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Understanding Chinese–African Interactions in Africa

Place-based and Place-bound Realities: A Chinese Firm's Embeddedness in Tanzania

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Abstract: The paper presents a single case study of how one Chinese firm operates in Dar es Salaam and how the firm's embeddedness and unique managerial style in the local context affect local benefits for Tanzanian employees. The results demonstrate the need to fill a gap in the knowledge about Chinese economic activities in Africa, particularly in relation to the cultural constructs present in manager-employee interactions. The findings paint a picture of a firm that intends to localize its business strategies and engage a local labour force, but similarly reveals the inherent cultural, behavioural and social norms of Chinese management, which may create organizational challenges and power differentials in the workplace.

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Introduction

In the last few years, the image of the African awakening, "le reveil africain", has underlined the need for African nations to demand that incoming Chinese enterprises utilize local labour forces to mitigate unemployment on the continent (Ndikumana 2010). With the increasing ease with which African economies access international, national, and regional markets through growing Chinese investment on the continent, Chinese–African joint ventures are becoming more mutually accommodating and not just purely one-directional Africa–China flows of raw materials (Maswana 2009). An example is the African telecommunications industry which, despite its non-resource-intensity, is able to attract and maintain domestic capital gains from increasing foreign direct investment (FDI).

An added incentive of the Chinese capital inflows across African nations, as positioned by Chinese executives, is an increasing willingness and need to employ local labour. But many of these executives request knowledge of how and to what extent local labour should be managed. Chinese businesses are operating more flexibly with regard to local labour, but productivity is limited by cultural divides and the inability to manage talent effectively (Zadek et al. 2009). Identifying the patterns within management interactions may help to clarify the distinct characteristics of changing Chinese business in Africa and thereby add to a deeper understanding of the softer effects of Chinese transnational exchanges.

Examining the impact of China's investment at the more micro layer of the value chain, in terms of local talent management, allows for a more informed assessment of the potential leverage of the African host country in its collaboration with Chinese businesses. This research contributes to a limited, yet much needed, collection of cross-cultural management relations studies that demonstrates perspectives and values from both African and Chinese work colleagues (Giese and Thiel 2012). China's business activities in Tanzania offer an effective case-study to better understand management dynamics, particularly given the paucity of research on micro-level interactions. There is value in understanding the changing bilateral and economic cooperation between the two countries (see Monson 2009; Bailey 1975), but a more informed understanding of the human impacts of socio-economic upgrading (Riisgaard et al. 2010), with a more well-rounded view of labour-related development, can be just as closely

evaluated by examining the cultural conflicts and interactions between managers and employees within the private Chinese firm. These interactions may help to inform the distinct characteristics of transforming Chinese businesses in Africa and offer a deeper understanding of the softer effects of Chinese transnational exchanges within the global production network (GPN).

The theoretical framework developed for analysis draws from the notion of embeddedness within economic sociology and is employed to demonstrate how the Chinese firm is embedded or disembedded within the Tanzanian context by evaluating the cultural and managerial factors that shape Chinese expatriate workers' integration (or disintegration) and their interactions in the workplace. Embeddedness refers to economic activity that is embedded into more complex social relations and processes (Granovetter 1985). Embeddedness is a key element of the GPN architecture and serves to support the analysis of the empirical case-study.

How Chinese workers manage, associate, interact, and perceive (themselves and others) in Tanzania with Tanzanian workers may be embodied by some mechanisms of embeddedness that can be characterised by the firm and its economic processes. Based on research from the Manchester School, the author adapts an understanding of the firm through emphasis on the cultural context. The firm is first bound to the cultural environment in which it operates, but still inherently bases its decisions and processes on cultural-specific norms and behaviours that are inherently its own. Chinese firms may be heavily influenced by their national origin (societal embeddedness), while their mode of operation is determined or often inhibited by the cultural-institutional context (territorial embeddedness) in which they operate. These firms "'cut through' state boundaries in highly differentiated ways […] to create structures which are 'discontinuously territorial'" (Manchester School 2010).

The global production network is a relational framework and "encompasses all relevant sets of actors and relationships" along a network, within and between firms. "Manchester School" scholars (Henderson et al. 2002; Coe et al. 2004; Hess 2004; and Yeung 2005) have applied GPN frameworks to examine how the firm could be "discontinuously territorial". This means that, apart from being bound to their work contexts in-situ, the firm also exhibits certain decision-making actions and behaviours that are embedded in their

country of origin or national background. Based on the extent of the Chinese firm's embeddedness in the context in which it operates, there are different implications for value creation and human development opportunities for the Tanzanians employed. The author argues that the Chinese firm operates with a Confucian work dynamism (Bond 1987, cited in Franke, Hofstede, and Bond 1991) or with Confucian traditions and social obligations that ultimately affect professional relationships and business initiatives. The Chinese firm may "cut through" boundaries, both regulatory and non-regulatory, and carry some institutional "baggage" from home contexts to accordingly alter the extent of development of the local economy in which it is anchored (Henderson et al. 2002: 25).

The paper[1] explores a new framework to better understand the embeddedness of the contemporary overseas Chinese firm in Africa through a case-study example of the workplace interactions in a Chinese company operating in Dar es Salaam. Specifically, the case-study attempts to answer the following questions:

■ What are the different management-employee relations and behaviours that play out in the firm?
■ What are the implications of the firm's economic processes, organizational structure, and employee interactions and perceptions for value creation and enhancement?

Similar to the Manchester School's vision (2010) for its work on GPNs in East Asia and the EU, this research presents unique implications for current business relations and economic exchanges between Africa and China, which are often misunderstood by mainstream opinions. The findings seek to improve transparency in the transnational endeavours of Chinese businesses in Africa, and particularly to support development of the capabilities of the transnational Chinese and African managers who work in the cross-cultural settings of today's globalizing business economy. It is imperative to

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1   This paper was written as part of the author's Master's thesis while studying in the International Development and Management program at Lund University and has been supported by invaluable commentary and encouragement from her advisor, Catia Gregoratti. Research was carried out in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania during the author's internship at the African Development Bank Tanzania field office, to which the author is most grateful for its acting as her host institution and for supporting her enthusiasm to delve deeper into this subject.

sensitize them to possibly overlooked challenges and benefits in an effort to improve the strategies and development of firms and to create opportunities for the local communities and value chains in which firms operate. Furthermore, deeper knowledge of national cultures' value systems is necessary to understand the behaviours and conduct of Chinese economic actors who may transcend cultural comfort zones to develop a pronounced or even innovative corporate culture, unlike more traditional state-led firms (Alden 2007; Brautigam and Tang 2011). Influenced by the trials of operating in an unfamiliar host market of people, spaces and systems, the behaviours of Chinese managers help to provide more contextualization to dissect Chinese–African intercultural business partnerships.

