Foreign Aid and Soft Power

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January 2, 2021

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1 Body of Paper

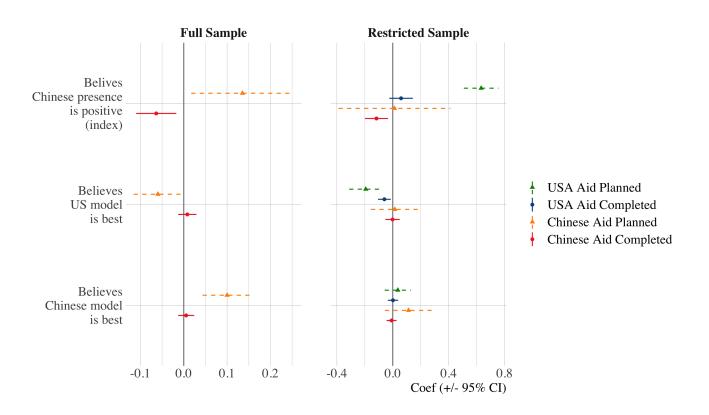


Figure 1: FIGURE 1: Effects of Chinese and US aid on perceptions of China and the US

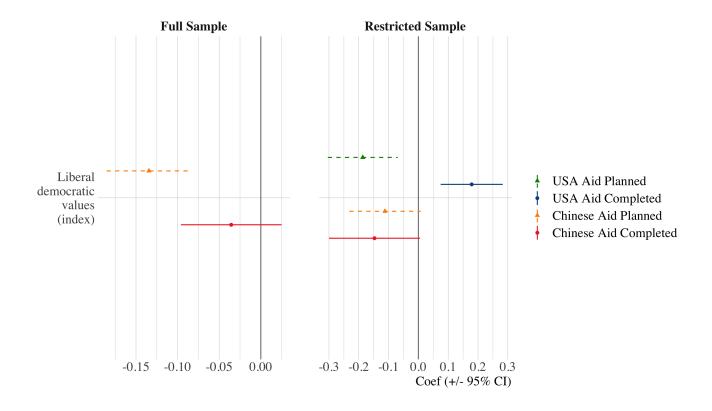


Figure 2: FIGURE 2: Effects of Chinese and US aid on liberal democratic values

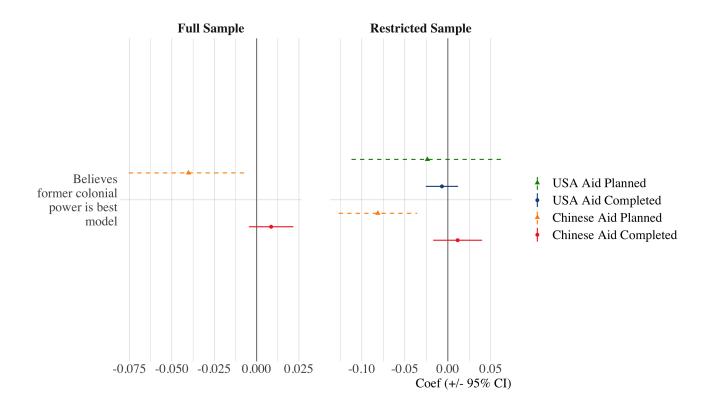


Figure 3: FIGURE 3: Effects of Chinese and US aid on perceptions of former colonial powers

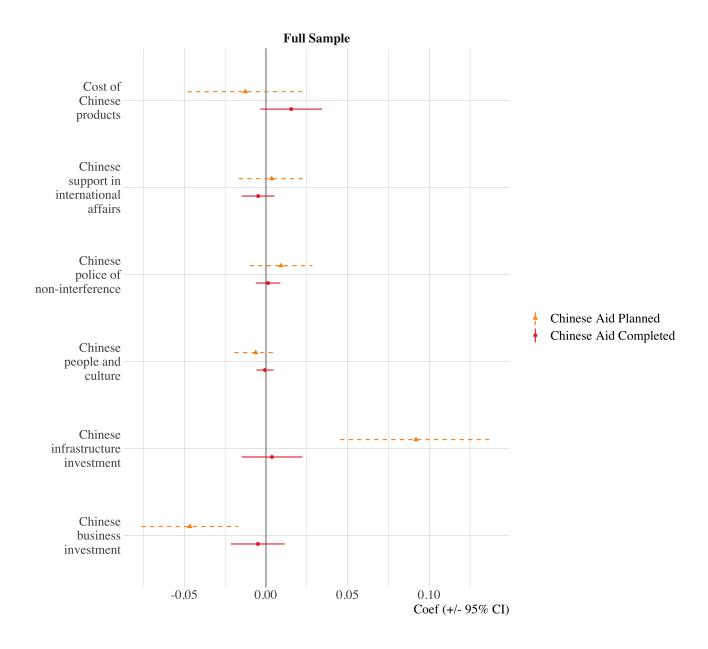


Figure 4: FIGURE 4: Effects of Chinese aid on factors contributing to positive image of China

