Medical Team to Malawi | Health | N/A |
| Karonga Chipita highway | Transport and Storage | 70.0 |
| Scholarships | Education | N/A |
| Training of government economic officials | Government and Civil Society | N/A |

**Table B.2.** *Flow Class**Coding Examples of Chinese Official Finance Projects to Africa*

Many projects in AidData’s Chinese Official Finance to Africa dataset (version 1.2) can be straightforwardly categorized as ODA-like or OOF-like based upon their flow type. For instance, donations of supplies for schools and hospitals can be unambiguously coded as ODA-like, while loans provided on market terms to build oil refineries clearly belong in the OOF-like category. While such cases lend themselves to simply ODA-like or OOF-like categorizations, coding decisions are sometimes less clear for other types of projects. In particular, some Chinese-financed loans qualify as ODA-like, while others should be coded as OOF-like based on their degree of concessionality. The OECD stipulates that only loans with a grant element of at least 25 percent can qualify as ODA. We use the OECD’s grant element calculator to calculate the grant element for each loan (Strange et al. 2015). For some projects, such as project 1853 below, we lack sufficient information to calculate the grant element and thus cannot determine whether flow class is ODA-like or OOF-like. In addition, projects wherein the donor has representational or commercial intent as defined by the OECD—and not simply the intent to improve development in the recipient country—are classified as OOF-like, even if they are provided with a high grant element. The table below provides examples of coding decisions that were made for individual projects financed by the Chinese government to help illustrate the nuanced nature of these categories.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Project name** | **ID** | **Recipient** | **Amount (mill. 2009 US$)** | **Flow type** | **Grant element** | **Intent** | **Status** | **Flow class** |
| Omotosho Power Plant Phase I | 27948 | Nigeria | 189.95 | Export credit | 23.1% | Mixed | Completion | OOF-like |
| Djibouti Telecom project | 421 | Djibouti | 19.33 | Loan | 20.3% | Development | Commitment | OOF-like |
| Matabeleland Zambezi Water Pipeline | 31215 | Zimbabwe | 726.17 | Loan | 43.61% | Development | Implementation | ODA-like |
| Maputo-Catembe Bridge | 1240 | Mozambique | 565.01 | Loan | 40.57% | Development | Implementation | ODA-like |
| Public Works Loan | 1853 | Morocco | 7.79 | Loan | Unknown | Development | Commitment | OF vague |
| 150-bed Hospital | 2368 | Guinea | 10.11 | Grant | N/A | Development | Completion | ODA-like |
| Preferential Export Credits | 1235 | Namibia | 119.33 | Export credit | N/A | Commercial | Pledge | OOF-like |
| Chinese Language School | 468 | Egypt | 6.61 | Grant | N/A | Representational | Completion | OOF-like |

Source: AidData TUFF 1.2 Data Set (Strange et al. 2017); available online at china.aiddata.org.

**Supplementary File C.** *Data*

**Table C.1.** Variables, definitions and sources

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Variable name** | **Definition** | **Source** |
| *Dependent variables* |  |  |
| Total OF (log amount) | (log) OF amount in constant 2009 US$ | AidData (Strange et al. 2017) |
| ODA (log amount) | (log) ODA amount in constant 2009 US$ | AidData (Strange et al. 2017) |
| OOF/vague (log amount) | (log) OOF/vague amount in constant 2009 US$ | AidData (Strange et al. 2017) |
| Grants (log amount) | (log) OF grant amount in constant 2009 US$ | AidData (Strange et al. 2017) |
| Loans (log amount) | (log) OF loan amount in constant 2009 US$ | AidData (Strange et al. 2017) |
| Total OF (number) | Number of OF projects | AidData (Strange et al. 2017) |
| ODA (number) | Number of ODA projects | AidData (Strange et al. 2017) |
| OOF/vague (number) | Number of OOF/vague projects | AidData (Strange et al. 2017) |
| Grants (number) | Number of OF grant projects | AidData (Strange et al. 2017) |
| Loans (number) | Number of OF loan projects | AidData (Strange et al. 2017) |
| Social OF (log amount) | (log) Social OF amount in constant 2009 US$ | AidData (Strange et al. 2017) |
| Economic OF (log amount) | (log) Economic OF amount in constant 2009 US$ | AidData (Strange et al. 2017) |
| Production OF (log amount) | (log) Production OF amount in constant 2009 US$ | AidData (Strange et al. 2017) |
| Humanitarian OF (log amount) | (log) Humanitarian OF amount in constant 2009 US$ | AidData (Strange et al. 2017) |
| *Explanatory variables* |  |  |
| UN voting with China | Voting alignment in the UN General Assembly with China on all votes, lag | Strezhnev and Voeten (2012) (extended as in Kilby 2009) |
| UN voting with China, key votes | Voting alignment in the UN General Assembly with China on key votes, lag | Strezhnev and Voeten (2012) (extended as in Kilby 2009) |
| UN voting with China, disagreement | Voting alignment in the UN General Assembly with China on votes where the United States and China disagree, lag | Strezhnev and Voeten (2012) (extended as in Kilby 2009) |
| UN voting with China, human rights | Voting alignment in the UN General Assembly with China on human-rights issues, lag | Strezhnev and Voeten (2012) (extended as in Kilby 2009) |
| UN voting with G-5, human rights | Average voting alignment in the UN General Assembly with the G-5 (France, Germany, Japan, the United Kingdom, and the United States) on human-rights issues, lag | Strezhnev and Voeten (2012) (extended as in Kilby 2009) |
| UN voting with the U.S. | Voting alignment in the UN General Assembly with the United States on all votes, lag | Strezhnev and Voeten (2012) (extended as in Kilby 2009) |
| UNSC member | 1 if a country is a temporary member of the United Nations Security Council, lag | Dreher et al. (2009), updated version from http://www.axel-dreher.de/ |
| Taiwan recognition | 1 if country entertains diplomatic relations with Taiwan, lag | Rich (2009), own update |
| Embassy in Beijing | 1 if embassy received by the government in Beijing | DIPCON (Rhamey et al. 2013) |
| Chinese embassy | 1 if embassy sent by the government in Beijing | DIPCON (Rhamey et al. 2013) |
| Stance on Tibet (2=strong support) | 2 [1] if a country expressed strong [moderate] support of China following its 2008 crackdown on unrest in Tibetan areas in 2008 | Kastner (forthcoming) |
| Trade with China (log) | (log) Bilateral trade (exports plus imports) with China (constant 2009 US$), lag | UN Comtrade via WITS (http://wits.worldbank.org/) |
| Trade with DAC (log) | (log) Bilateral trade (exports plus imports) with DAC countries (constant 2009 US$), lag | UN Comtrade via WITS (http://wits.worldbank.org/) |
| Oil dummy | 1 if a country produced crude petroleum prior to our sample period (i.e., in 1999) | British Geological Survey (2015) |
| Debt/GDP | Gross government debt-to-GDP ratio (in %), lag | IMF Historical Public Debt Database 2013 (Abbas et al. 2010) |
| Polity | Regime authority on a 21-point scale ranging from -10 (hereditary monarchy) to +10 (consolidated democracy), lag | Polity IV, version 2012 (Marshall et al. 2013) |
| Control of corruption | Index on Control of Corruption ranging from -2.5 to 2.5 with higher values corresponding to better governance, interpolated, lag | Worldwide Governance Indicators (Kaufmann et al. 2010), updated version from 4 August 2015) |
| Right-wing government | 1 if the recipient government is coded as conservative, Christian democratic, or right-wing | Database of Political Institutions, version 2012 (Beck et al. 2001) |
| GDP per capita (log) | (log) GDP per capita (constant 2009 US$), lag | World Bank (2016) |
| Population (log) | (log) Total population size, lag | World Bank (2016) |
| Affected from disasters (log) | (log) Total number of people affected from natural disasters | EM-DAT (2015) |
| English language | 1 if English is official language | CEPII (Mayer and Zignago 2011) |
| DAC OF (log, residuals) | Residuals from an OLS regression of lagged log total development finance (ODA+OOF) flows from DAC donors (constant 2009 US$) on all other explanatory variables | Own regressions (DAC data from OECD 2016) |
| Notes: | | |
| - We draw upon AidData’s Chinese Official Finance to Africa Dataset, Version 1.2 (Strange et al. forthcoming), which is available for download at http://china.aiddata.org/. This dataset covers financial flows over the 2000-2013 period. We omit 2013 data from our analysis since it is possible that the TUFF methodology’s reliance on open sources may lead to downwardly biased financial and project number estimates in more recent years (Strange et al. forthcoming).  - All explanatory variables are converted from current US$ to constant 2009 US$ using deflators for the United States. | | |
| - We added one to the aid amount measures, *affected from disasters (log)* and *energy depletion* before taking logs.  - Since the data are only available in 5-year intervals, we carry forward the respective values to the next available observation. | | |

