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국제학석사학위논문

A Study on the African Migrant in China: Based on the case of Guangzhou, China

중국 내 아프리카 이주민들에 대한 연구: 중국 广州 지역을 중심으로

2015년 8월

서울대학교 국제대학원

국제학과 국제지역학전공

정 훈 섭

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A thesis presented

By

Hoon Seop Jeong

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Abstract

A Study on the African Migrants in China:

Based on the case of Guangzhou, China

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Since the opening-up policy of China, China's export-oriented economy has developed in high speed. China now is the second largest economy in the world and it is growing at unprecedented pace. Cooperation and interactions between China and foreign countries have been increased ever since and had led to an increase in numbers of foreigners in the country. Among the cities which take the high proportion of foreigners, Guangzhou, the capital city of Guangdong Province has its uniqueness in its highest proportion of foreign diasporas; Africans. Xiaobei area of Guangzhou, also known as the 'Chocolate City,' is one of the locations where African Diasporas settled. The settlement of African Diasporas in this location has caused significant changes and developments of local people of the city economically, culturally, and spatially.

This study thoroughly examines on why Africans move to

Guangzhou, how they survive in the city, and how the local Chinese citizens perceive them as. In pursuing answers to the above research question, the methodology deployed in this research mainly includes semi-interviews, questionnaires, and field observations between February 2014 and April 2015. It is composed of a survey including semi-structured questionnaire-based and semi interviews with African leader, African traders, and a local resident. The preliminary observation was conducted during February 2014.

Data collected from semi-interviews, questionnaires, and field observations provide vivid demographics and basic information on Africans in Guangzhou. Most of Africans residing in or visiting Guangzhou are itinerant traders who purchase China-made goods and sell those products back in their home country. Due to the high demand of China-made goods by African traders, Guangzhou was found to be transforming in line with the demand of foreign traders. Those transformations could be found economically, culturally, and spatially. Guangzhou's trade volume with African countries is increasing annually by unprecedented speed. African restaurants are ubiquitously spread throughout the city. With the influx of Africans in the city, mega stores and shopping plazas were innumerably multiplied.

With the positive benefits Africans brought to the city, the local

Chinese residents, traders, and business partners do not perceive them as threats to the city, but rather welcome them. Although some residents, traders, and business partners find Africans noisy at times, but because of the economic benefits they generate, the local Chinese citizens are, to only a small degree, irritated by them. The local government officials, on the other hand, conceive them to be a huge threat to the city. A number of criminal-related activities were executed by the Africans in Guangzhou, such as drug trafficking, thus the government officials pay sharp attention to their entry-exit activities and activities within the city boundary.

The future of the ‘Chocolate city’ in Guangzhou, therefore, turns on the exquisite calibration and collaboration of the laws and regulations to maintain and further enhance the benefits generated by the African diaspora traders which satisfy the local Chinese residents, business partners and traders, and also to provide protection of life and property of citizens simultaneously.

Keywords: China-Africa, African diaspora traders, African Migration, Guangzhou

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1. Introduction

Research Background and Research Question

Since the opening-up policy of China, China's export-oriented economy has developed in high speed. China now is the second largest economy in the world and it is growing at unprecedented pace. Cooperation and interactions between China and foreign countries have been increased ever since and had led to an increase in numbers of foreigners in the country. As one of the fastest-growing and most powerful economies in the world, China is undergoing a remarkable transformation, featuring urbanization and, most importantly, globalization (Logan, 2011).

The result of the Sixth Population Census shows that (National Bureau of Statistics, 2011) 62% of all international immigrants in China are located in Beijing, Shanghai, and Guangdong. Among them, Guangdong takes the highest proportion - more than one third (Liang, 2014, p. 2). Also Among them, Guangzhou, the capital city of Guangdong Province, differs from other cities by its highest proportion of immigrants; Africans.

Xiaobei area of Guangzhou, also known as the ‘Chocolate City,’ is one of the locations where African Diasporas settled. The settlement of African Diasporas in this location has caused significant changes and developments of local people of the city economically, culturally, and spatially. The term ‘chocolate city’ was first used by local Chinese cab drivers and later became popular after having been picked up by media reports (Li et al., 2012, p. 52). This name is intriguing, denoting not only the exotic flavor of the place but also involving the issue of skin color and it also shows a problematic imagination, representation, and articulation of this identifiable ethnic group by the local society and highlights its status of sociospatial segregation. Thus, Guangzhou is a unique case as Africans and their communities have been widely noted, and its academic study has become a hotspot (Li et al., 2012).

In contrast to traditional studies, which concentrate on the marginalization of unskilled or semiskilled manual immigrants, recent works call for analyzing the international flows of highly skilled or managerial personnel – professionals, and entrepreneurs – and their ethnic spaces (Cristaldi, 2002; Lin and Tse, 2005; Miera 2008). This reflects the broader impacts of globalization in terms of both an increasing mobility of capital, population, and the rise of the global city as a nexus of flexible

capital accumulation; but also in terms of the increasing diversity of the groups involved (Sassen, 1994; 2001). As Stalker (2001) mentions, the issue of immigration is a peripheral social issue at first, but it gradually evolves into a critical social issue that impacts the entire country's politics, economy, society, culture, religion, and national security. Almost all developed countries today are facing changes and issues caused by immigration, and Guangzhou, China is in the center of these changes.

As numerous scholars began to study on African Diasporas in Guangzhou and valuable findings are being established on why Africans move to Guangzhou and how do they survive in the city, it was difficult not to raise a question about how, then, are they being treated by the local people of Guangzhou. In order to answer this question, the purpose of this study had been established. The primary purpose of this research is to evaluate how local people of Guangzhou perceive African inflow to their city and what mainly caused them to do so. In pursuing answers to the above research question, to facilitate the process of analysis itself and to help readers avoid any confusion that may arise from lack of proper limitations, the scope of this study is limited to the city of Guangzhou for a purpose. Relevant studies deal with African Diasporas in other cities and countries, i.e. Bodomo and Ma (2012) and Mathews et al. (2014). This study,

however, aims to answer how local people of Guangzhou perceive African inflow to their city, thus the scope is limited to the spatial location of Guangzhou.

Methodology and Organization

The methodology deployed in this research mainly includes semi-interviews, questionnaires, and field observations between February 2014 and April 2015. It is composed of a survey including semi-structured questionnaire-based and semi-interviews with African leader, African traders, and a local resident. The preliminary observation was conducted during February 2014.

The questionnaires and interviews were both conducted in English. The targeted interviewees and survey participants all resides in Guangzhou. The semi-interview focused on the traders' life stories, and personal experiences. The questionnaire was mainly designed to gather data about African traders' view of their positions in Guangzhou and relations with local people. A total of 19 questionnaires were collected all in English.

The data collected are mainly from the field observation with interviews and questionnaires and existing literatures on African Diasporas in Guangzhou. For statistics, data were retrieved from various sources including Guangzhou Municipal Statistics Bureau, National Bureau of Statistics China, and Division of Exit & Entry Administration, Public Security of Guangdong Province.

This study is consisted of five parts: introduction, Theoretical Backgrounds, lives of Africans in Guangzhou, Changes and views of local people, and conclusion. First, Chapter I contains research background, research question and scope, literature review, research methodology, and structure of thesis. The core logic and a way of process of this study are thoroughly introduced in this chapter.

Chapter II contains theoretical background on transnational migration and historical background on African migration to Guangzhou, China. This chapter precisely reviews the traditional theories on transnational migration and historical background on why Africans migrate to China. Precise reasons with statistical data are introduced for why, specifically, to Guangzhou do Africans migrate.

Chapter III elaborates on the livelihood of African Diasporas in Guangzhou. Figures including pictures taken from the field observation are

well displayed in this chapter. Findings from the survey and interviews conducted during the field observation can be mostly found in this chapter.

Chapter IV aims to answer the main research question: How are African Diasporas perceived by the local people? The locals have been distinguished to two separate variables; local suppliers and government officials.

Finally Chapter V concludes the research by summarizing and reemphasizing the meaningful findings from the research and aims to provide the answer to the question.

2. Theoretical Backgrounds

Theoretical Background on Transnational Migration

Migration and ethnic enclaves may develop under various reasons. Earlier theories on ethnic enclaves have been devised with particular

reference to the experience of Western economies at the time they were undertaking the processes of industrialization and urbanization with an only limited scale of international production (Zhang, 2008). The five major theories on migration would be neoclassical economics, new economics of migration, dual labor market theory, world system theory, and network theory. These theoretical models have been proposed to explain why international migration begins, although each ultimately seeks to explain the same thing, they employ radically different concepts, assumptions, and frames of reference (Massey et al, 1993). Furthermore, reviewing of these main theories is crucially important to understand which circumstances or reasons ultimately lead Africans to come to Guangzhou.