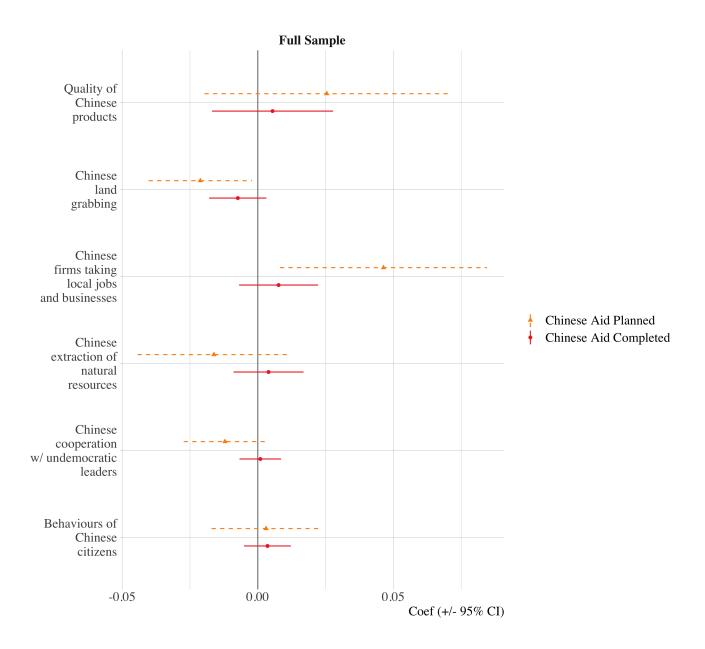


Figure 5: FIGURE 5: Effects of Chinese aid on factors contributing to negative image of China

A Appendix 1: Coding Rules and Descriptive Statistics

Figure 6: FIGURE A1: Map of Afrobarometer respondents and Chinese, US, and UK aid projects

ISO	N planned Chinese projects	N completed Chinese projects
ALG	0	8
BDI	0	440
BEN	332	16
BFO	28	0
ВОТ	756	199
CAM	0	8
CDI	106	0
CVE	492	294
EGY	46	111
ETH	0	0
GAB	88	0
GHA	865	381
GUI	16	56
KEN	1781	502
LES	412	249
LIB	72	63
MAD	50	64
MAR	34	453
MAU	0	0
MLI	635	8
MOZ	253	95
MWI	1126	611
NAM	319	472
NGR	0	0
NIG	1193	255
SAF	728	431
SEN	728	40
SRL	72	426
STP	0	0
SUD	10	194
SWZ	0	0
TOG	0	255
TUN	149	561
TZA	1130	1168
UGA	1946	112
ZAM	651	102
ZIM	190	80

Figure 7: FIGURE A2: Distribution of Chinese projects by country in full sample

ISO	N planned Chinese projects	N completed Chinese projects	N planned US projects	N completed US projects	N planned UK projects	N completed UK projects
BDI	0	424	0	616	0	112
MWI	367	470	364	2169	1225	2802
NIG	1193	255	0	0	56	40
SEN	728	40	582	0	0	0
SRL	32	362	0	331	16	670
UGA	1140	8	2319	193	0	0

Figure 8: FIGURE A3: Distribution of Chinese, US, and UK projects by country in restricted sample

Table 1: TABLE A1: Descriptive statistics on independent variables

	N	Mean
Full Sample		
% of respondents within 30km of a planned Chinese project	136,193	0.1
% of respondents within 30km of a completed Chinese project	136,193	0.06
Restricted Sample		
% of respondents within 30km of a planned Chinese project	25,706	0.13
% of respondents within 30km of a completed Chinese project	25,706	0.06
% of respondents within 30km of a planned US project	25,706	0.13
% of respondents within 30km of a completed US project	25,706	0.13
% of respondents within 30km of a planned UK project	25,706	0.05
% of respondents within 30km of a completed UK project	25,706	0.14