The research objective is not to change behaviours, but rather to support firms and managers in developing their global capacity to reconcile differences in attitudes, mindsets and behaviours across global workforces, and ultimately influence opportunities for themselves and the people within the local society. Research by Gu (2009) has underlined the trend towards improved backward linkages and value creation, as private Chinese firms try to take more responsibility for driving local enterprise development and local learning. Contrary to some empirical China–Africa labour relations research where outcomes reflect more of the mainstream views of low wages, poor working conditions, and faulty product lines (Niikondo and Coetzee 2009; Knorringa 2009), this research takes on a more positive outlook for developing local management experience, transferring technology, and enhancing marketing skills and knowledge. As private Chinese SMEs face fierce competition at home, they recognize the investment potential in African markets. Investment regimes should be "fine-tuned" in order to best foster local value creation. An accessible, skilled workforce and local business personnel, local production and supply capacity combined with an enforceable regulatory environment may press firms' increased engagement in the socio-human development of Africa (Gu 2009: 24).

The author relies on the global production network only as a model for the orientation of the research to better conceptualize contemporary economic processes which are more profoundly relational and based on variable asymmetries of power (Coe, Dicken, and Hess 2008: 276). The firm in this study is treated as one economic entity, representing a singular node along the larger GPN structure.

The employees' relational behaviours and particular interactions at the "microspace" of the office are treated as a function of the firm and an endogenous aspect of the node (Figure 1). Their actions, behaviours, and whims, reflected in the typologies of embeddedness in fact carry different implications for the local workforce that this research seeks to deeply understand.

Figure 1: Nodes along a GPN Structure
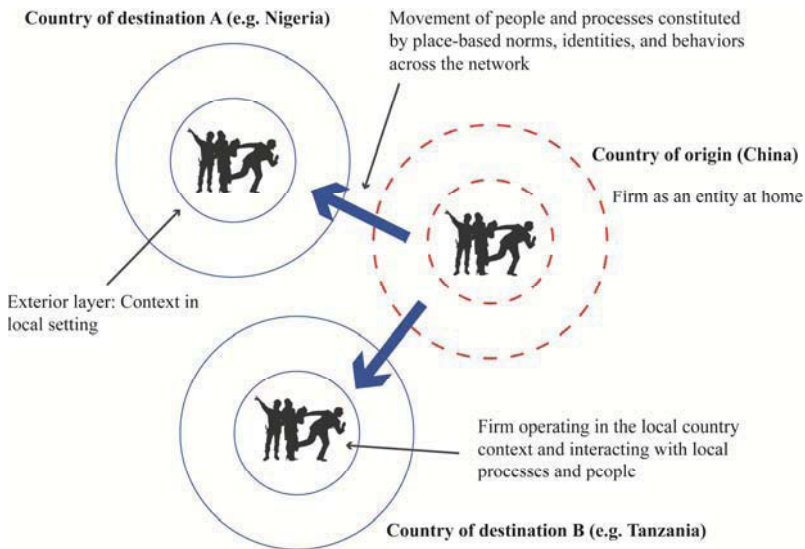
Note: Along the GPN, workers of different national cultures engage with one another in the "microspaces" of the firm in a local country context, resulting in different managerial, relational, and behavioural dynamics (Jones 2008).

Source: Author's own design.

Managers and subordinates are embedded in relations and networks of trust, information and friendship within the firm in which they operate. There are certain mechanisms of embeddedness (Zukin and DiMaggio 1990): cognitive, cultural and structural, that this paper draws upon to assess the interactions within the firm. Cognitive embeddedness refers to "bounded rationality" or where an individual's "rational" action is limited due to "uncertainty, complexity, and the costs of information", having relied on structured and habitual ac-

tions completed within the firm (Zukin and DiMaggio 1990: 16). Cultural embeddedness is how shared norms, ideologies, and understandings give form to a firm's structure, activities, and processes (Zukin and DiMaggio 1990: 17; Dacin, Ventresca, and Beal 1999: 329). Finally, structural embeddedness underlines how interpersonal relations are "bundled up in densely connected but mutually segregated cliques" (Zukin and DiMaggio 1990: 18). These mechanisms of embeddedness interact simultaneously (Dacin, Ventresca, and Beal 1999: 338), and the author attempts to evaluate their intensity as contingent on individual actors in the Tanzanian context. The paper emphasizes the "dynamic practices and relational associations that constitute action", which provoke new managerial habits, responses and behavioural views in nationally different workers as they interact within the "microspace" of their office (Jones 2008: 79).

Applying Embeddedness Theory

Place-based and Place-bound Realities

The efficiency of production networks depends on social relationships, which are affected by territorial and societal embeddedness, and not just market forces (Granovetter 2005; Hess 2004; Coe, Dicken, and Hess 2008). "Embeddedness" is "the economic action of individuals, […] which are very importantly affected by networks of social relationships" (Granovetter, cited in Swedberg 1990: 100). This paper considers embeddedness through two lenses: "place-based" and "place-bound" (Coe, Dicken, and Hess 2008; Hess 2004). Place-based refers to societal embeddedness or the "genetic" code of the actor; the place of origin and background affect or shape the actors' actions within the spaces in which they operate. Place-bound refers to territorial embeddedness or the specific spaces, local relationships, institutions, cultural practices in which operations are carried out (Hess 2004). The general categories and role descriptions of employer–worker, manager–subordinate, et cetera, however, are often overgeneralized assumptions that do not consider individuals' "particular relationships" (Granovetter 1985: 491). In Dar es Salaam, independent Chinese traders or businessmen who deal with miscellaneous *baihuo* (百货) products, general merchandise or everyday household goods, at their "firm" or shop reside predominantly in the central

market zones of the city. They live and create their livelihoods within the social and economic milieu of these markets' territorial space. By contrast, those who work in construction carry out their roles and interactions at their worksites and compounds, usually within a space that is enclosed by high metal fencing branded with the firm's initials. Chinese small-and medium-sized private firms establish local operations and gain momentum in the market for products and services that cater to local demands. These characteristics are very real and explicit in Dar es Salaam, and are often nuanced in studies of general Chinese foreign investment and production networks in Africa, but there is still a need to account for the roles and relationships between workers within the workplace.

Research has exhausted the differences between Chinese management styles and those of developed (that is, Western) nations (MacKinnon and Powell 2009; Hofstede 1980; and Warner 1993), as well as their interface through transnational corporations (TNC) and joint ventures (Shore, Eagle, and Jedel 1993), but little research has been done on the Chinese work culture in developing economies. The benefits to the local workforce of development through the arrival of Chinese businesses can be better evaluated through three GPN elements: embeddedness, power and value, where Chinese managerial habits affect their salience. Embeddedness will be the main element for development in the paper, while power and value are briefly defined below. Focusing on all three is beyond the scope of this paper, but an investigation of embeddedness alone is sufficient to shed light on how the transnational Chinese firm dictates power and drives value in the different socio-cultural contexts of African cities.