The first theory called neoclassical economics focuses on differentials in wages and employment conditions between countries, and on migrations costs; it generally conceives of movement as an individual decision for income maximization (Massey et al, 1993, p. 440). This theory may be seen in two different aspects; macro and micro. In macro perspective, international migration is caused by geographic differences in the supply of and demand for labor. Countries with a bigger endowment of labor relative to capital have a low equilibrium market wage, while countries with a limited endowment of labor relative to capital are

characterized by a high market wage, as depicted graphically by the familiar interaction of labor supply and demand curves (Massey et al., 1993, p. 441). As a result, the supply of labor increases in relatively capital-rich country, whereas the supply of labor decreases in relatively capital-poor country and, thus, transnational migration occurs for labor demands. As for the micro perspective, it focuses more on the choices and chances people make and take. As Massey et al. (1993) mentions, individual rational actors decide to migrate because a cost-benefit calculation leads them to expect a positive net return, usually monetary, from movement. Given their abilities and skills, people choose to move to where they can utilize their abilities and skills.

The new economics of migration, on the other hand, considers conditions in a variety of markets, not just labor markets (Massey et al, 1993, p. 442). This theory emphasizes how migration may take place under the family decision rather than individual choices as the micro perspective of neoclassical economics theory argues. While some family members can be assigned economic activities I the local economy, others may be sent to work in foreign labor markets where wages and employment conditions are negatively correlated or weakly correlated with those in the local area (Massey et al., 1993). These conditions may lead a household to deliberately diversify the allocation of household capitals and to send a member of a

household for the economic well-being.

The dual labor market theory views migration as more of a macro-level and argues that international migration is caused by a permanent demand for immigrant labor that is inherent to the economic structure of developed nations (Piore, 1979). According to Piore (1979), immigration is not caused by push factors in sending countries, but by pull factors in receiving countries which is a chronic and unavoidable need for foreign workers. There are many reasons why Piore and others believe that pull factors are key to transnational migration. One of the core reasons is because low wages, unstable conditions, and the lack of reasonable prospects for mobility in the secondary sector make it difficult to attract native workers, who are instead drawn into the primary, capital-intensive sector, where wages are higher, jobs are more secure, and there is a possibility of occupational improvement (Massey, et al., 1993, p. 445). Ultimately, according to the dual labor market theory, international labor migration is mostly demand-driven and is instigated by the structural and social needs of the economy.

According to world system theory, migration is a natural outgrowth of disruptions and dislocations that inevitably occur in the process of capitalist development (Massey et al, 1993, p. 446). As capitalism has

expanded outward from its core in Western Europe, North America, Oceania and Japan, ever-larger portions of the globe and growing shares of the human population have been incorporated into the world market economy, thus, international migration follows the political and economic organization of an expanding global market (Massey, et al., 1993, p. 459). Although the core reasons in personal of household levels are not taken into consideration in this particular theory, in more of a macro perspective, this theory soundly explains a desire for higher profits and greater capital of capitalism firms of core countries.

Last but not least, the network theory suggests that migrant networks are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and nonmigrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin (Massey et al, 1993). This particular theory emphasizes that the main driving force of migration is based on networks which are established through personal ties which declines costs and risks of movement. Difficult processes of preparation of migration can be significantly reduced economically through networks. Networks also may provide warm feelings to newcomers and make them feel home in foreign territory.

Some of the Africans in Guangzhou, China may fall under the

above explained theories. However, as following chapters will painstakingly explain in more details of why Africans choose to come to Guangzhou, majority of Africans come to Guangzhou not to be in the third-tier labor jobs but to be traders of Chinese goods to Africa. The above explained theories, thus, may not be able to fully explain the core reasons for the African diasporas in Guangzhou. China, therefore, provides an interesting case study for African migration, for several reasons. As Lan (2014) argues, unlike in developed countries, where immigrant workers can be readily absorbed into the second and third-tier markets, there are no labor-intensive jobs in China for unskilled Africans because of the large supply of internal migrant labor force in major cities (Lan, 2014). As it will be thoroughly discussed in following chapters, the majority of African diasporas are traders or middlemen between Chinese suppliers and clients in Africa. Although it is purely impossible to find out which circumstances or reasons brought each individual to Guangzhou, what is possible to find out is that above explained theories focus on labor market which Africans in Guangzhou are the least related to.

Literature Review

Studies on African Diasporas in Guangzhou have earned its academic attentions recently. After the first Ministerial Conference 'Forum on China-Africa Cooperation' held in 2000 in Beijing, Sino-African Cooperation, particularly over economic relations, has seen an unprecedented boom (Li et al., 2012). Along with the forum and ongoing economic boom of China, many scholars have investigated the profiles of Africans living in Guangzhou, China. Lyons et al. (2008) examines the social network of African traders in Guangzhou and terms their networks as a 'third tier' of globalization. Li et al. (2008) emphasizes the African enclave in Guangzhou as a new dimension of emblematic transnational space. Li et al. (2009), have systematically recorded the rise of the African community in Xiaobei district and taken it as not only a gateway for bourgeoning Sino-Africa economic linkages, but also a sojourning place where African migrants struggle to survive. Bredeloup (2012) painstakingly describes the functional and economic logics which have contributed to the constitution of African trading posts in China and describe their extension from the Middle East and from Asia.

Zhang (2008) emphasizes the under-side of the global-local nexus with an examination of local efforts, such as place-making and functional changes in neighborhoods. On the basis of an anthropological survey, Yang (2011) linked the larger context of globalization, grassroots and informal economy with Guangzhou's African traders, and expressed a pattern of 'economic globalization from below'. Matthews (2011) states that the clustering of Africans in Guangzhou can be seen as 'low-end globalization,' differentiated by the small size of capital involved, informal economy and illegal transactions. Bertoncelo and Bredeloup (2007) states that African traders represent the forefront of a migration wave and conceptualizes their spaces as 'outposts'.

Above mentioned scholars have thoroughly examined and investigated how inflow of Africans can impact the current status of city and its people. In contrast, Bodomo (2010) created a 'bridge' theory where Guangzhou is perceived as a place that plays a role of bridge between African culture and Chinese culture. Bodomo (2010) sees African inflow to Guangzhou is not only beneficial to both Africans and locals of Guangzhou economically, but it can benefit both Africans and locals of Guangzhou culturally by reciprocal learning of each others' cultures. Along with Bodomo, Li et al. (2012) focuses on the concept of 'transient glocalization'

to depict the importance of local feature of recent globalization, and also emphasizes how Guangzhou is influenced by African diasporas spatially and economically.

Historical Background on African Migration to Guangzhou

Historically, Guangzhou has been one of China's most important foreign trade centers for the last two thousand years (Li et al., 2012). In the early Han Dynasty, Guangzhou already had a reputation as a commercial port, notable for its shipping and shipbuilding industry and during the Tang dynasty sea transport developed rapidly, and Guangzhou became the largest port city in China and one of the world's famous ports (Xu and Yeh, 2003). The decline of the "Silk Road" also contributed to the emergence of the "Silk Road on Water" that took Guangzhou as the starting point linking the city with Southeast Asian and the Middle East. *Shisanhang* (Thirteen Hongs), the famous treaty port in the Qing Dynasty, for instance, made Guangzhou the only city permitted to handle China's export trade (Xu and Yeh, 2013). The legacy of being the 'Mecca of Chinese trade port' continued

ever since the above mentioned eras and it is still considered to be the center of trade for Chinese trade. As Li et al. (2012) mentions, Guangzhou kept its status as the leading city in opening and absorbing foreign interactions (Li et al., 2012).

'China-Africa,' a term now very widely used, epitomizes a recent development of Sino-Africa relations that has never been noted (Beuret and Serge, 2009). The Chinese Export Commodities Fair, also known as the Canton Fair since 1949, can be a great example of Guangzhou being a leading city in opening and absorbing foreign interactions. The location of this Fair played a significant role in bringing African diasporas to Guangzhou. Concerning the major products exported, four types predominate: cell batteries, motorcycles, garments and clothing accessories, and steel products (Li et al., 2009). After the first Ministerial Conference 'Forum on China-Africa Cooperation' held in 2000 in Beijing, Sino-African Cooperation, particularly over economic relations, has seen an unprecedented boom (Li et al., 2012). China's Africa policy shifted as it realized the importance of having African support not only in multilateral forums, but also in meeting its expanding demands for Africa's abundant energy and natural resources (Li et al., 2012). Thus, from 2002-2005, following the establishment of the 'Forum on China-Africa Cooperation' in

2000, a total of 130 political visits that involved top Sino-Africa leaderships have been noted and especially in August 2004, the promulgation of the 'Measures for the Administration of the Examination and Approval of the Permanent Residence in China of Foreigners' symbolized the opening of China's closed door to immigration (Li et al., 2012).

Not benefiting from the global shift of manufacturing lines driven by the new international division of labor since the late 1970s, African has experienced prolonged decline in manufacturing sectors (Subramanian and Matthijs, 2007). Compared to Western products, inexpensive Chinese consumer products are attractive for the African customers whose incomes on average are lower than those of the Chinese and purchasing power is limited (Zhang, 2008). Consequently, the African market is being flooded with cheap Chinese products (Shelton, 2001; Alden, 2005).