**Table C.2** Descriptive statistics

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Variable name** | **Obs** | **Mean** | **Std. Dev.** | **Min** | **Max** |
| *Dependent variables* |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total OF (log amount) | 644 | 10.51 | 8.52 | 0.00 | 22.69 |
| ODA (log amount) | 644 | 8.81 | 8.24 | 0.00 | 21.11 |
| OOF/vague (log amount) | 644 | 5.22 | 8.11 | 0.00 | 22.69 |
| Grants (log amount) | 644 | 7.66 | 7.83 | 0.00 | 20.43 |
| Loans (log amount) | 644 | 5.79 | 8.51 | 0.00 | 22.69 |
| Total OF (number) | 644 | 3.11 | 3.42 | 0.00 | 34.00 |
| ODA (number) | 644 | 2.18 | 2.29 | 0.00 | 14.00 |
| OOF/vague (number) | 644 | 0.93 | 2.00 | 0.00 | 30.00 |
| Grants (number) | 644 | 2.13 | 2.28 | 0.00 | 16.00 |
| Loans (number) | 644 | 0.77 | 2.06 | 0.00 | 33.00 |
| Social OF (log amount) | 644 | 5.84 | 7.63 | 0.00 | 20.62 |
| Economic OF (log amount) | 644 | 4.68 | 7.87 | 0.00 | 21.41 |
| Production OF (log amount) | 644 | 1.96 | 5.36 | 0.00 | 21.59 |
| Humanitarian OF (log amount) | 644 | 0.86 | 3.38 | 0.00 | 20.75 |
| *Explanatory variables* |  |  |  |  |  |
| UN voting with China | 644 | 0.84 | 0.11 | 0.50 | 0.96 |
| UN voting with China, key votes | 644 | 0.75 | 0.11 | 0.38 | 1.00 |
| UN voting with China, disagreement | 644 | 0.88 | 0.12 | 0.50 | 1.00 |
| UN voting with China, human rights | 644 | 0.85 | 0.13 | 0.48 | 1.00 |
| UN voting with G-5, human rights | 644 | 0.56 | 0.08 | 0.39 | 0.74 |
| UN voting with the U.S. | 644 | 0.26 | 0.09 | 0.11 | 0.51 |
| UNSC member | 644 | 0.06 | 0.24 | 0.00 | 1.00 |
| Taiwan recognition | 644 | 0.10 | 0.30 | 0.00 | 1.00 |
| Embassy in Beijing | 644 | 0.79 | 0.41 | 0.00 | 1.00 |
| Chinese embassy | 644 | 0.83 | 0.38 | 0.00 | 1.00 |
| Stance on Tibet (2=strong support) | 581 | 1.02 | 0.91 | 0.00 | 2.00 |
| Trade with China (log) | 644 | 19.08 | 2.14 | 12.62 | 24.51 |
| Trade with DAC (log) | 644 | 21.32 | 1.70 | 17.73 | 25.37 |
| Oil dummy | 644 | 0.34 | 0.47 | 0.00 | 1.00 |
| Debt/GDP | 644 | 74.71 | 66.54 | 0.00 | 523.38 |
| Polity | 644 | 1.11 | 5.29 | -9.00 | 10.00 |
| Control of corruption | 644 | -0.60 | 0.56 | -1.73 | 1.25 |
| Right-wing government | 644 | 0.09 | 0.29 | 0.00 | 1.00 |
| GDP per capita (log) | 644 | 6.77 | 1.10 | 4.81 | 10.07 |
| Population (log) | 644 | 15.91 | 1.39 | 12.97 | 18.91 |
| Affected from disasters (log) | 644 | 7.00 | 5.20 | 0.00 | 16.52 |
| English language | 644 | 0.42 | 0.49 | 0.00 | 1.00 |
| DAC OF (log, residuals) | 644 | 0.00 | 1.71 | -17.31 | 3.07 |

Note: Descriptive statistics based on sample of regression in Table 1, column 1.