Table 2: TABLE A2: Descriptive statistics on dependent variables

N				F			First	Last
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Believes former colonial power is most influential 38,167 0.22 0.42 0 1 6 6	Percentians of Former Colonial Powers	IN	Mean	S.D.	WHIII	Max	avanabie	avanable
Believes former colonial power is best model 38,164 0.13 0.34 0 1 6 6		38 167	0.22	0.42	0	1	6	6
Factors Contributing to Positive Image of China Chinese people and culture 38,179 0.02 0.14 0 1 6 6 Chinese business investment 38,179 0.16 0.37 0 1 6 6 Chinese infrastructure investment 38,179 0.26 0.44 0 1 6 6 Chinese police of non-interference 38,179 0.04 0.2 0 1 6 6 Chinese support in international affairs 38,179 0.06 0.24 0 1 6 6 Cost of Chinese products 38,179 0.06 0.24 0 1 6 6 Cost of Chinese products 38,179 0.03 0.42 0 1 6 6 Factors Contributing to Negative Image of China Chinese cooperation w/ undemocratic leaders 38,179 0.05 0.23 0.42 0 1 6 6 Behaviors of Chinese citizens 38,179 0.05 0.23 0 1 6 6 Chinese extraction of natural resources 38,179 0.10 0.29 0 1 6 6 Chinese firms taking local jobs and businesses 38,179 0.13 0.34 0 1 6 6 Chinese land grabbing 38,179 0.13 0.34 0 1 6 6 Quality of Chinese products 38,179 0.34 0.47 0 1 6 6 Quality of Chinese products 38,179 0.34 0.47 0 1 6 6 Belives Chinese model is most influential (Index) 31,113 1.08 0.65 0 2 6 6 Belives Chinese model is most influential 38,167 0.25 0.43 0 1 6 6 Belives US model is most influential 38,167 0.25 0.43 0 1 6 6 Belives Chinese model is best 38,164 0.24 0.43 0 1 6 6 Belives Chinese model is best 38,164 0.24 0.43 0 1 6 6 Belives US model is best 38,164 0.24 0.43 0 1 6 6 Belives US model is best 38,164 0.24 0.43 0 1 6 6 Belives US model is best 38,164 0.24 0.43 0 1 6 6 Belives US model is best 38,164 0.24 0.43 0 1 6 6 Belives US model is best 38,164 0.24 0.43 0 1 6 6 Belives US model is best 38,164 0.24 0.43 0 1 6 6 Belives US model is best 38,164 0.24 0.43 0 1 6 6 Belives US model is best 38,164 0.24 0.43 0 1 6 6 Belives US model is best 38,164 0.24 0.43 0 1 6 6 Belives US model is best 38,164 0.24 0.43 0 1 6 6 Belives US model is best 38,164 0.24 0.43 0 1 6 6 Belives US model is best 38,164 0.24 0.43 0 1 6 6 Belives US model is best 38,164 0.24 0.43 0 1 6 6 Belives US model is best 38,164 0.24 0.43 0 1 6 6 Belives US model is best 38,164 0.24 0.43 0 1 6 6 Belives US model is best 38,164 0.24 0.43 0 1 6 6 Belives US model is best 38								
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	Believes elections are good	94,334	0.83	0.37	0	1	2	5

Table 3: TABLE A3: Descriptive statistics on control variables

						First	Last
						round	round
	N	Mean	S.D.	Min	Max	available	available
Age	136,193	37.18	14.75	18	130	2	6
Muslim	136,193	0.23	0.42	0	1	2	6
Urban	136,193	0.31	0.46	0	1	2	6
Male	136,193	0.5	0.5	0	1	2	6
Distance capital (km)	136,193	340.26	297.33	0	1885.55	2	6
In leader ADM1	136,193	0.1	0.29	0	1	2	6
Avg. Annual Riots/Protests	136,193	0.09	0.46	0	11.86	2	6
before First Planned Chinese							
Project within 30km							
before First Planned Chinese	136,193	0.09	0.46	0	11.86	2	6

Table 4: TABLE A4: Comparison of Chinese projects in full sample and our sample by sector $$\rm N$$ $\,$ Proportion