Power and Value

Power is a relational effect (Allen 2003: 5, cited in Jones 2008: 76) of social interaction and determines how and to what degree value is captured and distributed for broader socio-economic development (Coe et al. 2004: 475; Henderson et al. 2002). Actors' inter and intra balance of power within these forms is a crucial determinant of value enhancement and capture in broader territorial spaces (Coe et al. 2004: 480). Murphy (2011: 5) argues that power asymmetries emerge that reorganize or determine relational proximity, which is the varying degree to which business people or interacting individuals are relationally bound by common goals, interests, routines and "mutual

recognition of each other's positionality in a relationship". Employees are bound in their relations by the extent to which the processes of their economic activities attached to the firm are embedded territorially to the host society. In macro GPN structures, firms and non-firm actors (for example labour movements, civil society, etc.) create, enhance, and capture value; they reduce costs, and generate potential economic rents from their organizational and business processes (retailing strategies and technological innovation) or inter-firm relationships (Coe et al. 2004). For employees at the micro-level, value could involve the production and reproduction of employment, workforce training, skills and capacity development through knowledge transfer, and a growing ability to demand these skills and better working conditions (Henderson et al. 2002: 21; also see Barrientos, Gereffi, and Rossi 2010).

Working with the Chinese: "Confucian Dynamism"

Chinese global capitalism is a hybrid form according to Yeung (2004: 42). It is dynamic and it simultaneously converges towards and diverges from Western capitalism and Anglo–American norms, given context-specific factors and imbalances of global capitals and technologies. Overseas Chinese business embodies a mergence of the behaviours of modern business and traditional Chinese personalism (Berger 2002: 10, cited in Yeung 2004: 43). As embeddedness theory suggests, both internal (that is, national background) and external (that is, host county operating contexts) issues impact on the Chinese firm's experiences in its global reach and labour practices within global production networks (Henderson et al. 2002).

Chinese Values Survey

Indicative of many Chinese businesses across diverse economic markets is the positioning discovered by Michael Bond and his research team as a result of a questionnaire survey across 23 different countries around the world to test 40 different Chinese values, largely driven by Confucian teachings (Hofstede 2010; Fang 2003; Franke, Hofstede, and Bond 1991), that "Confucian dynamism" is:

> An acceptance of the legitimacy of hierarchy and the valuing of perseverance and thrift, all without undue emphasis on tradition and social obligations which could impede business initiative (TCCC 1987, cited in Franke, Hofstede, and Bond 1991: 168).

The unique cultural dimension coined by Hofstede and Bond as "the Confucian (work) dynamism" characterizes a dualistic orientation along the long-term (for example future rewards) versus the short-term (for example past and present rewards). The two poles reflect a set of eight opposing "positive" (future-oriented) and "negative" (tradition-oriented) Confucian values as they could relate to differences in thinking about social relations, societal norms, and work (Hofstede and Bond 1988, cited in Fang 2003: 348).

This paper highlights four of these values, which were largely recognized in the Chinese managers at the case-study firm. The constructs are organized in Table 1 and compared to reactions aggregated from interviews with Tanzanian employees to make broad interpretations about Tanzanian cultural values. For each construct, the table also illustrates future-state Chinese management dynamics which are assumed to arise in various transforming global production networks and workplaces today. Later analysis attempts to make implications about future dynamisms and how the management style of the place-bound Chinese manager is converging to become a hybrid form which may influence global Chinese business strategies and value creation (MacKinnon and Powell 2009; Yeung 2004). This paper is limited by the lack of research on specific China–Tanzanian employment interactions. However, later interpretation of employees' views takes into account the findings of thorough empirical studies completed on Chinese–Ghananian relations (Giese and Thiel 2012).

Table 1:   Confucian Work Dynamism

Value construct	Explanation	Chinese manager behaviour	Tanzanian subordinate reaction/ response	Future outlook for Chinese work dynamism
1. Ordering relationships by status and observing this order (short-term)	Unequal relationships or sense of authoritarian or hierarchal order between superiors and subordinates *Quanli* (权力) or power	CEO or regional manager has overall authority on decision-making; high power distance* between superior and subordinates	Resentment, confusion, association with poor Chinese management capacity	Power distance between the CEO and managers will begin to level and increasing individual interests coupled with local conditions will lead to more discretionary lower-level management decisions
2. Having a sense of shame (short-term)	Acknowledging shame underlines "interrelatedness through sensitivity to social contracts" and keeping commitments *Mianzi* (面子) or face	Sales director apologized to the group for insulting one of his employees previously in front of the group	Acknowledged apology and normal work relationship is restored because the subordinate recognized the shame that manager has revealed (in other words, restored order between managers and subordinates)	Demonstrating shame still equates to having humility, but saving and losing face will be less critical as reciprocity and mutual obligation between managers and subordinates become more necessary to solidify social contracts in foreign contexts

| 3. Reciprocation of greetings, favours and gifts (short-term) | Mutual obligation after an initial acceptance of benevolence *Renqing* (人情) or mutual obligation | Rewarding employees for good work with social outings, parties and dinners. Allowing employees to have more challenging or discretionary tasks and responsibilities | Two different reactions: A) Recognized as Chinese management learning local needs B) Defaulted and did not reciprocate benevolence of manager | Increasing non-social contracts that result in mutual exchanges and more formalized task-based reciprocity based on company development needs |
| 4. Persistence and perseverance (long-term) | Tenacity to pursue goals that one sets for oneself *Naili* (耐力) or persistance | Unyielding work ethic for business sake and/or individual career-driven aspirations | Saw working even harder as a way to professional development, promotions, or getting noticed by the manager | Greater task-delegation complemented by a shift from macro- to micro-management and more specific training for subordinates |

Note: *High power distance refers to a centralized and strong hierarchy in the firm (Hofstede 2010).

Source: Adapted from Hofstede 2010, 2005; MacKinnon and Powell 2009; Fang 2003; Franke, Hofstede, and Bond 1991.

Broadcast Television in Tanzania: The Case-study Firm and Methodology

Television broadcasting in Tanzania has long been in need of capital investment from private investors. Tanzanian state TV was not launched until the private company, ITV-Independent Television, first broadcast terrestrially via satellite in 1994. Then, in 1997, DStv, a private South African company, pioneered the premium pay-television era (via satellite dish) and developed itself as a brand name catering to high-income households in Tanzania, as indicated by many of its subscribers and competitors. Despite the encouragement of foreign investment in 1997 with the promulgation of the National Telecommunication Policy and the need for private sector contribu-

tions to the industry's development and sustainable economic growth, broadcasting services were not a high-value objective (Ministry of Communications and Transport 1997).