**Supplementary File D.** *Tests for Robustness*

**Table D.1a**. Diplomatic relations (embassy in Beijing) rather than Taiwan recognition: Allocation of China’s development finance (financial value, 2000-2012, OLS)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
|  | Total OF (log amount) | ODA (log amount) | OOF/vague (log amount) | Grants (log amount) | Loans (log amount) |
| UN voting with China | 8.339\* | 8.818\*\* | 6.132\* | 11.815\*\*\* | 6.574\* |
|  | (0.055) | (0.027) | (0.053) | (0.001) | (0.075) |
| UNSC member | -2.629\* | -3.073\*\* | -0.869 | -3.970\*\*\* | -1.050 |
|  | (0.072) | (0.011) | (0.515) | (0.000) | (0.449) |
| Embassy in Beijing | 5.315\*\*\* | 4.670\*\*\* | 1.353 | 4.103\*\*\* | 1.584 |
|  | (0.001) | (0.002) | (0.125) | (0.001) | (0.198) |
| Trade with China (log) | 0.431 | 0.448 | 0.664\*\* | 0.149 | 0.584 |
|  | (0.378) | (0.325) | (0.039) | (0.697) | (0.216) |
| Oil dummy | 2.160 | -0.383 | 3.562\*\* | 1.094 | 2.525 |
|  | (0.232) | (0.832) | (0.011) | (0.437) | (0.182) |
| Debt/GDP | 0.002 | 0.001 | -0.015\*\*\* | 0.007 | -0.016\*\* |
|  | (0.799) | (0.859) | (0.003) | (0.257) | (0.017) |
| Polity | 0.240\*\* | 0.217\*\* | 0.090 | 0.217\*\* | 0.102 |
|  | (0.042) | (0.047) | (0.243) | (0.015) | (0.359) |
| Control of corruption | -2.102\*\* | -1.130 | -2.778\*\*\* | -1.994\*\* | -1.846\* |
|  | (0.049) | (0.229) | (0.004) | (0.031) | (0.095) |
| GDP per capita (log) | -1.824\* | -1.368 | -2.083\*\*\* | -1.357\* | -1.368 |
|  | (0.071) | (0.157) | (0.006) | (0.099) | (0.220) |
| Population (log) | -0.756 | -0.430 | -0.581 | -0.304 | -0.551 |
|  | (0.264) | (0.500) | (0.216) | (0.606) | (0.418) |
| Affected from disasters (log) | 0.012 | -0.003 | 0.013 | 0.036 | -0.028 |
|  | (0.864) | (0.971) | (0.846) | (0.578) | (0.732) |
| English language | 3.404\*\*\* | 3.508\*\*\* | 2.879\*\*\* | 3.074\*\*\* | 3.293\*\*\* |
|  | (0.006) | (0.006) | (0.000) | (0.007) | (0.002) |
| DAC OF (log, residuals) | 0.370 | 0.322 | 0.262 | 0.257 | 0.292 |
|  | (0.137) | (0.272) | (0.122) | (0.293) | (0.115) |
| Country FE | No | No | No | No | No |
| Year FE | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| R-Squared | 0.22 | 0.21 | 0.18 | 0.23 | 0.15 |
| Number of countries | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 |
| Number of observations | 644 | 644 | 644 | 644 | 644 |

Notes: OF—Official Finance; ODA—Official Development Assistance; OOF—Other Official Flows; p-values in parentheses; \* (\*\*, \*\*\*) significant at the ten- (five-, one-) percent level

**Table D.1b**. Diplomatic relations (Chinese embassy) rather than Taiwan recognition: Allocation of China’s development finance (financial value, 2000-2012, OLS)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
|  | Total OF (log amount) | ODA (log amount) | OOF/vague (log amount) | Grants (log amount) | Loans (log amount) |
| UN voting with China | 4.305 | 4.739 | 4.907 | 8.374\*\* | 5.181 |
|  | (0.309) | (0.182) | (0.139) | (0.012) | (0.195) |
| UNSC member | -2.903\*\* | -3.324\*\*\* | -0.943 | -4.188\*\*\* | -1.135 |
|  | (0.038) | (0.003) | (0.477) | (0.000) | (0.404) |
| Chinese embassy | 4.934\*\*\* | 4.931\*\*\* | 1.477 | 4.173\*\*\* | 1.682 |
|  | (0.004) | (0.001) | (0.130) | (0.001) | (0.158) |
| Trade with China (log) | 0.608 | 0.584 | 0.702\*\* | 0.275 | 0.630 |
|  | (0.200) | (0.175) | (0.023) | (0.427) | (0.169) |
| Oil dummy | 2.415 | -0.070 | 3.659\*\*\* | 1.345 | 2.632 |
|  | (0.174) | (0.968) | (0.008) | (0.331) | (0.158) |
| Debt/GDP | 0.000 | 0.000 | -0.016\*\*\* | 0.006 | -0.016\*\* |
|  | (0.996) | (0.964) | (0.003) | (0.377) | (0.014) |
| Polity | 0.175 | 0.153 | 0.071 | 0.163\* | 0.08 |
|  | (0.124) | (0.139) | (0.329) | (0.057) | (0.457) |
| Control of corruption | -1.669 | -0.680 | -2.642\*\*\* | -1.617\* | -1.692 |
|  | (0.119) | (0.464) | (0.005) | (0.074) | (0.131) |
| GDP per capita (log) | -2.256\*\* | -1.808\* | -2.216\*\*\* | -1.728\*\* | -1.518 |
|  | (0.028) | (0.064) | (0.003) | (0.031) | (0.187) |
| Population (log) | -0.415 | -0.148 | -0.501 | -0.052 | -0.455 |
|  | (0.531) | (0.806) | (0.273) | (0.924) | (0.509) |
| Affected from disasters (log) | 0.023 | 0.012 | 0.017 | 0.047 | -0.023 |
|  | (0.745) | (0.869) | (0.796) | (0.468) | (0.774) |
| English language | 3.299\*\*\* | 3.414\*\*\* | 2.852\*\*\* | 2.992\*\*\* | 3.261\*\*\* |
|  | (0.008) | (0.007) | (0.000) | (0.008) | (0.002) |
| DAC OF (log, residuals) | 0.543\*\* | 0.466\* | 0.295\* | 0.387\* | 0.331\* |
|  | (0.013) | (0.067) | (0.057) | (0.068) | (0.055) |
| Country FE | No | No | No | No | No |
| Year FE | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| R-Squared | 0.22 | 0.22 | 0.18 | 0.23 | 0.15 |
| Number of countries | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 |
| Number of observations | 644 | 644 | 644 | 644 | 644 |

Notes: OF—Official Finance; ODA—Official Development Assistance; OOF—Other Official Flows; p-values in parentheses; \* (\*\*, \*\*\*) significant at the ten- (five-, one-) percent level