As a gateway city and an economic center of South China, Guangzhou has long been one of the most important commercial and foreign trade cities of China and is now in the forefront of China's global integration (Xu and Yeh, 2003). As mentioned several times, currently Guangzhou is one of the most open and fastest growing Chinese cities that supply a large amount of diversified commodities and products for international trade, though Guangzhou is not in the global city roster by any

set of recognizable criteria in the world city literature (Zhang, 2008). Furthermore, because of its geographic propinquity to Hong Kong and driven mainly by Hong Kong investment, the Pearl River Delta has become one of the largest manufacturing clusters in the world (Zhang, 2008).

While Chinese trade with Africa can date back several decades, today's amount and pace are unprecedented (Broadman, 2007). One result is growing demand not only for the import of natural resources which are traditional African exports, but also of the export of a large stock of diversified light manufactured products (Zhang, 2008). Guangzhou's export and import to Africa increase from below USD500 million in 1996, to about USD3.4 billion in 2010 (Guangzhou Statistical Bureau, 2011). (See table 1 for details)

Table 1 China's total trade to Africa, 1996-2013 (in USD million)

YEAR	TOTAL TRADE
1996	4,030
1997	5,670
1998	5.535
1999	6.484
2000	10,598
2001	10,799
2002	12,390
2003	18,500
2004	29,466
2005	39,700
2006	55,460
2007	73,656
2008	107,206
2009	91,065
2010	127,046
2011	166,322
2012	198,561
2013	210,254

Source: National Bureau of Statistics of China (www.stats.gov.cn)

As the above numbers demonstrate, China is a considerably important trade partner for African countries both in imports and exports. Trade volume between China and African nations jumped over 1100% to USD 10.5 billion during the 1990s (Zhang, 2008, p. 386), and the volume has magnified about 20 times since 2000, and totaled around USD 210 billion in 2013 (National Bureau of Statistics of China). While exports from

Africa to China were primarily natural resources such as oil, lumber and mineral products, China exported a variety of manufactured goods, including electrical appliances, garment and apparel, footwear, and household utensils (Zhang, 2008).

Judging from its intake of FDI and volume of international trade, it should come as no surprise that Guangzhou's economy has become more interdependent in global markets (Zhang, 2008). This increase takes place when the PRD, the immediate hinterland of Guangzhou, has been transformed from an agrarian economy into a site of factories and a main source of exporting manufacturing goods (Enright et al., 2003).

This export-oriented industrial transformation creates an intriguing opportunity to attract the inflow of foreign diasporas, who try to step into China's expanding exports (Zhang, 2008). Different from what has been expressed by the traditional literatures on globalization and immigration, the five major theories indicated previously, the most interesting aspect here is that the majority of new arrivals, as pragmatic players in the global economy, do not come as demand-driven professionals or low-paid workers, but as supply-driven petty traders (Zhang, 2008). In Contrast with transnational migrants in the segmented labor markets of the US, the rise of a transnational migration in Guangzhou is largely attributed to the 'world

factory' status of mainland China (Li et al., 2012). To sum up, as explained above, there are mainly three important factors which brought Africans to Guangzhou and those are historical reputation of Guangzhou, the Chinese Export Commodities Fair since 1949, and the downfall of African manufacturing sectors in the late 1970s and the simultaneous rise of Guangzhou as the city where supplies a great amount of diversified commodities and products for international trade.

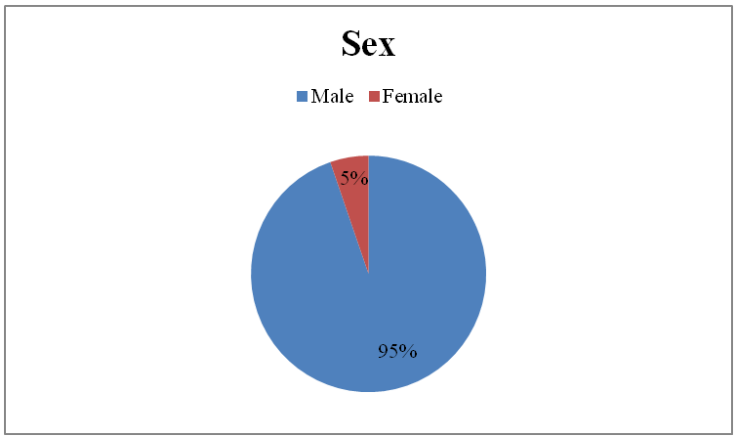
3. Livelihood of Africans in Guangzhou, China

Demographics and basic information on Africans in Guangzhou

According to the Guangzhou Municipal Statistics Bureau, the number of visitors staying over-night in Guangzhou had reached 2.3 million in 2009 and the number of African tourists had risen from 6,300 in 2000 to

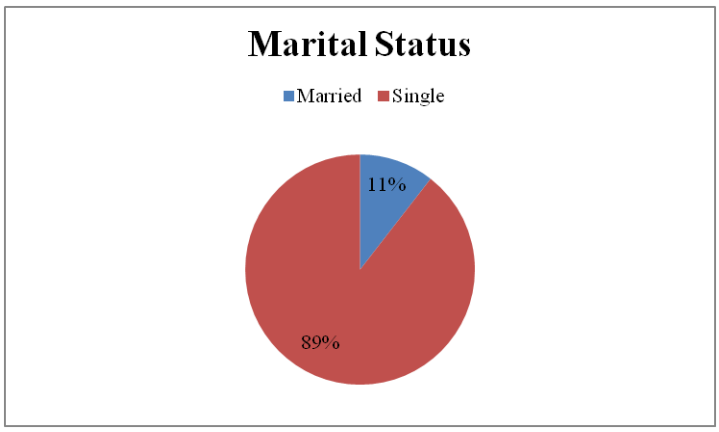
63,600 in 2009, increasing by 39% per year, far outstripping the growth rates of visitors from any other area (Li et al., 2012, p. 63). According to Bodomo (2012), the top five groups are Nigerians, Senegalese, Malians, Guineans and Ghanaians. African migrants can be commonly found in two commercial areas in the city: the Xiaobei area, where most of the French-speaking Muslims gather, and the Sanyuanli Area, frequented by most of the English-speaking Christians (Lan, 2014). The results of the survey conducted in 2015 can elaborate more on the demographics and basic information on Africans living in Guangzhou (refer to graphs 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 below).

Graph 1. Sex Ratio of Survey Participants



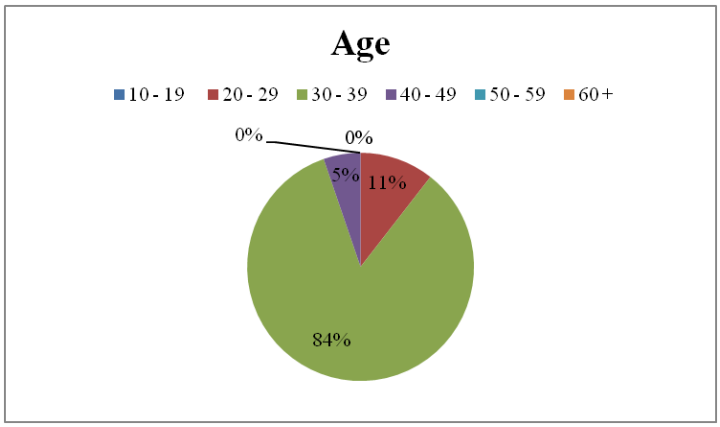
Source: Survey (2015)

Graph 2. Marital Status of Survey Participants



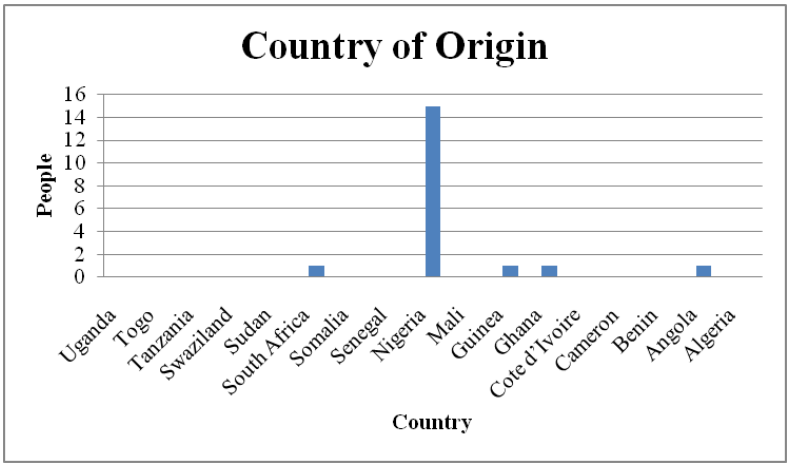
Source: Survey (2015)