Firm Selection

The choice of a broadcast firm for the case-study was driven by the author's interest in this sector and its suitability for evaluating workplace relations between Chinese and Tanzanian nationals. In the paper, the alias "BETA" is used in place of the company's real name to respect the wishes of the management to remain anonymous. BETA is a private, medium-sized firm of about 115 employees headquartered in Dar es Salaam. It has a high ratio of Tanzanian to Chinese employees (95 to 20). The interactions between workers are high and there is evidence of transnational connection or communication across networks (for instance relationships with suppliers or production sites/ nodes in China and Tanzania while sourcing local suppliers of goods and services). A recently launched firm (2010), BETA was selected as the case-study example over other longer-established enterprises in order to more explicitly observe management–labour practices and the employment system at the peak of growth. Furthermore, the majority of employees are generally young (between 20 and 38 years). Both Chinese and Tanzanian employees are degree holders or recent graduates with some relevant work experience. It was, therefore, hypothesised that in-depth discussions with the firm's employees would be useful in assessing skill and capability development among the local workforce.

Other privately-owned Chinese firms were not a good fit for the study due to their low levels of manager–employee interaction and bare-bones management styles. A lack of in-country and cross-border network relations also made them unsuitable for analysis. Finally, large-scale multinationals (for example, Huawei Technologies Co. Ltd.) were not considered due to their close ties to the state and long-standing influence in Tanzania. Although the use of one firm would preclude the research from being statistically representative of all private Chinese enterprises in the country, it nonetheless provides some insight into a Chinese firm's management practices in a country that many researchers have not been able to access or view first-hand.

Research Methods

The research was conducted over a three-month period from January to March 2011. In total, the author conducted ten informant interviews, four expert interviews, and 21 firm-based interviews with Chinese and Tanzanian respondents. All interviews were face-to-face, semi-structured, and allowed the respondent to speak openly about the activities of the firm and their perceptions of management practices.

To increase the reliability of the data, all interviews were conducted where possible without a translator to ensure the uniformity of questions and were not recorded to respect participants' concerns about the confidentiality of sensitive issues. Interviews lasted around one hour and notes were transcribed not longer than 48 hours after each interview. The given names of all respondents were replaced and assigned letter/ number codes to respect their privacy, but the research refers to their positions in the firm. The author has referenced informants in the text using a general code system and has included a list of interviews in the appendix:

- B: BETA firm informant
- G: Government informant
- E: Expert informant
- P: Pilot interview informant
- 0, 1, 2, etc. differentiates between respondents of the same affiliation
- T: Tanzanian respondent
- C: Chinese respondent

The hermeneutic positioning of the methodology allowed the author to make inquiries and observe, interact, and speak opening with people in their daily contexts in order to deeply understand what they say, do, and why. Interpretation of the meanings of the empirical evidence from the "text-analogue" of the both written, verbal, and non-verbal communications supported the understanding of the characteristics of the firm and the firm culture (Myers 2009: 182–183). The author attempted to interpret "text-analogue" to reveal how gestures, public statements in media reports, interviewees' accounts of subjects or incidents, etc. fit together, their contradictions and absurdities, and the implications of Chinese–Tanzanian workplace relations (Meyers 2009: 185). A more systematic assessment of the "linkages between

opinions, activities, and interests" (Silverman 2005: 126) in the case-study firm enabled the author to focus on saying "a lot about a little" (Silverman 2005: 122).

Findings and Analysis

The BETA brand has steadily made itself a household name among Dar es Salaam's Chinese auto mechanic garages, restaurants, medical clinics, and construction sites. The company's name can be seen across billboards and shop flyers, and it even won the broadcasting rights to prominent national and regional events. The overall perception from firm-level informants suggested that the firm has a globalizing agenda and aspires to grow in the industry to become a major player. Based on its localization or integration strategy in some regions, it appears that the company's mission is to become both a global brand name and a household name.

For a better contextualization of the discussion, Table 2 presents a general profile of the firm.

Table 2:   Profile of BETA

BETA	
Industry	• Non-resource-intensive products and services in the broadcasting sub-sector • Operates across East African Community countries, West Africa and some countries in Southern Africa • In 2010, BETA officially formed a joint venture (70 per cent Chinese to 30 per cent Tanzanian ownership) with a Tanzanian company to operate in Dar es Salaam under its own brand
Background	• Originated in Beijing in the 1980s as a systems and software company • Entered African markets in 2002 as a media company
Services and Products	• Affordable price and excellent customer service are the main appeal to the local market • Seven business centres across Dar es Salaam (main sales points and customer services); smaller retailers are dispersed throughout the city

| Human Resources | • 115 staff (20 Chinese expatriates and 95 local Tanzanian employees) |
| | • Organizational units: Operations, Sales and Marketing, Systems and Software Development, Procurement and Warehousing, and Human Resources (incl. administrative staff) |

Source: Authors' own compilation.

BETA-A Global Firm Embedding in the Tanzanian Market

BETA is categorized as part of a larger production network because its functions and operations are interconnected through the production and distribution of goods and services across geographical borders and networks (Manchester School 2010). Advanced technology, affordability and enjoyment all suggest the appeal of BETA to the Tanzanian market, and these qualities are similarly necessary to attract consumers across other African markets (BC1 2011). This is a key strategy for the brand to localize in different places, to develop a high degree of management capacity and reform, and to "become a very big company", a well-known global media group (BC2 2011; BC4 2011; BC1 2011). Forming a venture with a national Tanzanian corporation has smoothed the entry of BETA into the local market, fostered more efficient business processes (for example, easier registration and no foreign investor taxes), enhanced its reputation among local consumers and allowed the company greater access to local industry resources, suppliers and services.

Increasing inter-actor ties with partners who know the local market demonstrate the structural territorial embeddedness of the firm (Dacin, Ventresca, and Beal 1999) and help to lower the cost and risk of entry (Coe et al. 2004). BETA's entire Tanzanian Human Resources unit "knows how to make things happen in the city" and plays a major role inforging local linkages (BC2 2011). The management style in this unit is rather loose: the Chinese HR director provides direction to her subordinates, but allows them to take personal responsibility for high-level tasks. There is a high level of trust, which could also suggest the current Chinese management's plans to transfer the firm to solely local management (BC1 2011; BC2 2011).

Localization of the Firm: Integration Challenges and Developing a First-tier Business

According to the director of design/ marketing (BC4 2011), managerial problems arise because Chinese managers have not developed to their full potential. The Wal-Mart management style used in China, he claimed, drives stronger management capacities where a Western globalization structure is more aligned. When BETA managers manage in Tanzania, there is a learning curve where knowledge is harder to transfer and information exchanges are weak. Having to repeat directions, for example, stunts managers' own abilities to develop skills. Forces outside the firm, such as inefficient institutional and administrative processes and actors outside the control of the Chinese managers, also inhibit management ability. "If it were not for inefficient ways of doing that, I would not be as busy" (BC2 2011). Processes that take one day to complete in China take six times as long in Tanzania. Public administrative employees hold little sense of obligation or urgency in business matters. This impedes BETA from "making things happen" and doing business (BC2 2011).