**Table D.2**. Interaction of UNGA and UNSC: Allocation of China’s development finance (financial value, 2000-2012, OLS)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
|  | Total OF (log amount) | ODA (log amount) | OOF/vague (log amount) | Grants (log amount) | Loans (log amount) |
| UN voting with China | 4.807 | 5.607\* | 4.390 | 8.974\*\*\* | 4.643 |
|  | (0.155) | (0.075) | (0.135) | (0.003) | (0.182) |
| UNSC member | 30.633\*\* | 26.167\*\* | 0.056 | 10.936 | 12.981 |
|  | (0.031) | (0.039) | (0.997) | (0.407) | (0.458) |
| UN voting with China | -38.517\*\* | -33.853\*\* | -1.005 | -17.241 | -16.193 |
| # UNSC member | (0.021) | (0.022) | (0.953) | (0.265) | (0.413) |
| Taiwan recognition | -9.862\*\*\* | -8.894\*\*\* | -3.914\*\*\* | -7.331\*\*\* | -4.984\*\*\* |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Trade with China (log) | 0.600 | 0.593 | 0.688\*\* | 0.288 | 0.601 |
|  | (0.132) | (0.123) | (0.014) | (0.380) | (0.142) |
| Oil dummy | 2.077 | -0.445 | 3.609\*\*\* | 1.029 | 2.584 |
|  | (0.229) | (0.799) | (0.007) | (0.433) | (0.157) |
| Debt/GDP | -0.003 | -0.003 | -0.017\*\*\* | 0.003 | -0.018\*\* |
|  | (0.604) | (0.624) | (0.000) | (0.577) | (0.011) |
| Polity | 0.088 | 0.080 | 0.028 | 0.103 | 0.024 |
|  | (0.381) | (0.401) | (0.690) | (0.222) | (0.801) |
| Control of corruption | -1.141 | -0.260 | -2.375\*\*\* | -1.282 | -1.331 |
|  | (0.215) | (0.759) | (0.008) | (0.135) | (0.196) |
| GDP per capita (log) | -2.349\*\*\* | -1.844\*\* | -2.317\*\*\* | -1.757\*\* | -1.652 |
|  | (0.008) | (0.032) | (0.001) | (0.015) | (0.136) |
| Population (log) | -0.556 | -0.262 | -0.596 | -0.161 | -0.556 |
|  | (0.320) | (0.615) | (0.164) | (0.743) | (0.405) |
| Affected from disasters (log) | 0.018 | 0.004 | 0.023 | 0.043 | -0.019 |
|  | (0.789) | (0.954) | (0.735) | (0.502) | (0.814) |
| English language | 3.783\*\*\* | 3.854\*\*\* | 3.074\*\*\* | 3.379\*\*\* | 3.509\*\*\* |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.000) | (0.002) | (0.001) |
| DAC OF (log, residuals) | 0.537\*\*\* | 0.466\*\* | 0.285\*\* | 0.389\*\* | 0.317\*\* |
|  | (0.004) | (0.041) | (0.049) | (0.045) | (0.042) |
| Country FE | No | No | No | No | No |
| Year FE | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| R-Squared | 0.28 | 0.27 | 0.20 | 0.27 | 0.17 |
| Number of countries | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 |
| Number of observations | 644 | 644 | 644 | 644 | 644 |

Notes: OF—Official Finance; ODA—Official Development Assistance; OOF—Other Official Flows; p-values in parentheses; \* (\*\*, \*\*\*) significant at the ten- (five-, one-) percent level

**Table D.3**. Allocation of China’s development finance (project numbers, 2000-2012, OLS)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
|  | Total OF (log amount) | ODA (log amount) | OOF/vague (log amount) | Grants (log amount) | Loans (log amount) |
| UN voting with China | 1.316 | 1.567 | -0.251 | 1.748 | -0.354 |
|  | (0.426) | (0.130) | (0.811) | (0.133) | (0.735) |
| UNSC member | 0.077 | -0.294 | 0.371 | -0.505\* | 0.538 |
|  | (0.928) | (0.290) | (0.596) | (0.086) | (0.491) |
| Taiwan recognition | -2.718\*\*\* | -2.119\*\*\* | -0.599\*\*\* | -2.027\*\*\* | -0.518\*\*\* |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.004) |
| Trade with China (log) | 0.387\*\* | 0.172 | 0.216 | 0.173 | 0.197 |
|  | (0.040) | (0.122) | (0.104) | (0.188) | (0.176) |
| Oil dummy | 0.205 | -0.297 | 0.502\* | -0.275 | 0.370 |
|  | (0.763) | (0.567) | (0.059) | (0.543) | (0.310) |
| Debt/GDP | -0.004 | -0.001 | -0.004\* | 0.000 | -0.003\* |
|  | (0.109) | (0.723) | (0.054) | (0.836) | (0.079) |
| Polity | 0.032 | 0.021 | 0.011 | 0.022 | 0.005 |
|  | (0.376) | (0.501) | (0.378) | (0.455) | (0.801) |
| Control of corruption | -0.983\*\* | -0.543 | -0.440\*\* | -0.595 | -0.326\* |
|  | (0.033) | (0.117) | (0.022) | (0.122) | (0.093) |
| GDP per capita (log) | -0.734\*\* | -0.481\* | -0.254\* | -0.465\* | -0.215 |
|  | (0.042) | (0.065) | (0.093) | (0.095) | (0.282) |
| Population (log) | -0.267 | -0.161 | -0.106 | -0.142 | -0.104 |
|  | (0.261) | (0.352) | (0.345) | (0.428) | (0.464) |
| Affected from disasters (log) | 0.022 | 0.009 | 0.013 | 0.003 | 0.017 |
|  | (0.353) | (0.628) | (0.244) | (0.899) | (0.173) |
| English language | 1.880\*\*\* | 1.417\*\*\* | 0.463\*\* | 1.358\*\*\* | 0.455\*\* |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.019) | (0.000) | (0.042) |
| DAC OF (log, residuals) | 0.186 | 0.113 | 0.073\*\* | 0.112 | 0.059 |
|  | (0.102) | (0.198) | (0.027) | (0.177) | (0.105) |
| Country FE | No | No | No | No | No |
| Year FE | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| R-Squared | 0.31 | 0.36 | 0.15 | 0.35 | 0.11 |
| Number of countries | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 |
| Number of observations | 644 | 644 | 644 | 644 | 644 |

Notes: OF—Official Finance; ODA—Official Development Assistance; OOF—Other Official Flows; p-values in parentheses; \* (\*\*, \*\*\*) significant at the ten- (five-, one-) percent level