		N		ortion
	All	Sample	All	Sample
Action Relating to Debt	6	5	0.003	0.005
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	72	49	0.04	0.047
Banking and Financial Services	4	4	0.002	0.004
Business and Other Services	4	2	0.002	0.002
Communications	264	138	0.148	0.133
Education	161	116	0.09	0.112
Emergency Response	22	10	0.012	0.01
Energy Generation and Supply	139	50	0.078	0.048
Food Security Assistance	5	4	0.003	0.004
Government and Civil Society	174	129	0.098	0.124
Health	180	123	0.101	0.118
Industry, Mining, Construction	40	20	0.022	0.019
Other	105	53	0.059	0.051
Reproductive Health	13	12	0.007	0.012
Social Services	124	86	0.07	0.083
Support to NGOs	1	1	0.001	0.001
Trade and Tourism	24	20	0.013	0.019
Transport and Storage	358	158	0.201	0.152
Water Supply and Sanitation	79	54	0.044	0.052
Women in Development	7	4	0.004	0.004
Total	1782	1038	1	1

Table 5: TABLE A5: Comparison of US projects in full sample and our sample by sector N $\,$ Proportion

		N	Proportion	
	All	Sample	All	Sample
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	218	109	0.209	0.252
Banking/Financial Services	14	0	0.013	0
Bio-Diversity	11	2	0.011	0.005
Education	33	4	0.032	0.009
Emergency Response	2	1	0.002	0.002
Environmental Policy	15	0	0.014	0
Food Aid	14	0	0.013	0
Government and Civil Society	150	76	0.144	0.176
Health	481	205	0.46	0.475
Industrial Development	1	0	0.001	0
Multisector Aid	12	0	0.011	0
Other	24	0	0.023	0
Reproductive Health	57	31	0.055	0.072
Social Services	10	3	0.01	0.007
Women in Development	3	1	0.003	0.002
Total	1045	432	1	1

Table 6: TABLE A6: Comparison of completed and planned Chinese projects by sector N $\,$ Proportion

	N		Proportion	
	Completed	Planned	Completed	Planned
Action Relating to Debt	5	2	0.008	0.002
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	33	30	0.053	0.037
Banking and Financial Services	2	3	0.003	0.004
Business and Other Services	2	2	0.003	0.002
Communications	63	123	0.102	0.152
Education	90	91	0.145	0.112
Emergency Response	5	7	0.008	0.009
Energy Generation and Supply	33	28	0.053	0.035
Food Security Assistance	4	2	0.006	0.002
Government and Civil Society	90	89	0.145	0.11
Health	90	95	0.145	0.117
Industry, Mining, Construction	7	19	0.011	0.023
Other	6	50	0.01	0.062
Reproductive Health	10	6	0.016	0.007
Social Services	54	69	0.087	0.085
Support to NGOs	0	1	0	0.001
Trade and Tourism	17	15	0.027	0.019
Transport and Storage	75	138	0.121	0.171
Water Supply and Sanitation	29	37	0.047	0.046
Women in Development	4	2	0.006	0.002
Total	619	809	1	1

Table 7: TABLE A7: Comparison of completed and planned US projects by sector N Proportion

	N	N		rtion
	Completed	Planned	Completed	Planned
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	28	81	0.102	0.224
Bio-Diversity	2	2	0.007	0.006
Education	4	2	0.015	0.006
Emergency Response	1	0	0.004	0
Government and Civil Society	73	69	0.265	0.191
Health	133	200	0.484	0.552
Reproductive Health	31	5	0.113	0.014
Social Services	2	3	0.007	0.008
Women in Development	1	0	0.004	0
Total	275	362	1	1

B Appendix 2: Robustness Checks

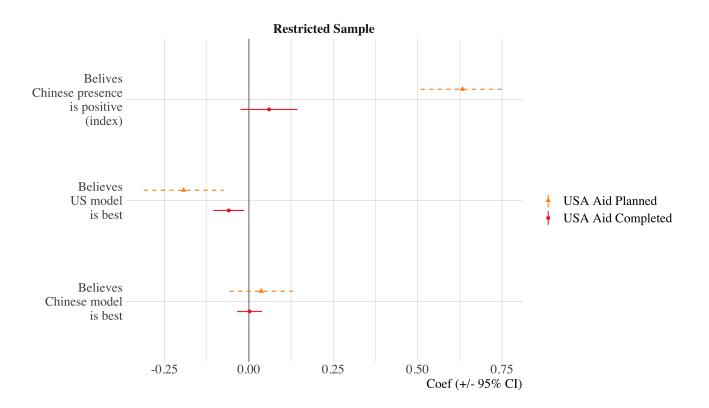


Figure 9: FIGURE A4: Effects of Chinese and US aid on perceptions of China and the US, using 2008 as cutoff year

C Appendix 3: Extensions