BETA has a business to consumer (B2C) positioning as it largely deals with selling an end-product to the customer and resolving client-side technical issues. Nonetheless, in response to market forces and the attempt at localization, one of BETA's business projections is to deepen its business to business (B2B) positioning through local sourcing of the service providers and sub-components needed for in-country business scaling. This is equally attractive to the firm as a way to avoid transaction costs involved with imports from China (BC3 2011; BC4 2011; BC5 2011). Despite the challenges of "understand(ing) what's in the society" (BC5 2011), the market and structural forces of the firm's local host society push it to seek relational rents through inter-linkages with local firms and organizations (Coe et al. 2004; Kaplinsky 1998).

Cultural and structural embedding push BETA to acquire brand and reputational rents by being more attuned to social and economic development needs (Henderson et al. 2002; Dacin, Ventresca, and Beal 1999). One manager reiterated that BETA will build itself into a first-class business (see Table 3) with a stronger corporate culture, through expanding into other regions and recognition not just for its financial growth, but also its reputation as a "good company" (BC4 2011). Evidence of this can be seen in the firm's implementation of

new initiatives that "care for the community" and reaffirm local employees' sense of respect for and pride to be associated with BETA (BT13 2011).

Table 3:   Typology of Business

Class	Business
1st Class	Business processes depend on a "culture of the company" (that is corporate culture).
2nd Class	Business processes depend on market dynamics, systems and regulations.
3rd Class	Business processes depend on private individuals.

Source: Author's own compilation based on personal interview with a BETA Chinese manager (BC4 2011).

When BETA was launched, the firm encountered problems due to a strict top-down management style, which caused the previous CEO to resign. According to one manager, the new CEO is more open and understands that he cannot manage the firm by himself; he needs different levels of employee and their advice, experience, and knowledge of the market. This could also be due to the inherent growth of the firm as "development forces this change" (BC3 2011).

Improved reputation and economic growth has been, in large part, due to the firm's alignment with the needs and demands of its internal workforce to understand how to maintain a certain company culture. As the design/ marketing director indicated, a first-class business requires closer relationships and improved understanding between managers and their subordinates. He said he believed it was possible that the relational aspects of a manager's motivation and exchange of trust could affect worker development and thereby influence the firm's corporate culture. BETA's corporate culture is still, however, transforming and there is a struggle between the management's self-development and mutual understanding.

In growing into a first-class business, the capability to supervise their respective shop employees and drive sales with unique marketing campaigns are important goals, according to many of the shop managers. The author interprets this as potential value to be captured, as the management skills they develop are assumed to be demanded as the firm transforms the broadcasting sub-sector. Strategic territori-

al embedding of the firm allows for cost-cutting of the overall firm as an entity, but does not inhibit the acquirement of skills needed for local capacity and managerial reform (Dacin, Ventresca, and Beal 1999).

Working across Socio-cultural Attitudes, Norms and Behaviours: Challenges of Place-bound Embeddedness

Many Tanzanians employees observed that Chinese managers work in their own vacuums instead of working in the local culture. The viewpoints of BETA employees are organized in Table 4 across the three mechanisms of territorial embeddedness: cultural, cognitive, and structural, to demonstrate the challenges perceived by employees in maintaining effective working relationships. The chart demonstrates the extent of separation that inhibits the place-bound or territorial embeddedness of the firm.

Local connections and associations to firms or even non-business entities help BETA to integrate and localize, as described by the Chinese design/ marketing director. Unfortunately, it is very difficult for the Chinese managers to collaborate with local business entities or for them to interact with local business people because "we don't understand the politics, hot topics, habits and cultures of the country" (BC4 2011). Acquiring simple knowledge of the local dynamics makes up a large part of the struggle. However, when asked about an interest to learn how to handle local ways of living, the manager's tone was rather one of indifference and doubt.

Interviews with BETA informants suggest, however, that interaction norms between manager and employee could potentially be learned given a deeper understanding of the socio-cultural values and characteristics of the Chinese work dynamics. Key patterns in the findings demonstrate difficulty in working most effectively as one unified entity due to: communication, trust, managerial power distance, and employee goal orientation.

Table 4:   BETA Employee Viewpoints

Cognitive	Cultural	Structural
The Chinese are hard to change (BT16 2011).	Tanzanians do business the way the English do (BT15 2011).	Two different sides are working at the same organization (BT8 2011).
We are guests. We want to develop business, so we must try. The issue is time and the question is how (BC4 2011).	Differences in the way Chinese do business are brought by differences in culture. China comes first (BT13 2011).	If the locals know we are with a local organization, we can do business better (BC2 2011).
They don't want to cope with cultures; they come with a mindset that practice in China is the same in Tanzania (BT13 2011).	BETA helps people to cope with rapid changes in science and technology (Public and media view).	We want to develop a better reputation among local consumers […] have connections to them (BC1 2011).
The work environment seemed hard at first and it was not easy to befriend them, but maybe it's because they didn't know about us and we didn't know about them (BT8 2011).	Communicating in China is natural; we can foresee things happening, so we don't care about the day-to-day problems that arise with a business. In Tanzania, we are misunderstood or we must be more aware of safety or other living situations (BC4 2011).	Our management in Africa is not strong because we are used to management on foreign terms (BC3 2011).
We are learning as we work (BC3 2011).	We need a common understanding of employees, to have a common mission: the need for a corporate culture to dictate internal relationships (BT9 2011).	

Source: Author's own compilation.

Language and Communication

Language gaps and different communication norms created barriers for management and subordinates to work effectively together, let alone to socialize. For the majority of Chinese workers, despite BETA's efforts to subcontract a language teacher upon the company launch (BT8 2011), there is very little interest in studying or practicing

Swahili. Despite having lived in Tanzania for four years, the design/ marketing director can say only a couple of Swahili phrases. Instead, managers speak Chinese to each other and use broken English to try to communicate with their Tanzanian counterparts. The result is frequent misunderstandings because managers are unable to express themselves and give their instructions for work clearly in English. Differences in the tone and frequency of daily exchange between managers and employees are difficult to accept. Whereas one manager (BC1 2011) generally appreciated the friendliness of Tanzanians and the fact that "they like to care", another manager felt overwhelmed by the number of greetings and "couldn't keep up" (BC5 2011). One Tanzanian employee believed the communication barriers appeared to be due to the absence of a common language. "Language is the media of communication," he claimed. "If the top manager does not speak the language or communicate with his subordinates, his management style and orders will not be communicated" (BT15 2011). Although some Chinese managers realize the need to learn and adapt to cultural and communication differences, many still hold on to place-based behaviours, which are inherently based on the norms of a collectivist workplace that contrasts with those of their relatively individualistic Tanzanian subordinates.

Trust

The author's observations of firm-level interactions and interviews revealed a generally high level of respect between managers and subordinates on professional terms. According to one manager, "Chinese are life partners and Tanzanians are work partners" (BC1 2011). However, issues of distrust still remained inherent among the Chinese managers because the "bond at the workplace" is not strong. This is due to differing preconceived expectations among employees and their separation into in-groups and out-groups.