**Table D.4**. UNGA voting on “key votes”: Allocation of China’s development finance (financial value, 2000-2012, OLS)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
|  | Total OF (log amount) | ODA (log amount) | OOF/vague (log amount) | Grants (log amount) | Loans (log amount) |
| UN voting with China, key votes | 3.495 | 4.569 | 1.690 | 7.824\*\* | 2.204 |
|  | (0.357) | (0.220) | (0.656) | (0.030) | (0.617) |
| UNSC member | -2.542\* | -2.984\*\*\* | -0.811 | -3.893\*\*\* | -0.968 |
|  | (0.068) | (0.007) | (0.543) | (0.000) | (0.468) |
| Taiwan recognition | -9.932\*\*\* | -8.993\*\*\* | -4.101\*\*\* | -7.578\*\*\* | -5.132\*\*\* |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Trade with China (log) | 0.635 | 0.628 | 0.732\*\*\* | 0.338 | 0.645 |
|  | (0.114) | (0.108) | (0.009) | (0.310) | (0.118) |
| Oil dummy | 2.117 | -0.398 | 3.555\*\* | 1.072 | 2.559 |
|  | (0.222) | (0.820) | (0.010) | (0.418) | (0.164) |
| Debt/GDP | -0.004 | -0.004 | -0.018\*\*\* | 0.002 | -0.019\*\*\* |
|  | (0.508) | (0.529) | (0.000) | (0.703) | (0.008) |
| Polity | 0.087 | 0.081 | 0.027 | 0.108 | 0.022 |
|  | (0.399) | (0.408) | (0.708) | (0.206) | (0.818) |
| Control of corruption | -0.956 | -0.044 | -2.107\*\* | -0.899 | -1.083 |
|  | (0.279) | (0.957) | (0.012) | (0.279) | (0.251) |
| GDP per capita (log) | -2.458\*\*\* | -1.970\*\* | -2.362\*\*\* | -1.935\*\*\* | -1.719 |
|  | (0.007) | (0.024) | (0.001) | (0.010) | (0.119) |
| Population (log) | -0.630 | -0.336 | -0.568 | -0.217 | -0.564 |
|  | (0.248) | (0.512) | (0.183) | (0.657) | (0.385) |
| Affected from disasters (log) | 0.026 | 0.011 | 0.017 | 0.042 | -0.020 |
|  | (0.699) | (0.876) | (0.798) | (0.490) | (0.813) |
| English language | 3.871\*\*\* | 3.943\*\*\* | 3.009\*\*\* | 3.439\*\*\* | 3.496\*\*\* |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.000) | (0.002) | (0.001) |
| DAC OF (log, residuals) | 0.531\*\*\* | 0.461\* | 0.273\* | 0.382\* | 0.307\* |
|  | (0.006) | (0.054) | (0.059) | (0.065) | (0.051) |
| Country FE | No | No | No | No | No |
| Year FE | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| R-Squared | 0.28 | 0.27 | 0.19 | 0.26 | 0.17 |
| Number of countries | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 |
| Number of observations | 644 | 644 | 644 | 644 | 644 |

Notes: OF—Official Finance; ODA—Official Development Assistance; OOF—Other Official Flows; p-values in parentheses; \* (\*\*, \*\*\*) significant at the ten- (five-, one-) percent level

**Table D.5**. UNGA voting where China and the U.S. disagree: Allocation of China’s development finance (financial value, 2000-2012, OLS)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
|  | Total OF (log amount) | ODA (log amount) | OOF/vague (log amount) | Grants (log amount) | Loans (log amount) |
| UN voting with China, | 3.114 | 4.007 | 2.971 | 6.983\*\*\* | 2.650 |
| disagreement | (0.305) | (0.156) | (0.272) | (0.009) | (0.395) |
| UNSC member | -2.558\* | -3.006\*\*\* | -0.816 | -3.929\*\*\* | -0.977 |
|  | (0.066) | (0.007) | (0.537) | (0.000) | (0.464) |
| Taiwan recognition | -9.836\*\*\* | -8.872\*\*\* | -3.974\*\*\* | -7.364\*\*\* | -5.034\*\*\* |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Trade with China (log) | 0.623 | 0.613 | 0.705\*\* | 0.311 | 0.627 |
|  | (0.121) | (0.114) | (0.012) | (0.342) | (0.128) |
| Oil dummy | 2.116 | -0.402 | 3.604\*\*\* | 1.070 | 2.582 |
|  | (0.221) | (0.817) | (0.008) | (0.413) | (0.157) |
| Debt/GDP | -0.004 | -0.004 | -0.018\*\*\* | 0.003 | -0.018\*\*\* |
|  | (0.534) | (0.564) | (0.000) | (0.630) | (0.009) |
| Polity | 0.084 | 0.077 | 0.028 | 0.102 | 0.022 |
|  | (0.408) | (0.425) | (0.696) | (0.228) | (0.823) |
| Control of corruption | -1.091 | -0.216 | -2.290\*\*\* | -1.203 | -1.224 |
|  | (0.229) | (0.797) | (0.009) | (0.162) | (0.222) |
| GDP per capita (log) | -2.402\*\*\* | -1.897\*\* | -2.336\*\*\* | -1.809\*\* | -1.684 |
|  | (0.007) | (0.028) | (0.001) | (0.012) | (0.128) |
| Population (log) | -0.618 | -0.320 | -0.588 | -0.191 | -0.569 |
|  | (0.260) | (0.534) | (0.162) | (0.693) | (0.391) |
| Affected from disasters (log) | 0.028 | 0.013 | 0.021 | 0.046 | -0.017 |
|  | (0.681) | (0.852) | (0.751) | (0.460) | (0.834) |
| English language | 3.856\*\*\* | 3.921\*\*\* | 3.052\*\*\* | 3.406\*\*\* | 3.510\*\*\* |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.000) | (0.002) | (0.001) |
| DAC OF (log, residuals) | 0.531\*\*\* | 0.461\*\* | 0.279\* | 0.381\* | 0.309\*\* |
|  | (0.005) | (0.048) | (0.052) | (0.052) | (0.047) |
| Country FE | No | No | No | No | No |
| Year FE | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| R-Squared | 0.28 | 0.27 | 0.19 | 0.26 | 0.17 |
| Number of countries | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 |
| Number of observations | 644 | 644 | 644 | 644 | 644 |

Notes: OF—Official Finance; ODA—Official Development Assistance; OOF—Other Official Flows; p-values in parentheses; \* (\*\*, \*\*\*) significant at the ten- (five-, one-) percent level

**Table D.6**. UNGA voting on human rights: Allocation of China’s development finance (financial value, 2000-2012, OLS)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
|  | Total OF (log amount) | ODA (log amount) | OOF/vague (log amount) | Grants (log amount) | Loans (log amount) |
| UN voting with China, | 2.309 | 2.593 | 5.162\* | 4.884\*\* | 4.101 |
| human rights | (0.379) | (0.332) | (0.060) | (0.036) | (0.171) |
| UNSC member | -2.531\* | -2.976\*\*\* | -0.749 | -3.873\*\*\* | -0.924 |
|  | (0.068) | (0.007) | (0.572) | (0.000) | (0.493) |
| Taiwan recognition | -9.874\*\*\* | -8.943\*\*\* | -3.839\*\*\* | -7.466\*\*\* | -4.943\*\*\* |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Trade with China (log) | 0.640 | 0.640\* | 0.686\*\* | 0.353 | 0.616 |
|  | (0.110) | (0.099) | (0.014) | (0.285) | (0.132) |
| Oil dummy | 2.054 | -0.489 | 3.601\*\*\* | 0.925 | 2.569 |
|  | (0.237) | (0.782) | (0.006) | (0.494) | (0.156) |
| Debt/GDP | -0.004 | -0.004 | -0.017\*\*\* | 0.002 | -0.018\*\*\* |
|  | (0.520) | (0.537) | (0.000) | (0.676) | (0.009) |
| Polity | 0.083 | 0.075 | 0.031 | 0.099 | 0.024 |
|  | (0.422) | (0.444) | (0.659) | (0.247) | (0.803) |
| Control of corruption | -1.014 | -0.088 | -2.436\*\*\* | -1.007 | -1.317 |
|  | (0.257) | (0.915) | (0.006) | (0.236) | (0.187) |
| GDP per capita (log) | -2.385\*\*\* | -1.877\*\* | -2.301\*\*\* | -1.773\*\* | -1.656 |
|  | (0.008) | (0.031) | (0.001) | (0.016) | (0.135) |
| Population (log) | -0.601 | -0.292 | -0.619 | -0.148 | -0.588 |
|  | (0.270) | (0.571) | (0.134) | (0.765) | (0.373) |
| Affected from disasters (log) | 0.027 | 0.010 | 0.027 | 0.043 | -0.013 |
|  | (0.695) | (0.883) | (0.687) | (0.506) | (0.868) |
| English language | 3.827\*\*\* | 3.872\*\*\* | 3.126\*\*\* | 3.333\*\*\* | 3.559\*\*\* |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.000) | (0.002) | (0.000) |
| DAC OF (log, residuals) | 0.525\*\*\* | 0.452\* | 0.285\*\* | 0.369\* | 0.313\*\* |
|  | (0.006) | (0.053) | (0.047) | (0.062) | (0.043) |
| Country FE | No | No | No | No | No |
| Year FE | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| R-Squared | 0.28 | 0.27 | 0.20 | 0.26 | 0.17 |
| Number of countries | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 |
| Number of observations | 644 | 644 | 644 | 644 | 644 |