Graph 3. Age Distribution of Survey Participants



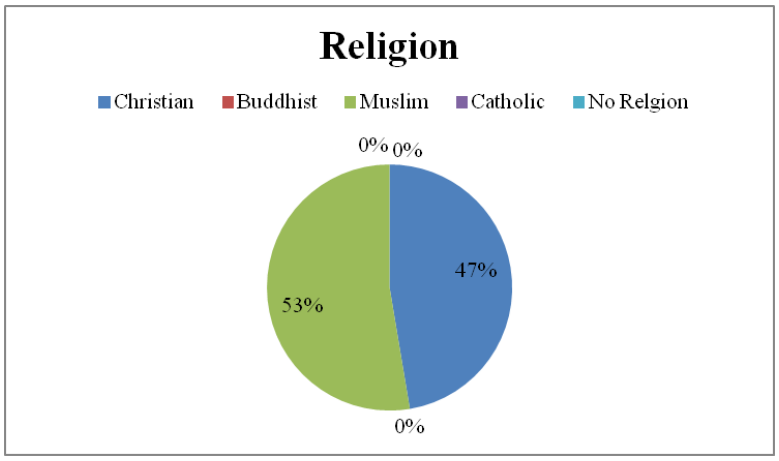
Source: Survey (2015)

Graph 4. Countries of Origin of Survey Participants



Source: survey (2015)

Graph 5. Religions of Survey Participants



Source: Survey (2015)

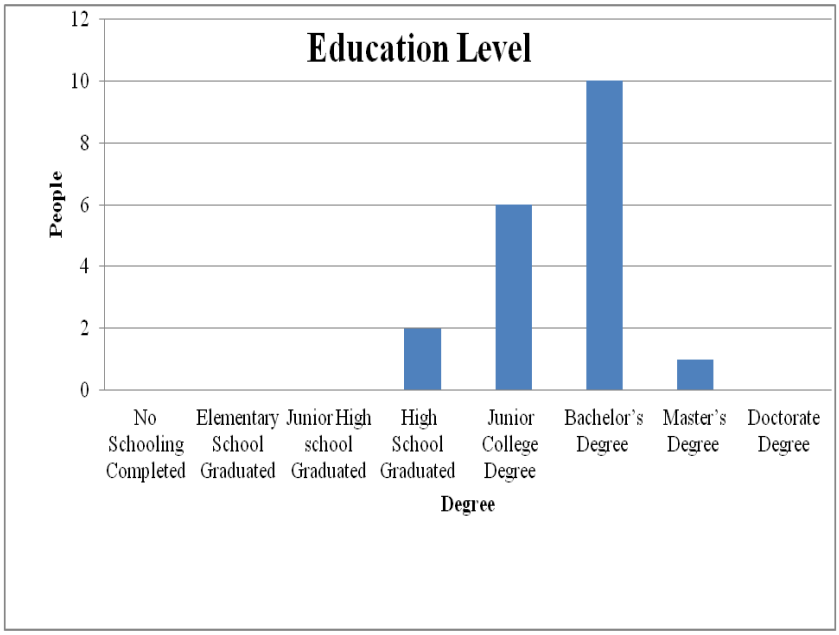
The figures shown in above five graphs are the results gathered from the survey conducted in 2015. 19 Africans who currently reside in Guangzhou have participated in the survey and of them, 95% were men and 89% were single. A similar finding to Bodomo's work on 2012 could be found in the 'Country of Origin' sector where 15 out of 19 participants were from Nigeria. 53% of the participants were Muslim and 47% considered them as Christian.

What do most Africans do in Guangzhou?

Portes (2000) mentions which grassroots cross-border activities generated a new wave of 'globalization from below.' Among them, transnational traders achieved success in entrepreneurial activities through grasping the advantages created by national boundaries and through culturally linked networks within ethnic communities (Zhou and Logan, 1989). A growing literature sheds light upon Chinese diasporas involved in the Sino-African trading in African cities yet the counter flow of African traders to China has been less studied, but recently is making a significant impact on African economies and societies, and is creating new changes in

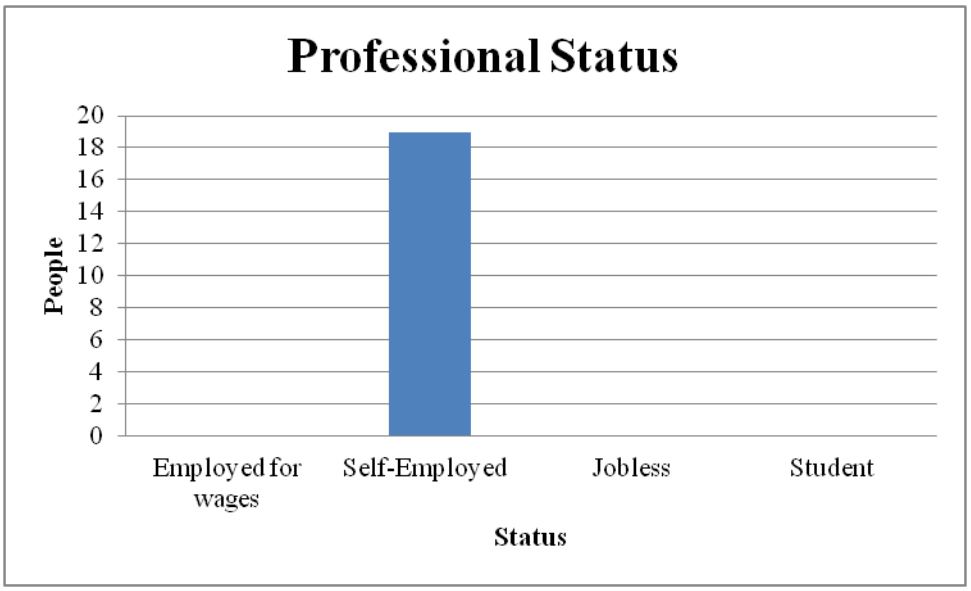
Chinese cities (Li et al., 2012). In short, there are generally two types of African traders in Guangzhou: itinerant traders who travel frequently between China and Africa, and resident traders who are based in China (Lyons et al., 2012). As Li et al. (2012) notes in their study, the rise of the 'chocolate city' has been mainly attributed to the rise of Sino-Africa trading and the efforts of local entrepreneurs. Findings from survey conducted in 2015 demonstrate that Africans in Guangzhou are well-educated businessmen (See Graphs 6 and 7).

Graph 6. Education Level of Survey Participants



Source: Survey (2015)

Graph 7. Professional Status of Survey Participants



Source: Survey (2015)

As above graphs illustrate, Africans in Guangzhou are by no means refugee Diasporas nor labor migrants. From the field observations made in both 2014 and 2015, majority of Africans in Guangzhou were to be found as people engaging in trading Chinese products to Africa for a living (See figure 1). As Zhang (2008) mentions, some had only recently left their home countries and some were itinerant travelers who had stayed in other countries for years before moving to Guangzhou. In the legal sense, a majority of Africans seen in the Guangzhou were not migrants but transients

(Zhang, 2008).

Figure 1. Traders in Guangzhou

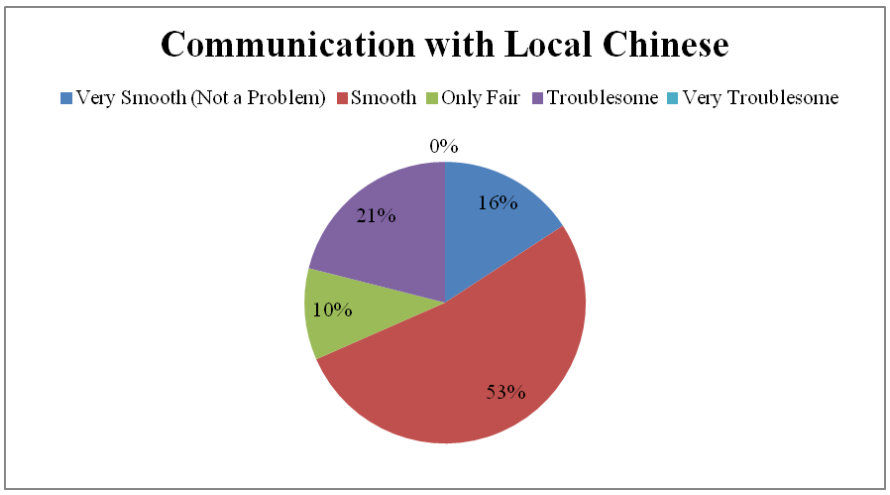


Source: Author (2014)

In Guangzhou, the significant share of China's augmented exports to the African market was carried out by a number of members of the African diasporas, who were in the conventional wisdom not the business professionals specializing in trading one or several commodities,