Where trust can be gradually gained between unit directors and subordinates within their units, it can equally be lost when expected working bonds are broken. This underlines the strong Chinese affinity for mutual obligation and reciprocity, which is necessary to reinforce and build trust (MacKinnon and Powell 2009). Paradoxical dilemmas became evident where subordinates had to "break the rules" for managers to listen. Conversely, a manager recounted that on more than one occasion, where after informally rewarding one of

his subordinates, and expecting continued hard work in return, the employee instead reciprocated the "kindness" by "misbehaving and taking advantage" (BC5 2011).

Moral dilemmas such as the latter may result from inadequate information exchanges, further contributing to distrust between managers and employees within the firm. According to one employee, "If it weren't for pushing [for information], I would not have learned anything". When the firm first launched, managers kept information to themselves and were not as open to ideas (BT12 2011; BT3 2011). Granovetter (1992) argues that information about how to do the work in the firm influences performance, where this information is exchanged through building informal social relations between workers. As BETA employees reflected on the growth of the firm, they did identify positive changes:

> There is more of a system [now] and we also try our best to improve this system through our performance and working together with the Chinese. This helps us understand each other more (BT9 2011).

Obtaining information also suggests developing new structural and cognitive knowledge of the way things are done in the firm. Creating new systems and understanding may support the convergence of the two national groups towards developing a unique corporate culture, and at the same time improve moral obligations and trust within the workplace. One way to do this, according to Tanzanian subordinates, is through the need to collectively "move management" or to help management realize, and learn to "become partners" so that they might reciprocate with greater trust and rewards (BT12 2011). The question remains of how the power relations inherent in the firm, rooted in the place-based identities of the Chinese managers, might still limit the transmission of information and the ability for management to partner with their subordinates.

Manager-subordinate Power Distance

"Ingroup and outgroup" dynamics in the firm reaffirm the Chinese collectivist workplace culture, as well as an underlying emphasis on high powerdistance and a centralized and hierarchal management style (Hofstede 2010). Hofstede attributes ingroup tendencies to strong collectivist workplaces where the relationship between manag-

er and subordinate is based on a moral contract and a mutual obligation, where a subordinate's loyalty is exchanged for protection. This underlines the critical role that *renqing* (人情) or mutual obligation plays in instilling trust (MacKinnon and Powell 2009: 41). Many Tanzanian employees were accustomed to working in more individualist environments where private ideas and interests matter; they therefore resented the explicit separation of "the boss" (and the Chinese managers) from "the others" (BT13 2011). High levels of emotions are tied to the relationships in high power distance workplaces where employees might feel adoration or contempt towards their superiors (Hofstede 2005: 55–56). However, based on the core values vested in the Confucian *wulun* (无论) or five (unequal) relationships, inequalities are expected and desired in the Chinese firm today, especially to promote interdependence and stability among workers (Fang 2003; Hofstede 2005: 64).

"In Tanzania, the boss is your friend"; "in China [referring to her experience with BETA], the boss is the police"; "the CEO wants staff to be afraid" (BT13 2011). The boss is an "untouchable" and "one mistake could cancel all the good things you have done" (BT13 2011). The Tanzanian marketing director (BT10 2011) echoed this resentment of the hierarchal decision-making approach of the firm. She reported that there is a lag in getting results, due to "talking in action" while decisions are made slowly and are made for the needs of the [regional] manager or CEO with little input from the rest of the staff. "If it's an order from the CEO" other opinions are automatically suppressed. "We were just expected to accept" (BT12 2011). Some Tanzanians attributed this to the lack of an organizational structure. Others underlined management's poor oversight as exemplified by the mismatch between BETA's advertised job descriptions and actual on-the-job duties. One employee claimed that she and her colleagues had "lost some things already", and became discouraged from working harder (BT8 2011). She believed that she "lost some rights", which she explained meant that the management seemed to neglect her academic or professional credentials given the low salary she received. According to Hofstede (2005: 56), superiors and subordinates are "existentially unequal" where power and authority rest in the hands of a few people or one overall boss. Nonetheless, the ideal boss, as one employee asserted, should be a "benevolent autocrat, or 'good father' […] Being a leader, you have two charac-

ters: friendship and seriousness" (BT10 2011). The subordinates in one unit associated encouraging workplace relationships to their specific unit manager who was "different than the others"; he listened and was open to their suggestions, but equally strict.

Traditionally, the Chinese work dynamism is based on building trust through *guanxi* (关系), interpersonal relationships and mutual obligation (MacKinnon and Powell 2009). However, in the latter example, the manager's actions suggest that the power distance or hierarchy between Chinese managers and the overall boss is shorter; allowing for an overall flatter organizational structure and a loosening of traditional *renqing* obligations. Instead, this could result in more context-specific, task-based and non-social contracts between the lower-level manager and his subordinates (MacKinnon and Power 2009). Employees believed the manager was good at managing because he provided on-the-job experience and allowed them to take more initiative or responsibility for tasks (BT10 2011).

Long-term versus Short-term Goal Orientation

Matching the Chinese work ethic, that is the work dynamic of long-term oriented achievement, became the means for promotion at BETA. However, the difference in work ethic between Chinese and Africans broadly speaking (Hofstede 2010) is the emphasis placed on having a sense of pride which motivates performance. At the time of the research, this was exemplified by a Tanzanian employee who was promoted to a managerial position. She claimed that it was due to her professional experience and her willingness to work harder and longer hours than other Tanzanian colleagues that she was promoted (BT10 2011). Although one Chinese manager affirmed this view, he also conveyed to the author that this employee had been promoted to help instilin her a sense of pride and an obligation to work even harder. She would become an example to her Tanzanian colleagues. This represents the concept of persistence and diligence that is associated with long-term goal achievement and practical results.

Having a sense of pride, a laid-back attitude towards work and an emphasis on leisure time, by contrast, are attributed to short-term goal achievement. Interview findings suggest that Tanzanians are more short-term goal oriented because they emphasize logical processes in their way of thinking and maintaining absolute truths. Chinese long-term orientation prioritizes virtue, common sense, and

acting based on pragmatism. The latter reflects a way of thinking where realities might not be logical and adapting means deciding what to do in the moment so that actions are rather shaped by the circumstances: "If A is true, its opposite B can also be true" (Hofstede 2005: 232). The managers argue that Tanzanians might approach tasks with a different logic. "If you ask them to reach C, they will always start at A and pass through B" (BC4 2011). This mentality is related to the previously stated notion that complete information instils deeper trust between employee and manager and thereby enhances workplace performance. Surveying across societies suggests that in short-term oriented national cultures, people require a "cognitive consistency" and more absolute guidelines (Hofstede 2005: 232). One Chinese manager said that they are trying to meet their employees halfway. The Chinese managers are learning to adapt management in the local context, related to the earlier discussion about cognitive embeddedness, and making compromises which might better motivate improved workplace understanding between employees.