Notes: OF—Official Finance; ODA—Official Development Assistance; OOF—Other Official Flows; p-values in parentheses; \* (\*\*, \*\*\*) significant at the ten- (five-, one-) percent level

**Table D.7.** Allocation of China’s development finance (financial value, 2000-2012, OLS with country-fixed effects)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
|  | Total OF (log amount) | ODA (log amount) | OOF/vague (log amount) | Grants (log amount) | Loans (log amount) |
| UN voting with China | 3.703 | 3.381 | 3.598 | 8.263\*\* | 5.249 |
|  | (0.399) | (0.448) | (0.346) | (0.030) | (0.348) |
| UNSC member | -1.936 | -2.400\*\* | -0.177 | -3.663\*\*\* | -0.580 |
|  | (0.123) | (0.016) | (0.892) | (0.000) | (0.637) |
| Taiwan recognition | -6.237\*\* | -5.628\*\* | -2.360 | -5.705\*\*\* | -0.726 |
|  | (0.047) | (0.014) | (0.461) | (0.000) | (0.835) |
| Trade with China (log) | -0.213 | 0.004 | -0.249 | -0.179 | -0.504 |
|  | (0.658) | (0.992) | (0.503) | (0.699) | (0.406) |
| Debt/GDP | 0.000 | -0.004 | -0.012 | 0.007 | -0.003 |
|  | (0.999) | (0.723) | (0.106) | (0.279) | (0.829) |
| Polity | 0.140 | 0.055 | -0.077 | 0.166 | 0.002 |
|  | (0.446) | (0.727) | (0.666) | (0.192) | (0.990) |
| Control of corruption | 1.051 | 0.799 | 0.490 | 0.629 | 0.661 |
|  | (0.603) | (0.695) | (0.737) | (0.685) | (0.706) |
| GDP per capita (log) | -0.237 | -0.997 | -0.329 | -0.141 | 0.432 |
|  | (0.843) | (0.494) | (0.805) | (0.931) | (0.821) |
| Population (log) | 11.870 | 9.586 | 17.102 | -1.726 | 32.013\*\* |
|  | (0.214) | (0.383) | (0.121) | (0.886) | (0.040) |
| Affected from disasters (log) | -0.096 | -0.044 | -0.099 | -0.004 | -0.165\*\* |
|  | (0.121) | (0.524) | (0.153) | (0.944) | (0.018) |
| DAC OF (log, residuals) | 0.154 | 0.228 | -0.030 | 0.179 | -0.068 |
|  | (0.404) | (0.253) | (0.881) | (0.253) | (0.746) |
| Country FE | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| Year FE | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| R-Squared | 0.10 | 0.09 | 0.07 | 0.11 | 0.11 |
| Number of countries | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 |
| Number of observations | 644 | 644 | 644 | 644 | 644 |

Notes: OF—Official Finance; ODA—Official Development Assistance; OOF—Other Official Flows; p-values in parentheses; \* (\*\*, \*\*\*) significant at the ten- (five-, one-) percent level

**Table D.8**. Allocation of DAC ODA (financial value, 2000-2012, OLS)

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) |
|  | Total OF (log amount) | ODA (log amount) | OOF/vague (log amount) |
| UN voting with G-5, human rights | 1.569\* | 1.543\*\* | 11.754 |
|  | (0.063) | (0.045) | (0.150) |
| UNSC member | 0.198 | 0.008 | -0.969 |
|  | (0.514) | (0.952) | (0.439) |
| Trade with DAC (log) | 0.045 | 0.004 | 1.207\* |
|  | (0.655) | (0.972) | (0.093) |
| Oil dummy | 0.637 | 0.323 | -0.083 |
|  | (0.139) | (0.133) | (0.969) |
| Debt/GDP | 0.001 | 0.000 | 0.007 |
|  | (0.485) | (0.696) | (0.336) |
| Polity | 0.044 | 0.022 | 0.144 |
|  | (0.112) | (0.147) | (0.156) |
| Control of corruption | 0.563 | 0.374\*\* | 0.183 |
|  | (0.113) | (0.015) | (0.877) |
| GDP per capita (log) | -0.544 | -0.156 | 0.295 |
|  | (0.199) | (0.398) | (0.799) |
| Population (log) | 0.564\*\*\* | 0.692\*\*\* | 2.007\*\*\* |
|  | (0.003) | (0.000) | (0.007) |
| Affected from disasters (log) | 0.029 | 0.009 | -0.016 |
|  | (0.255) | (0.286) | (0.862) |
| English language | 0.125 | -0.036 | 1.260 |
|  | (0.614) | (0.843) | (0.293) |
| Country FE | No | No | No |
| Year FE | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| R-Squared | 0.34 | 0.69 | 0.29 |
| Number of countries | 50 | 50 | 50 |
| Number of observations | 644 | 639 | 644 |

Notes: OF—Official Finance; ODA—Official Development Assistance; OOF—Other Official Flows; p-values in parentheses; \* (\*\*, \*\*\*) significant at the ten- (five-, one-) percent level