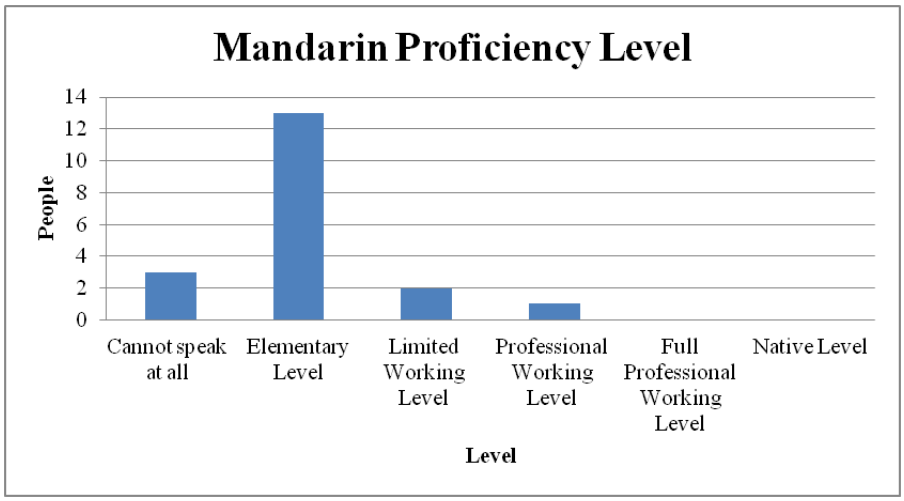
staying in luxurious hotels or decent apartments, requesting quotations from credential agents in telecommunications/IT-equipped offices, negotiating prices and signing contracts in comfortable conference rooms or over banquet tables (Zhang, 2008, p. 387). It is simply ubiquitous to find African traders bargaining with Chinese retailers with broken English, Cantonese, or universal body languages. Both an African trader and a Chinese retailer holding calculator in their hands and bargaining the price and paying with cash can be widely found in the wholesale centers in Guangzhou. As the first picture of Figure 1 illustrates, African traders in Guangzhou simply seem to have no problem communication with the local business partners. The findings from survey conducted in 2015 affirm that African in Guangzhou face relatively small amount of communication difficulties with the local vendors and business partners (See Graph 8, 9 and 10).

Graph 8. Smoothness of Communication with Local Chinese



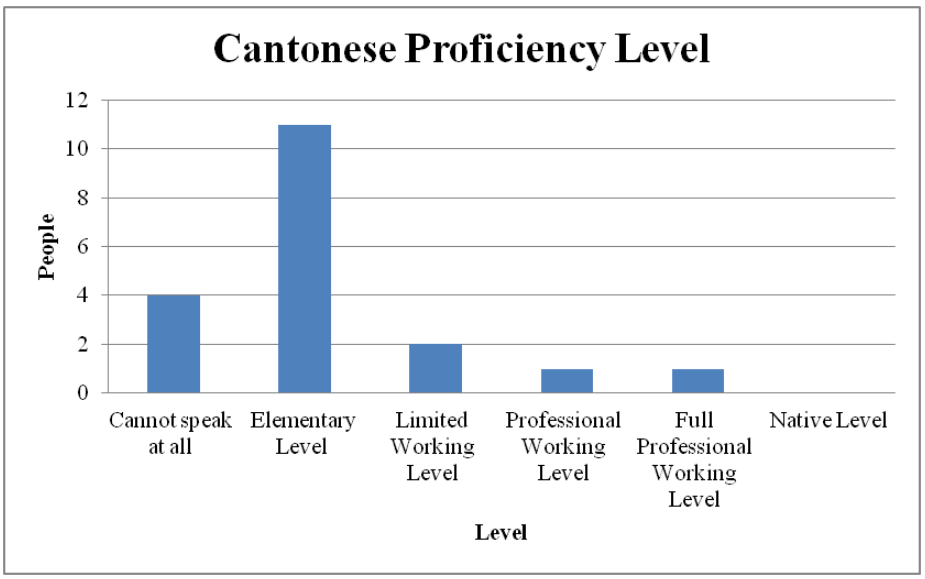
Source: Survey (2015)

Graph 9. Mandarin Proficiency Level of Survey Participants



Source: Survey (2015)

Graph 10. Cantonese Proficiency Level of Survey Participants



Source: Survey (2015)

Rather than being experts in a single trade, many Africans tried different merchandises that were expected to be profitable (Zhang, 2008). To Chinese eyes, representatives of those African diasporas carried images of merchants, petty traders, or dealers (Zhang, 2008). They were only interested in making a quick profit from their portable and liquid businesses, behaving more or less like the middleman minorities depicted in the literature on ethnic entrepreneurship (Zhou, 2004, p. 1062). As put by one local Chinese informant,

…they come to buy everything. Some of them speak Chinese very well but some don't. But it is no problem. (Interview, Ming, Guangzhou, 2015)

As shown above, the results from survey and the interviewee's comment reaffirm that the traditional theories on transnational migration are not applicable to describe the African traders in Guangzhou. Africans are coming to and residing in Guangzhou to trade.

Where do Africans reside?

Before looking into the locations of enclaves of Africans in Guangzhou, it is important to understand the historical and background of the formation of ethnic enclaves in urban China. The formation of ethnic enclaves in urban China is driven by the global shift of international production and the interaction between global forces and locally-bounded attributes (Zhang, 2008). He emphasizes that its proposition is that the ethnic enclave should be conceptualized as both part of a global system and

a locally-constructed place. He also mentions that understanding the African enclave in Guangzhou has to make reference to the growing Sino-African trade in recent years (Zhang, 2008). While early ethnic enclaves were found mainly near downtown areas (Jeong, 2011), today ethnic groups tend to reside in suburban areas (Fong et al. 2005, p. 224). Functionally, ethnic enclaves, possibly but not necessarily existing in economically disadvantaged neighborhoods and endowed with a host of ethnicity-related resources, serve as shelters for new migrants in the host society (Portes, 1995; Fong et al., 2005). It is also important to note that while the terms such as ethnic cluster, ghetto, ethnic place, ethnic community, ethnic enclave, and ethnic settlement are employed in the literature to connote various types of ethnic congregation at the neighborhood level, the definitional boundaries across types of ethnic congregation are often blurred in reality (Zhang, 2008, p. 390).

The formation of an ethnic enclave is conceptualized as social and spatial segregation from native majority, either by socioeconomic necessity (as a result of institutionalized exclusion or low-income status) or by preferential choice (as a result of attraction of an area's ethnic infrastructure or a desire of mutual support) (Knox and Pinch, 2014). It is affected by a bundle of spatially-based attributes and land uses, along with the

development of ethnic institutional infrastructure and services that are tailored to the specific needs of ethnic groups (Portes, 1995; Alba et al., 1997).

In Guangzhou, ethnic enclaves were organized on the basis of national origins and occupations of foreign diasporas (Zhang, 2008). Different ethnic groups were not spatially concentrated in only one single location but several parts of the city which could be found in the old Central Business District (CBD), new CBD, and suburban areas (Zhang, 2008). Generally speaking, two types of ethnic enclaves can be identified, one consisting of transnational professional expatriates and the other composing of the diasporic traders (Zhang, 2008). The two types of ethnic enclave differed very much in their build environments but their locations shared one commonality: propinquity of residence to sources of employment or businesses within walking distances (Zhang, 2008). The locations of ethnic enclaves were only a couple blocks away from their businesses or workplaces. International level executives of multinational corporations, were found in high-class apartment complexes al elites, who relocated their own factories and businesses in China or who were top- in Tianhe district, the city's new CBD in the northeaster edge of the build-up area, as well as in Panyu district, the southern suburb of the city (Zhang, 2008).

Although no specific location is completely filled with a specific ethnicity, in Guangzhou, the largest and best known ethnic enclave, where Africans “piled up” in several neighborhoods, was found in the downtown area of Yuexiu district near the city’s administrative center (Dyer, 2008). The African enclave was composed of several adjacent residential neighborhoods and was centered on three big boxes, multi-storey trading emporiums, known as the Tianxiu Building, the Xiushan Building, and the Guolong Building, with a radius or around 3 km (Zhang, 2008). Historically these areas were areas of deterioration pending redevelopment that seldom materialized (Zhang, 2008). In the period of planned economy, those neighborhoods were structured around former work-unit compounds, a typical design that comprised the mixture of industrial and social areas in socialist residential planning and most houses there were built in the late 1970s and early 1980s and were low-rise work-unit owned apartments (French and Hamilton, 1979). The low quality of those apartments suppressed the rent level and attracted by the good location and affordable rent of these neighborhoods, the African diaspora traders quickly flocked to the old apartments “abandoned” by locals (Zhang, 2008).

Figure 2. African Enclaves in Guangzhou



Source: Author (2014)

As pictures in Figure 2 demonstrate, these residential spaces are neither desirable nor attractive to live. Migrants typically occupy space 'abandoned' by locals, colonizing public spaces for housing, work, or leisure (Murdie and Borgegard, 1998; Olmos and Garrido, 2007). As mentioned above, foreign elites tend to cluster near the new CBD where the new high-rise buildings are abundant. On the other hand, Africans congregate in poorer areas. The reason behind this is because the locations are relatively more convenient for transport to the port and manufacturing

centers, and providing cheap accommodation (Li et al., 2012).