Although unequal relationships between superiors and subordinates might still be necessary for BETA, the Chinese managers and Tanzanian employees possess socially similar needs, values, and beliefs. There is a push-pull dynamic across vertical cooperativeness in the firm that develops a level of compliance in both groups. This exists with the manager who is pushed to adapt to local conditions and behaviours, and it exists with the employee who is pulled to work harder, following the direction of his employer in order to reach personal or professional goals.

Recognizing the difficulty for people to change, one director asserted, "We [Chinese] need to meet them in the middle" (BC3 2011). Additionally, with an already limited supply of skilled labour and high employee turnover rates, there is greater need to conduct employee training. One manager claimed this need is "so they get it right the first time" (BC1 2011). "I think they [the Chinese] are learning", said one Tanzanian respondent (BT4 2011). "In the beginning, everything is done for the company; now, we are growing so fast". More changes are envisioned so that the firm can become "more pragmatic". Being more pragmatic was explained as introducing a more professional firm culture where managers could spend two days providing official, hands-on training. "It's not how smart we are, it's how we apply what we know" (BT4 2011). This quote illustrates a realization

by Tanzanians that to achieve life-long learning requires learning on the job, which the Chinese place firmly in their long-term view.

Finally, the long-term goal orientation of maintaining a sense of shame is critical in the workplace to maintain a degree of humility and respect among colleagues and subordinates (Hofstede 2010). In China, demonstrating that one has acted shamefully promotes long-term *guanxi* by reinstating trust and an individual's transactional worth that is important for business (MacKinnon and Powell 2009: 38). In the example within this research, a Chinese manager lost his temper and insulted his subordinate in front of other employees; the next day, the manager expressed his shame with a public apology. Order had to be restored alongside his own image in the eyes of his subordinates. In the long-term, this was "for the sake of BETA" and maintaining "regular working routines" (BC1 2011).

Conclusion

The Chinese constructs shaped and embodied by the managers and the context in which BETA operates may engender alternative implications of the firm's impact on the development of the local workforce that is unlike generalized encounters between Chinese–African labour relations. This paper endeavoured to further elaborate on how a deeper understanding of Chinese–Tanzanian, manager–subordinate relationships might provide insight for the transnational Chinese manager in his or her continued efforts to recruit, manage, and develop talent in different African communities. The empirical research and analytical framework simply provides a broad basis on which to consider common behaviour patterns that may in effect be a means to enhance economic development (Hofstede 2010; Hofstede and Bond 1988 cited in Fang 2003). There is yet an underlying need to explicitly illustrate how additional value (that is, labour upgrading, transfers of knowledge and technology, enhanced management capacity, and ultimately, improved distribution of social and economic benefits for the local workforce and settings) is contingent on relational interactions determined by Chinese companies' embeddedness in the unfamiliar contexts of their overseas operations.

For Tanzania, according to an informant at the World Bank (E3 2011), responding to China's growing investments means keeping in mind two things: strategy and opportunity. Effective management of

projects is certainly a strategy that cannot be overlooked and yet requires a co-innovative approach from both Chinese investors and Tanzanian local managers.

The second means for partnership is opportunity. One example is the establishment of Special Economic Zones (SEZ) to deepen high-level collaborations in trade and investment (Brautigam and Tang 2011). Although it might still be too early to tell how China's influence may make other positive spillover breakthroughs, such as skill transfers to local workers, this research suggests that the starting point is recognizing the need for new capability building across management continuums both at the firm level and at the state level. During fieldwork for this study, the impressions of Tanzanian citizens towards Chinese business investment in the country were generally positive, and called upon new strategies to mobilize unskilled labour and induce competition, and the enhancement of jobs for skilled labour. Additionally, there is a greater dependence on China's role and especially private businesses to serve as models or teachers for Tanzania. Since the 1990s, it was actually the Tanzanian public sector management system that catalyzed the private sector to compete in terms of employment practices and recruitment. Responsibility falls on the employers, in both public and private sectors, to recognize the competitive advantages in their labour force and actually develop new and strategic practices that embody "integration, commitment, flexibility, and quality" (Debrah et al. 2004: 85, cited in Kamoche 2004). A Tanzanian Ministry of Labour official claimed that the only way to "move things" in the country is to feed off of China's "aggressiveness" and competition so that local industries can be stimulated. The question of "how do you compete with your teacher" (G1 2011) highlights Tanzanians' uncertainty about how to contest with China.

With the push of policies to "go-out" (走出去战略, *zouchuqu zhanlüe*), rising costs, and local competition in China, Chinese firms are more than inclined to establish businesses overseas and particularly in less-ventured regions of Africa (Brautigam and Tang 2011: 40; Maswana 2009: 68). According to Yeung (2004: 114), overseas Chinese firms, their operations and organizational strategies are transforming. They are becoming less ethnocentric and more attuned to the needs and demands of increasingly global economies. This is likely due to the structural embeddedness of the firm as it is pushed to imitate Westernized organizational structures and business

knowledge and to capture opportunities in the destination market. In Tanzania, BETA realized a joint venture opportunity in the broadcasting segment of a transitional niche market that is largely advantageous to an overall brand penetration into the country, despite a lack of managerial capacity and familiarity with the socio-cultural setting (Yeung 2004; Maswana 2009). The findings reveal the firm's hybrid nature. At the macro level, the need to penetrate the market is dependent on a strategy of adaptation, whether informed by Chinese business values or by the needs and requirements of the Tanzanian market. At the micro-level, the firm is disembedded or discontinuously territorial as Chinese managers behave and interact according to certain cultural dynamisms, which are place-based. Due to the collective push by the firm's Tanzanian employees, a discontinuity is driven by gradual adjustments towards a new and innovative Chinese management style that is neither converging with Western ways nor fully diverging from it (MacKinnon and Powell 2009).

There are still distinct societal attachments to the Chinese style of work, mostly driven by Confucian principles, which dictate managers' ways of thinking. Often running counter to what their Tanzanian counterparts may value, culturally-based working dynamics sever the bonds that are essential for optimal workplace performance and manager-subordinate relationships. Chinese managers are struggling to resist previously understood notions of conducting business and work activities, and instead are territorially embedding in the host society. They are pushed by:

- The need to adapt to local market conditions,
- National economic policies and financial pressures at home,
- The need to master (Western) management strategies to compete and fit into global markets, and
- An awareness of formal and informal socio-cultural norms in Tanzania that could cultivate or inhibit economic processes.

The main challenges that should explicitly be made aware to all actors are the differences in communication, trust, power distances, and goal orientation. A firm's ability to localize effectively lies in both the company's competitive prices and its local leverage in the market through the employment of local, skilled labour. This should partially be influenced by the firm's specific knowledge transfers of the technology tied to the products and services, marketing and advertising

know-how, capacity to withstand risk and persevere, and strategies to make local connections and link to retail outlets.