**Table D.9**. UNGA voting with the United States: Allocation of China’s development finance (financial value, 2000-2012, OLS)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
|  | Total OF (log amount) | ODA (log amount) | OOF/vague (log amount) | Grants (log amount) | Loans (log amount) |
| UN voting with the U.S. | -3.163 | -5.137 | -3.866 | -10.470\*\* | -2.565 |
|  | (0.562) | (0.280) | (0.444) | (0.029) | (0.642) |
| UNSC member | -2.572\* | -3.027\*\*\* | -0.832 | -3.970\*\*\* | -0.989 |
|  | (0.066) | (0.007) | (0.530) | (0.000) | (0.460) |
| Taiwan recognition | -9.893\*\*\* | -8.906\*\*\* | -3.997\*\*\* | -7.368\*\*\* | -5.087\*\*\* |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Trade with China (log) | 0.645 | 0.633 | 0.720\*\* | 0.335 | 0.647 |
|  | (0.110) | (0.104) | (0.011) | (0.304) | (0.117) |
| Oil dummy | 2.088 | -0.412 | 3.598\*\*\* | 1.089 | 2.555 |
|  | (0.234) | (0.814) | (0.008) | (0.405) | (0.164) |
| Debt/GDP | -0.004 | -0.004 | -0.018\*\*\* | 0.002 | -0.019\*\*\* |
|  | (0.507) | (0.532) | (0.000) | (0.681) | (0.008) |
| Polity | 0.083 | 0.077 | 0.028 | 0.103 | 0.021 |
|  | (0.414) | (0.423) | (0.697) | (0.216) | (0.832) |
| Control of corruption | -0.992 | -0.139 | -2.236\*\* | -1.142 | -1.133 |
|  | (0.258) | (0.864) | (0.010) | (0.175) | (0.245) |
| GDP per capita (log) | -2.410\*\*\* | -1.910\*\* | -2.346\*\*\* | -1.838\*\* | -1.690 |
|  | (0.007) | (0.028) | (0.001) | (0.011) | (0.127) |
| Population (log) | -0.601 | -0.310 | -0.581 | -0.192 | -0.553 |
|  | (0.273) | (0.547) | (0.166) | (0.693) | (0.402) |
| Affected from disasters (log) | 0.025 | 0.010 | 0.020 | 0.044 | -0.019 |
|  | (0.714) | (0.878) | (0.770) | (0.478) | (0.812) |
| English language | 3.825\*\*\* | 3.907\*\*\* | 3.043\*\*\* | 3.418\*\*\* | 3.481\*\*\* |
|  | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.000) | (0.002) | (0.001) |
| DAC OF (log, residuals) | 0.530\*\*\* | 0.462\*\* | 0.280\* | 0.388\* | 0.307\* |
|  | (0.006) | (0.049) | (0.053) | (0.051) | (0.051) |
| Country FE | No | No | No | No | No |
| Year FE | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| R-Squared | 0.28 | 0.27 | 0.19 | 0.26 | 0.17 |
| Number of countries | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 |
| Number of observations | 644 | 644 | 644 | 644 | 644 |

Notes: OF—Official Finance; ODA—Official Development Assistance; OOF—Other Official Flows; p-values in parentheses; \* (\*\*, \*\*\*) significant at the ten- (five-, one-) percent level

**Table D.10**. Stance on Tibet: Allocation of China’s development finance (financial value, 2000-2012, OLS)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
|  | Total OF (log amount) | ODA (log amount) | OOF/vague (log amount) | Grants (log amount) | Loans (log amount) |
| Stance on Tibet | 0.052 | -0.179 | -0.414 | -0.009 | -0.205 |
| (2=strong support) | (0.935) | (0.775) | (0.350) | (0.986) | (0.749) |
| UN voting with China | 3.658 | 5.430 | 4.614 | 9.047\*\*\* | 4.047 |
|  | (0.348) | (0.149) | (0.142) | (0.007) | (0.282) |
| UNSC member | -2.857\* | -3.349\*\*\* | -0.933 | -4.368\*\*\* | -1.119 |
|  | (0.058) | (0.006) | (0.511) | (0.000) | (0.442) |
| Taiwan recognition | -7.231\*\* | -7.227\*\*\* | -3.057 | -6.789\*\*\* | -3.426 |
|  | (0.013) | (0.001) | (0.148) | (0.000) | (0.133) |
| Trade with China (log) | 1.024\* | 0.771 | 0.994\*\* | 0.348 | 1.172\*\* |
|  | (0.081) | (0.137) | (0.012) | (0.436) | (0.016) |
| Oil dummy | 2.104 | -0.311 | 3.464\*\*\* | 1.181 | 2.971\* |
|  | (0.222) | (0.861) | (0.009) | (0.392) | (0.079) |
| Debt/GDP | -0.003 | -0.007 | -0.017\*\* | 0.002 | -0.021\*\* |
|  | (0.800) | (0.491) | (0.010) | (0.837) | (0.013) |
| Polity | 0.041 | 0.036 | -0.007 | 0.086 | -0.011 |
|  | (0.714) | (0.748) | (0.933) | (0.382) | (0.916) |
| Control of corruption | -0.900 | -0.061 | -2.136\*\* | -1.214 | -0.865 |
|  | (0.344) | (0.944) | (0.019) | (0.182) | (0.378) |
| GDP per capita (log) | -2.920\*\*\* | -2.237\*\* | -2.871\*\*\* | -1.895\*\* | -2.825\*\*\* |
|  | (0.005) | (0.032) | (0.001) | (0.035) | (0.008) |
| Population (log) | -1.197\* | -0.699 | -1.046\*\* | -0.343 | -1.450\*\* |
|  | (0.066) | (0.264) | (0.032) | (0.585) | (0.021) |
| Affected from disasters (log) | 0.044 | 0.031 | 0.024 | 0.067 | -0.036 |
|  | (0.573) | (0.695) | (0.751) | (0.350) | (0.674) |
| English language | 4.381\*\*\* | 4.168\*\*\* | 3.081\*\*\* | 3.509\*\*\* | 4.156\*\*\* |
|  | (0.002) | (0.004) | (0.000) | (0.009) | (0.001) |
| DAC OF (log, residuals) | 0.442\*\* | 0.422\*\* | 0.238 | 0.359\*\* | 0.245 |
|  | (0.011) | (0.040) | (0.104) | (0.048) | (0.157) |
| Country FE | No | No | No | No | No |
| Year FE | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| R-Squared | 0.20 | 0.21 | 0.18 | 0.21 | 0.17 |
| Number of countries | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 |
| Number of observations | 581 | 581 | 581 | 581 | 581 |

Notes: OF—Official Finance; ODA—Official Development Assistance; OOF—Other Official Flows; p-values in parentheses; \* (\*\*, \*\*\*) significant at the ten- (five-, one-) percent level