As mentioned above, to most Africans, business life is often uncertain and profitability is elusive and to make even the minimum profit, they have to undertake comparison shopping to search for profitable items from a broad range of merchandises provided by numerous suppliers in various wholesale markets (Zhang, 2008). An implication of business operation under this paradigm is frequent commutes, involving considerable time and expense (Zhang, 2008). Such traders therefore have practical difficulty in accepting residence distant from trading centers and for the African diaspora traders, only neighborhoods combining low rents with proximity to their business may e relevant, to save search costs and allowing them to use time more efficiently (Zhang, 2008, p. 388).

4. Changes and Views

Spatial, Economic, and Cultural changes created by inflow of Africans

The emergence of the African enclave in Guangzhou was the evolution of spatial dynamics at the neighborhood level and represented local reaction to changing market opportunities brought by globalization (Zhang, 2008). It was the market reforms of China after the late 1970s that brought opportunities to Xiaobei area, when farmlands began to decrease, high-rise construction appeared and tertiary sectors developed (Li et al., 2012). Yuexiu district, where the African enclave has emerged, is the city's oldest CBD and this district had a historical popularity in trade with many well-known shopping streets selling a rich variety of products (Zhang, 2008). During the socialist period, when Guangzhou was transformed into a production city for non-consumer goods from a commercial and trading port, the district was densely packed with factories and low-rise residential apartment blocks around factories to accommodate workers and their family members (Zhang, 2008).

Since economic reforms, the district has restructured back to a conglomeration of consumption-based activities and the implementation of urban land reform in 1987 discouraged industrial developments in the district as the land value was recognized as an important source of city revenue (Wu, 1998, p. 1086). Market forces drove factories out to the

outlying areas where land was much cheaper (Zhang, 2008). However the investment fever resulted in over-supply of commercial space and a notable portion of newly-built space became under-occupied because of a saturated property market (Zhang, 2008).

The appearance of African diaspora traders, who attempted to tap the huge supply of cheap products made in the PRD, was perceived as resource for revitalizing neighborhood commerce (Zhang, 2008). Along with the progress of land expropriation by local governments after 1980, the increase of the real estate investments in the 1990s, and so on, the landscape of Xiaobei has been completely transformed (Li et al., 2012, p. 56). According to Li et al. (2012), Xiaobei was mainly composed of deteriorating housing in which investors had no interest prior to the 1990s. The influx of Africans, however, revitalized the area. After 1997, Xiaobei became a major destination for migrants from Southeast Asia cities such as Hong Kong, Bangkok, and Kuala Lumpur, which had been hit by the Financial Crisis (Li et al., 2012, p. 56). Foreign language posters, some in broken language or misspelled, are seen ubiquitously throughout this area and foreign languages can be heard in every corner of the area (See Figure 3).

Figure 3. Foreign Signs in Guangzhou



Source: Author (2014)

Guangzhou currently has 485 wholesale centers of various commodities, involving almost all fields of industries and with billions of annual turnover (Guangzhou Municipal Government, 2006). Canaan market (See Figure 4), constructed in the early 1990s, was on the point of being demolished after its unsuccessful debut in the leather business, however, the booming economy of the 'Chocolate City' brought Canaan a second life when its jeans-wear business for African traders opened in 2003 (Li et al.,

2012). This strategy turned out to be successful, as Canaan soon became one of the major market places of Guangzhou, and the total amount of its business reached USD 10 million in 2007 (Li et al., 2012, p. 58). All these gradually accumulated endeavors exhibit the discerning insights of local states to capture the transient opportunities offered by globalization and the interactions among African traders and local entrepreneurs as such show an effective modality of glocalization beyond transnational companies. Numerous examples can reveal the revitalization of wholesale centers and market places in Guangzhou. A group of new market places opened up in Sanyuanli, such as Jinlongpan (February 2005), Yulong Clothing Market (See Figure 4) (May 2005), Tian'en (August 2005), Tangqi (July 2006), and New Tian'en (December 2006) and several new high-rise complexes appeared in Xiaobei, such as the African Trade Center, Taochi Building, and Xiushan Building (Li et al., 2012). These buildings currently are comprised of mix-use space with commerce, offices, and residence all at one site and the place for Chinese suppliers to display their merchandises to buyers from all over the world (Zhang, 2008). Only along the short distance of 1.7km Guangyuanxi Road in Sanyuanli, a total of 25 hotels, 28 restaurants, 30 markets, 13 printing shops, and 12 travel agencies were found in 2008 (Li et al., 2012). And these trading emporiums were deliberately labeled as a

spectacular symbol of the internationalization marketplace to lure supplier and shoppers (Zhang, 2008, p. 391).

Figure 4. Yulong Clothing Market, Canaan Market



Source: Author (2014)

Perhaps the most significant change that the Africans brought to the markets in Guangzhou will be the fact that many shops on the site transformed their business from local-oriented into alien-oriented

(Zhang, 2008, p. 388). One notable aspect of the changes brought to Guangzhou by the African traders, along with the transformation of local-oriented to alien-oriented, is numerous African restaurants alongside the Xiaobei road and Sanyuanli (See Figure 5).

Figure 5. African Restaurants and African Style Foods



Source: Author (2014)

Zhang (2008, p. 388) mentions that African styled foods were offered in mix of restaurants and cafes inside the trading emporiums and their immediate surrounds. Another notable aspect found during the field observation was the numerous shipping arrangement agencies alongside the streets mentioned above. Numerous agents proliferated around the trading emporiums to provide various services from packaging, transportation, shipping arrangements to visa services (See Figure 6).

Figure 6. Shipping arrangement agencies in Guangzhou



Source: Author (2015)

Religion also plays a crucial role in the transformation of local-oriented culture to alien-oriented one. As Graph 5 illustrates, Africans in Guangzhou are strongly tied to religion. 53% of the survey participants recognized themselves as Muslim and the presence of Muslims in the city is not solely concentrated to the African traders but to Hui Chinese as well. Hui People, well-known as Muslim Chinese, can be easily found in Guangzhou, especially in the places where Africans are considered to be "piled-up". The increasing number of African diasporas to Guangzhou not only had an impact on spatial and economic development of the city, it also brought about the increasing number of internal migration of Hui People to Guangzhou. According to The Guangzhou Municipal Statistics Bureau, an estimated population of Han Chinese residing in Guangzhou was of 9,803,149 in 2000 and 12,489,074 in 2010, an increase of 27.4%. Whereas the estimated population of Hui Chinese residing in Guangzhou was of 9,168 in 2000 and 14,032 in 2010, an increase of 53.1%. Within those Hui Chinese residing in Guangzhou, in 2000, 29.4% were located in Yuexiu District and Baiyun District, where 100% of survey participated Africans resided in, and the number of Hui Chinese residing in the two districts has increased to 49.5% in 2010 (The Guangzhou Municipal Statistics Bureau). The data can surely reflect the change of internal migration based on

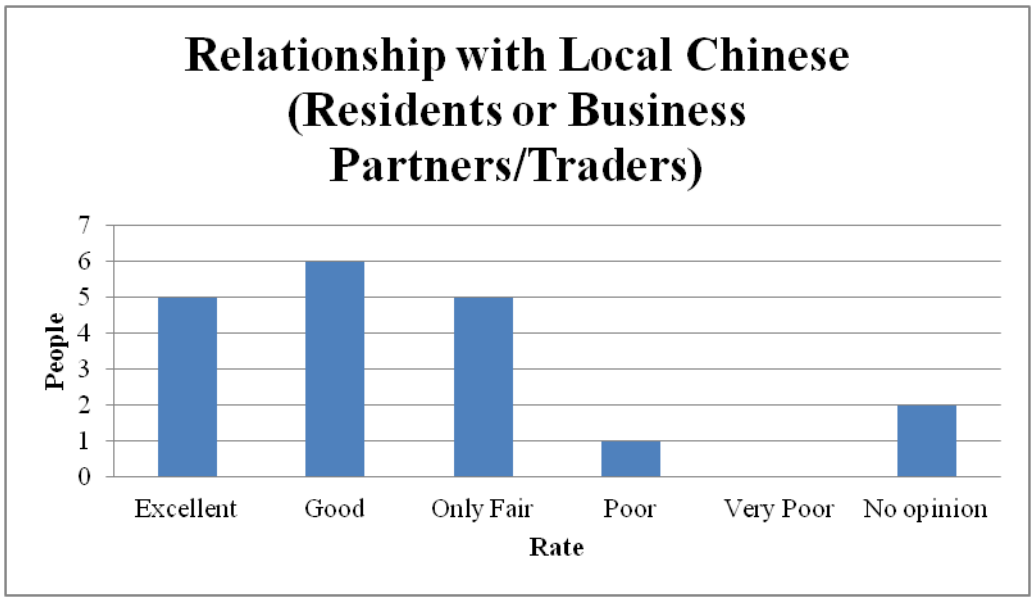
religion driven by the increasing number of African diasporas to Guangzhou.