The vision for the future transfer of the ownership of BETA to local Tanzanian management and a belief in on-the-job learning suggest the possibility of future value transfers. Potential labour upgrading is more likely when workers strive to match the Chinese work ethic and goal-attainment, while pushing their managers to adapt to local needs. Future research initiatives focused on collectivist Chinese management style and hierarchal practices should investigate the implications for workers of their role as active agents to move management and increase leverage in the growing Chinese business relations across Africa. Chinese work dynamisms are the different interpersonal relations and micro-level management-employee interactions within the workplace that are fluid at a node within a larger global production network. A higher degree of empirical research is needed to explore the implications of value, in both economic and social terms, for the local workers. Examples of collaborations, which should continue to develop, include the joint initiative of Huawei and the International Labour Organisation (ILO) to implement activities for employees that promote worker health and safety on the job across East Africa (Imaka 2011), or the efforts of the state-owned China National Offshore Oil Corporation (CNOOC) and Norwegian Statoil to teach skills to local Ugandan workers about oil resources management and engineering know-how (*The Citizen* 2011). These examples could be interpreted as the much-needed and growing leverage some African states are exercising in their collaboration with Chinese firms.

Looking beyond the scope of this research, insight into potential policy reform or implementation relating to governance and spatial linkages to transnational Chinese business would inform how certain relationships influence African countries to "articulate what (they) need". International institutions or more formal regulatory forces have huge influence on developing countries' capacity to negotiate. In order for Africa to stand out, not merely through its raw materials, it must know how to attract mutual partnerships and thereby mutual benefits, which is the advantage often asserted within the "South-south dialogue". This endeavour may only be successful, Maswana (2009: 86) argues, through social struggles; it rests prominently in "negotiating power" and requires both sides to engage in not only

playing, but also "setting the rules of the game". As one informant reiterated, "Tanzanian workers need to learn how to market themselves and negotiate with their managers to sit at the same table" (E2 2011). Therefore, one area requiring further research within GPN understanding is the connection of the theory to policy-based arenas in order to consider the empirical variations of how labour negotiates power to influence the rules at the table. This study provides the preliminary foundation for research to examine the practical linkages between GPN and action-oriented research that will explore actual measurable gains of what Bair (2005: 154) terms the "global-local nexus".

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Appendix

Case firm (T=Tanzanian employee, C=Chinese employee			
ID	**Employee**	**Title**	**Date of interview**
BT0	BETA firm Ltd – Tanzanian employee	Shop manager (SM)	February, 2011
BT1	BETA firm Ltd – Tanzanian employee	Shop manager (SM)	February, 2011
BT2	BETA firm Ltd – Tanzanian employee	Shop manager (SM)	February, 2011
BT3	BETA firm Ltd – Tanzanian employee	Shop manager (SM)	February, 2011
BT4	BETA firm Ltd – Tanzanian employee	Shop manager (SM)	February, 2011
BT5	BETA firm Ltd – Tanzanian employee	Shop manager (SM)	February, 2011
BT6	BETA firm Ltd – Tanzanian employee	Shop manager (SM)	February, 2011
BT7	BETA firm Ltd – Tanzanian employee	HR Specialist	January, 2011
BT8	BETA firm Ltd – Tanzanian employee	Administrative Specialist	January, 2011
BT9	BETA firm Ltd – Tanzanian employee	Warehouse Support Specialist	February, 2011 (several dates)
BT10	BETA firm Ltd – Tanzanian employee	Marketing Director	February, 2011
BT11	BETA firm Ltd – Tanzanian employee	Customer Service Rep (CSR)	February, 2011
BT12	BETA firm Ltd – Tanzanian employee	Sales Director's Assistant	February, 2011
BT13	BETA firm Ltd – Tanzanian employee	Operations Assistant	February, 2011
BT14	BETA firm Ltd – Tanzanian employee	Systems Administrator	February, 2011 (several dates)
BT15	BETA firm Ltd – Tanzanian employee	Call Center Manager	March, 2011
BT16	BETA firm Ltd – Tanzanian employee	Procurement Assistant	March, 2011
BC1	BETA firm Ltd – Chinese Manager	Sales Director	February, 2011 (several dates)
BC2	BETA firm Ltd – Chinese Manager	Human Resources Director	January, 2011

BC3	BETA firm Ltd – Chinese Manager	Operations Director	March, 2011
BC4	BETA firm Ltd – Chinese Manager	Designer/Marketing Director	March, 2011 (several dates)
BC5	BETA firm Ltd – Chinese Manager	Systems and Software Development Manager	February, March 2011 (several dates)

Government ministries and agencies (Political, social, economic)			
ID	**Affiliation**	**Title**	**Date of interview**
G1	Ministry of Labour	Assistant Labour Commissioner	January, 2011
G2	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Second Secretary	February, 2011
G3	Tanzania Investment Center	Senior Researcher/Statistician	February, 2011 (several dates)
G4	Tanzania Investment Center	Director of Investment Facilitation	February, 2011
G5	Association of Tanzania Employers	Policy and Advocacy Director	February, 2011
G6	National Social Security Fund	Sen. Public Relations Officer	February, 2011
G7	Tanzania Employment Services Agency (TaESA)	Assistant in Charge	February, 2011
G8	Tanzania Chamber of Commerce, Agriculture and Commerce	Manager of Industry Development	February, 2011
G9	Ministry of Industries, Trade, & Marketing	Assistant Director	February, 2011
G10	China Development Bank	Financial Researcher (also liaised with the World Bank)	February, 2011
G11	Chinese Embassy,Economic and Commercial Representation	Second Secretary	February, 2011
G12	Tanzania Chamber of Commerce of Northeast China	Secretary General	March, 2011

Experts-International organisations and education			
ID	**Affiliation**	**Title**	**Date of interview**
E1	University of Dar es Salaam	Professor, Department of Geography, (previously wrote a brief on Chinese investment in Tanzania)	February, 2011
E2	International Labour Organisation (ILO)	Senior Programme Officer	February, 2011
E3	World Bank	Senior Economist	March, 2011
E4	Economic and Social Research Foundation	Executive Director	March, 2011

Pilot Interviews			
ID	**Affiliation**	**Title**	**Date of interview**
P1	Spring City Garage Ltd. (Chinese)	Office staff	January, 2011
P2	Spring City Garage Ltd. (Tanzanian)	Mechanic	January, 2011
P5	China-Geo-Engineering	Project Manager	January, 2011
P6	Jburrow-Consultants (working on the same project with P5)	Resident Engineer	January, 2011
P7	Sino-Tanzanian Friendship Hospital (Chinese)	Doctor-Acupuncture	February, 2011
P8	Sino-Tanzanian Friendship Hospital (Tanzanian)	Lab Technician	February, 2011
P9	Chinese Restaurant	Manager	February, 2011

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Contributors

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