**Table D.11**. Political orientation of recipient governments: Allocation of China’s development finance (financial value, 2000-2012, OLS)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
|  | Total OF (log amount) | ODA (log amount) | OOF/vague (log amount) | Grants (log amount) | Loans (log amount) |
| Right-wing government | 1.583 | 0.504 | 2.705\*\* | 0.786 | 3.004\*\* |
|  | (0.317) | (0.756) | (0.017) | (0.574) | (0.048) |
| UN voting with China | 4.272 | 5.022 | 4.719 | 8.744\*\*\* | 4.718 |
|  | (0.227) | (0.127) | (0.117) | (0.004) | (0.195) |
| UNSC member | -2.497\* | -2.982\*\*\* | -0.715 | -3.891\*\*\* | -0.864 |
|  | (0.071) | (0.008) | (0.579) | (0.000) | (0.514) |
| Taiwan recognition | -10.023\*\*\* | -8.908\*\*\* | -4.298\*\*\* | -7.414\*\*\* | -5.385\*\*\* |
|  | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.001) | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Trade with China (log) | 0.673\* | 0.622 | 0.793\*\*\* | 0.324 | 0.723\* |
|  | (0.096) | (0.115) | (0.006) | (0.338) | (0.071) |
| Oil dummy | 1.798 | -0.516 | 3.078\*\* | 0.889 | 2.007 |
|  | (0.288) | (0.755) | (0.014) | (0.469) | (0.207) |
| Debt/GDP | -0.003 | -0.004 | -0.016\*\*\* | 0.003 | -0.017\*\* |
|  | (0.594) | (0.582) | (0.000) | (0.575) | (0.012) |
| Polity | 0.059 | 0.069 | -0.015 | 0.088 | -0.026 |
|  | (0.618) | (0.519) | (0.850) | (0.330) | (0.813) |
| Control of corruption | -1.162 | -0.267 | -2.408\*\*\* | -1.292 | -1.368 |
|  | (0.202) | (0.749) | (0.006) | (0.129) | (0.175) |
| GDP per capita (log) | -2.387\*\*\* | -1.876\*\* | -2.320\*\*\* | -1.774\*\* | -1.669 |
|  | (0.006) | (0.027) | (0.000) | (0.013) | (0.117) |
| Population (log) | -0.682 | -0.339 | -0.702\* | -0.221 | -0.699 |
|  | (0.223) | (0.526) | (0.096) | (0.654) | (0.291) |
| Affected from disasters (log) | 0.032 | 0.014 | 0.027 | 0.049 | -0.010 |
|  | (0.645) | (0.834) | (0.684) | (0.442) | (0.901) |
| English language | 3.626\*\*\* | 3.850\*\*\* | 2.665\*\*\* | 3.296\*\*\* | 3.088\*\*\* |
|  | (0.002) | (0.001) | (0.000) | (0.003) | (0.002) |
| DAC OF (log, residuals) | 0.541\*\*\* | 0.467\*\* | 0.295\*\* | 0.391\*\* | 0.328\*\* |
|  | (0.005) | (0.045) | (0.041) | (0.047) | (0.035) |
| Country FE | No | No | No | No | No |
| Year FE | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| R-Squared | 0.28 | 0.27 | 0.20 | 0.27 | 0.18 |
| Number of countries | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 |
| Number of observations | 644 | 644 | 644 | 644 | 644 |

Notes: OF—Official Finance; ODA—Official Development Assistance; OOF—Other Official Flows; p-values in parentheses; \* (\*\*, \*\*\*) significant at the ten- (five-, one-) percent level

**Figure D.1**. Average marginal effects of UNSC membership as a function of UNGA voting (with 95% confidence intervals)

1. *ODA-like flows*



1. *OOF-like flows*



1. *Grants*



1. *Loans*



**Supplementary File E.** *Sectoral Disaggregation*

This appendix explores the sectoral allocation of Chinese official flows and finds several interesting results supporting our hypotheses. The table below shows, as one might expect, that Humanitarian OF is driven by the number of people affected by disasters in recipient states. In contrast, allocation of Chinese OF to social, economic and production sectors is highly correlated with whether a recipient recognizes Taiwan as a sovereign state. Only finance allocated to the social sector (which includes “aid” used to build presidential palaces, stadiums, schools and hospitals) increases with higher voting alignment with China in the UN General Assembly. Unsurprisingly, flows to economic and production sectors decrease with larger levels of recipient debt. Chinese financing for projects in production sectors increases as recipients trade more with China. These sectoral patterns conform to the intuition of the broader argument that different flows are means to different strategic ends.

**Table E.1**. Allocation of China’s development finance by sector (financial value, 2000-2012, OLS)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
|  | Total OF  (log amount) | Social OF  (log amount) | Economic OF  (log amount) | Production OF  (log amount) | Humanitarian OF  (log amount) |
| UN voting with China | 4.068 | 7.620\*\* | 4.979 | -0.665 | 1.531 |
|  | (0.235) | (0.016) | (0.132) | (0.762) | (0.257) |
| UNSC member | -2.553\* | -1.241 | 0.371 | -0.255 | -0.708\* |
|  | (0.067) | (0.273) | (0.820) | (0.809) | (0.082) |
| Taiwan recognition | -9.797\*\*\* | -4.665\*\*\* | -3.192\*\*\* | -1.759\*\*\* | -0.431 |
|  | (0.000) | (0.001) | (0.000) | (0.004) | (0.194) |
| Trade with China (log) | 0.612 | 0.432 | 0.607\* | 0.525\*\*\* | 0.134 |
|  | (0.128) | (0.255) | (0.098) | (0.002) | (0.174) |
| Oil dummy | 2.109 | 1.270 | 2.219 | -1.139 | 0.081 |
|  | (0.219) | (0.452) | (0.174) | (0.209) | (0.892) |
| Debt/GDP | -0.004 | 0.000 | -0.015\*\* | -0.006\* | -0.001 |
|  | (0.542) | (0.953) | (0.010) | (0.090) | (0.559) |
| Polity | 0.084 | 0.133 | 0.156\* | 0.009 | -0.009 |
|  | (0.408) | (0.196) | (0.060) | (0.847) | (0.773) |
| Control of corruption | -1.142 | -1.453 | -2.502\*\*\* | -0.471 | -0.468 |
|  | (0.215) | (0.196) | (0.007) | (0.439) | (0.265) |
| GDP per capita (log) | -2.385\*\*\* | -1.366\* | -1.737\* | -0.685 | -0.090 |
|  | (0.007) | (0.099) | (0.060) | (0.108) | (0.792) |
| Population (log) | -0.621 | -0.328 | -0.545 | 0.031 | -0.114 |
|  | (0.258) | (0.500) | (0.326) | (0.908) | (0.580) |
| Affected from disasters (log) | 0.029 | 0.008 | -0.050 | 0.001 | 0.084\*\* |
|  | (0.669) | (0.912) | (0.516) | (0.980) | (0.028) |
| English language | 3.866\*\*\* | 3.749\*\*\* | 3.823\*\*\* | 1.243\*\* | -0.073 |
|  | (0.001) | (0.003) | (0.000) | (0.037) | (0.828) |
| DAC ODA (log, | 0.535\*\*\* | 0.342\* | 0.264 | 0.107 | 0.055 |
| residuals) | (0.005) | (0.096) | (0.129) | (0.379) | (0.280) |
| Country FE | No | No | No | No | No |
| Year FE | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes | Yes |
| R-Squared | 0.28 | 0.19 | 0.17 | 0.10 | 0.06 |
| Number of countries | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 | 50 |
| Number of observations | 644 | 644 | 644 | 644 | 644 |

Notes: OF—Official Finance; p-values in parentheses; \* (\*\*, \*\*\*) significant at the ten- (five-, one-) percent level