Thus, development of so-called ‘Chocolate City’ profoundly generated some positive transformations to the city and its people functionally, spatially, economically, and culturally. As Bodomo (2012) mentions, not only are Africans getting more proficient in Chinese languages and cultures, but many of the Chinese traders in Tianxiu and Canaan markets are learning to speak a form of English that is recognizably African English. Therefore, the result of transformation should be perceived as shared efforts of both Africans bringing their economic and cultural assets to the city and local people’s adopting alien culture and efforts of place-making under globalization.

The View on African Traders by the Local Guangzhou Citizens

Although there were some signs indicating that the local people did not want the number of African tenants to increase, by and large, the survey conducted in 2015 reveals that both Africans and Chinese local suppliers tend to be less troubled by each other.

Graph 11. Relationship with Local Chinese Citizens



Source: Survey (2015)

As the survey result above reveals, the relationship with local Chinese residents or business partners/traders is considered positive. As previous chapters painstakingly demonstrated the development and positive transformation of the city economically, spatially, and culturally, the local Chinese seem to care less about the presence of African diasporas in their city. As put by one informant,

...Africans sometimes are hard to encounter when they don't understand what I say. But usually they are good people. Not all Africans are noisy. They bring money to us so they are good. They bargain too much sometimes but it's okay. They usually don't make trouble. I can make money because Africans come to buy at my shop. Body language is fine and Africans understand "Xing" or "Bu Xing" (Interview, Ming, Guangzhou, 2015)

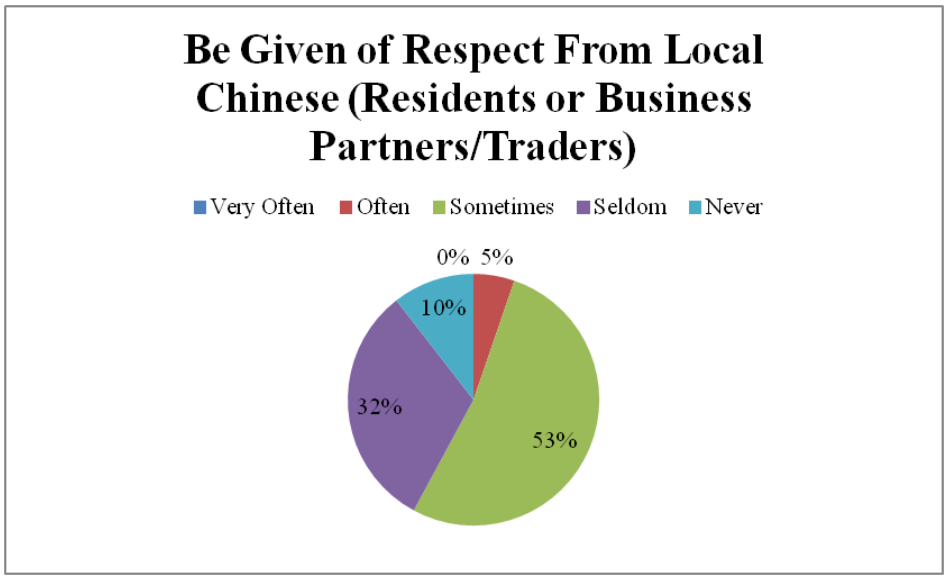
As put by another informant who is highly successful Nigerian businessman in Guangzhou,

...And in Guangzhou the African community has good cooperation with the local people in Guangzhou and even understanding the body and business language. Even today they sharing the culture and even build up the African-Chinese family today and their children are becoming adult today in China. (Interview, Manuel, Guangzhou, 2015)

As the interviewees' statements illustrate, although there are some communicational difficulties, both parties are able to speak and understand basic business phrases. As the result of Graph 8 shows, communication with

each other does not seem to bother both parties too much. During the field observations from 2014 to 2015, signs of good relationship between the two parties could be easily found in infamous marketplaces such as Canaan Market or Yulong Clothing Plaza. As Graph 12 demonstrates, 58% of respondents of the survey received respect from the local Chinese citizens within their stay in Guangzhou.

Graph 12. Respect given by local Chinese Citizens



Source: Survey (2015)

As the result of Graph 12 displays, more than half of the survey participants received some degree of respect from the local Chinese residents or business partners/traders. This, to some extent, reveals that the

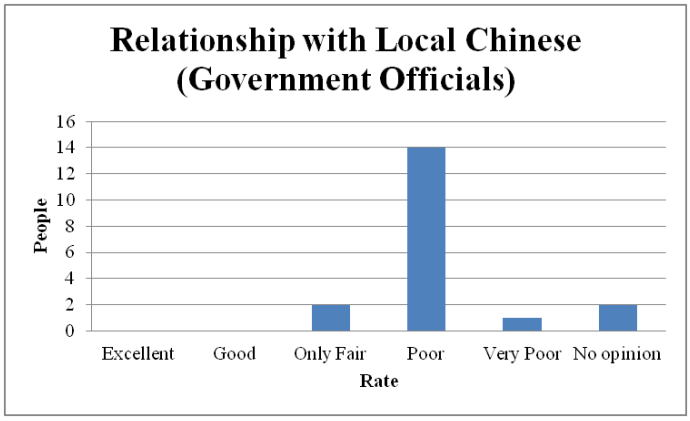
relationship between the two parties is considered to be optimistic. As Bredeloup (2012) notes, A number of Chinese residents have benefited economically from the arrival of the Arabic, Indian, and later African itinerant storekeepers by offering commercial infrastructures (specialized malls, stores, rent of offices, freight services, and restaurants) and hotel facilities.

In sum, the local Chinese's view on African traders in Guangzhou can be seen as positive. According to the survey conducted in 2015 and field observations from 2014 to 2015, the main reason for positive perspective on Africans by local Chinese residents or business partners/traders is the economic benefits Africans bring to the community. Although some local Chinese view them as noisy and thus seldom give them respect, because of the economic benefits they bring to the local community, local Chinese seemed to be able to cope with the rare and insignificant noises made by African traders in the city. As noted earlier in previous chapters, like it or not, influx of aliens lead the local people to learn new cultures. As the new cultures seem to bring no harm to the local community, rather bring economic benefits, the relationship between the local Chinese and African diasporas could not be unconstructive.

The View on African Traders by the Government Officials of Guangzhou

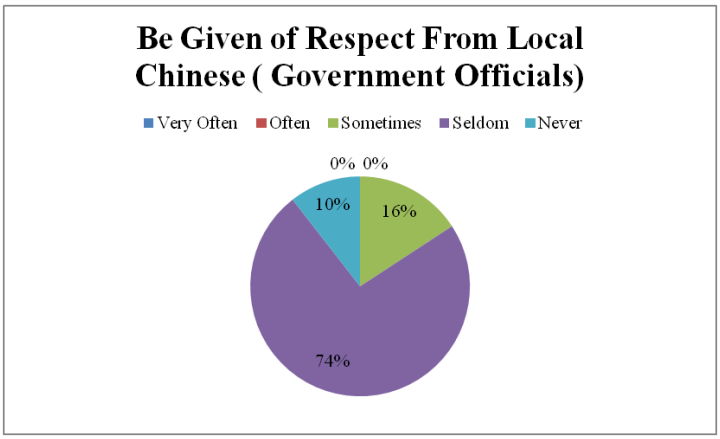
The results from the survey on the view of African traders by the government officials in Guangzhou are extremely dissimilar to the results from the survey on the view of African traders by the local Chinese. As Graph 13 and 14 demonstrate, clearly dissimilar results were found where the only thing that was changed was the object of the question: the government officials rather than the local Chinese.

Graph 13. Relationship with Government Officials



Source: Survey (2015)

Graph 14. . Respect given by Government Officials



Source: Survey (2015)

As above Graph 13 and 14 illustrate, 0% of the survey participants considered their relationship with the government officials to be good or better. 79% of the survey participants considered their relationship with the government officials to be poor or very poor and only 5% of the survey participants have stated that their relationship with the government officials is only fair. Along with the result from Graph 13, not surprisingly, the result from Graph 14 also demonstrates the irritated view of Africans by the government officials in Guangzhou. About 84% of the survey participants answered that they were seldom or never given respect from the government officials. These radical and poor results needed to be examined and some

historical events could elaborate the current relationship between the African diasporas and the government officials in Guangzhou.

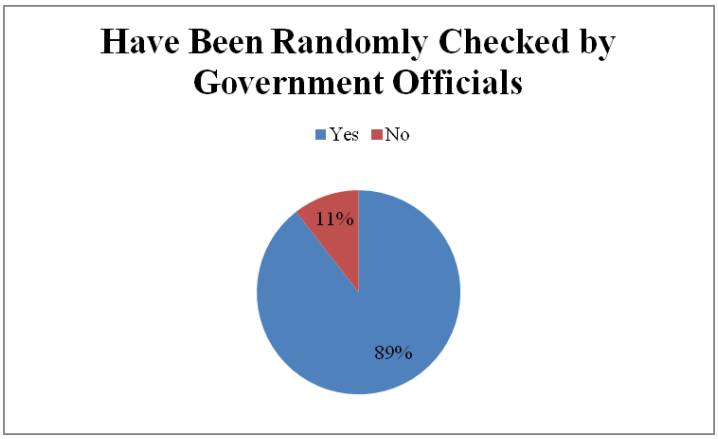
Compared to other Chinese cities, Guangzhou authorities are also noted for their severe immigration control policies toward African migrants (Bodomo and Ma, 2010). Recent history reveals how the officials view the aliens residing in Guangzhou. In 2000, the public security authority issued 10,893 residence certificates for these foreigners (excluding people from Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan) who intended to reside in Guangdong province for over one year (Division of Exit & Entry Administration, Public Security of Guangdong Province, 2007). In 2002, the number increased to 33,925 and by 2007, there were about 50,000 foreigners regularly residing in Guangdong Province (those staying over one year), and over 450,000 foreign temporary residents from 115 countries (Zhang, 2008, p. 389). Many chose to stay in the two largest and prosperous cities: Guangzhou and Shenzhen, which together housed over 95% of the foreign population and the police fined and regularly deported those who were out of compliance with immigration regulations. According to the figures from the Guangzhou police and in 2006, there were over 3000 foreigners who were found to be guilty of illegal entry, illegal stay, or illegal working and 131 were deported (Zhang, 2008, p. 389).

After the reports of several cases of African-related crimes in Guangzhou, a state-owned newspaper 'Guangzhou Daily' made a report, 'The Full Record of Guangzhou Black Tribes' on December 13, 2007, and underscored the rising problems with the 'Chocolate City': drugs, AIDs, underground markets, illegal immigration, and so on (Li et al., 2012, p. 63). Along with the news article, Guangzhou had been criticized over African immigration issues, for being weak, maintaining unreliable statistics, weak enforcement of tenancy registration, unfastened control over the housing market for foreigners, insufficient cooperation between government bodies, and shortage of resources for law enforcement (Li et al., 2012, p. 64). Responding to these pressures, Guangzhou's municipal government began to implement a series of attempts at regulation, with the opportunity provided by the 2008 Beijing Olympics, and then the 2010 Asian Games, these mega-events providing local government with the needed legitimacy to conduct radical reforms (Li et al., 2012, p. 67).

Another transformation was entrenched in order to enhance its management of foreigner space. The local state undertook a new strategy of so-called 'accumulated residence management' (*Zizhong Juzhu Guanli*) to 'accumulate' foreigners into commodity housing communities, i.e. formal residential areas, rather than urban villages or other informal housing areas

– the ‘non-state space’. Together with the involvement of other official agencies such as the industry and commerce bureau, the foreign trade and economic cooperation bureau, and the bureau of health, regular and intensive inspections of local police started to concentrate on the restaurants, hotels, ships, and markets in the enclaves (Li et al., 2012). In this sense, 2007 was a turning point, as policemen started to inspect the visas of Africans either on the street or in their houses in the ‘Chocolate City’ every two months and the inspection destabilized the city (Li et al., 2012, p. 68). As Graph 15 illustrates, 89% of Africans in Guangzhou had been randomly checked by Government officials.

Graph 15. Random inspection received from Government Officials



Source: Survey (2015)

These intense regulations and ‘random’ inspection has caused a serious protest, for the very first time in the recent history of African inflow in Guangzhou. More than 200 Africans protested outside a local police station and a Nigerian died from jumping out of a building to escape police who were making checks of African passports (Qiu, 2009). The article vividly describes the irritating scene with angered, harassed, and horrified Africans by the frequent passport check in their neighborhoods in Guangzhou.

Not surprisingly, during the field observations from 2014 to 2015, questions regarding government officials were quickly turned off by the survey participants and no further questions could be asked because they seemed overwhelmingly uncomfortable. The survey results give one of the clearest indications that the African community in Guangzhou is receiving rather irritated views from the local government officials and it is mainly due to the media’s perpetuation of Africans as illegal migrants who cause some serious social issues such as drug trafficking or AIDs which ultimately leads to a destabilized city. Contrasting view of Africans in Guangzhou is caused mainly because the fundamental perception differs from the two distinguished groups; the local Chinese residents or business partners/traders perceive them as people who bring economic benefit to the community, whereas the government officials perceive them as people who

bring social disorder to the community.

Conclusion

As numerous scholars began to study on African diasporas in Guangzhou and valuable findings are being established on why Africans move to Guangzhou and how do they survive in the city, it was difficult not to raise a question about how, then, are they being treated by the local people of Guangzhou. In order to answer this question, this research evaluates how local people of Guangzhou perceive African inflow to their city and what mainly caused them to do so. In pursuing answers to the above research question, this study painstakingly provides the theoretical background on transnational migration, to provide how current Africans traders in Guangzhou do not necessarily follow the traditional grounds of labor-driven transnational migration. As the results from the survey conducted in 2015 and interviews conducted in 2014 and 2015 reveal, the majority of African diasporas are traders or middlemen between Chinese suppliers and clients in Africa. In addition, historical background on African

migration to Guangzhou is explained to show why specifically they mostly come to Guangzhou. Three main factors could be identified for increasing number of Africans diasporas to Guangzhou; historical reputation Guangzhou as “The Silk Road of Sea”, the Chinese Export Commodities Fair since 1949, and the downfall of African manufacturing sectors in the late 1970s and the simultaneous rise of Guangzhou as the city where supplies a great amount of diversified commodities and products for international trade.

Regarding the demographics and basic information on Africans in Guangzhou, as the survey results intricate, majority of Africans in Guangzhou are from Nigeria and they can be commonly found in Xiaobei area and Sanyuanli area. A majority of them are single male and they are either Muslim or Christian. Most Africans in Guangzhou are traders who purchase China-made products and sell them back in their home country. As Zhang (2008) mentions, China’s recent integration into the global economy involves escalating transnational flow of people and foreign diaspora traders, who come to China not for tourism but to create self-operated business and employment, became more numerous in Guangzhou and become a subject of journalistic exposure.

In regards to the enclaves, The African diaspora traders who

congregated in specific locations did so because they were driven by proximity to trading opportunities, the availability of affordable housing and supporting services, factors allowing them to capture positive spatial externalities (Zhang, 2008). Moreover, the transnational ethnic population was able to make preferential moves to parts of the city that attracted them to be spatially congregated and, to some extent, the case of Guangzhou corresponds to the proposition that argues the positive impact of the ethnic enclave (Zhang, 2008; Zhou, 2010; Marcuse, 1997). Thus, the process of making the African enclave should not be solely seen as cultural resemblance, but rather a process which combines factors such as business opportunities, the method of trade operation and the cost of living.

The spatial, economic, and cultural changes generated by the inflow of Africans to Guangzhou is something to be thoroughly examined. As this study demonstrates, the transformation of the city generated by the African inflow to the city is positive in all spatial, economic, and cultural ways. As Zhang (2008) notes, the geography of ethnic enclaves encompasses many sorts of macro and local changes, such as economic and demographic trends and transformation of local neighborhoods. The development of ‘Chocolate City’ should be interpreted as the combined outcome of exogenous and endogenous forces (Zhang, 2008).

Spatially, the appearance of African diaspora traders, who attempted to tap the huge supply of cheap products made in the PRD, was perceived as resource for revitalizing neighborhood commerce. Along with the progress of land expropriation by local governments after 1980, the increase of the real estate investments in the 1990s, and so on, the landscape of Xiaobei has been completely transformed (Li et al., 2012). According to Li et al. (2012), Xiaobei was mainly composed of deteriorating housing in which investors had no interest prior to the 1990s. The influx of Africans, however, revitalized the area. In regards to the economic transformation generated by the appearance of African traders, perhaps the most significant change that the Africans brought to the markets in Guangzhou, many shops on the site transformed their business from local-oriented into alien-oriented (Zhang, 2008, p. 388). Business development restructures neighborhoods functionally and spatially through promotion of internationalization identity, refurbishment of business space, and expansion of ethnically-focused services and the agglomeration of wholesale markets creates a “destination trading” anchor to draw prospective buyers and further attracts the concentration of ethnic population (Zhang, 2008). Culturally speaking, countless African restaurants can be found in the site and the appearance of Muslim African traders also generated Hui Chinese to migrate internally, as

they are known as the Chinese believers of Quran. Thus, Guangzhou can be perceived as a location which connects China to the world.

Lastly, the answers to how, then, are they being treated by the local people of Guangzhou can be explained in two distinguished groups; the local Chinese residents and the government officials. As the results from the survey and interviews conducted by author reveal, the two distinguished groups provide two extremely different perspectives. The local Chinese's view on African traders in Guangzhou can be seen as positive. The main reason for positive perspective on Africans by local Chinese residents or business partners/traders is the economic benefits Africans bring to the community. Although some local Chinese view them as noisy and thus seldom give them respect, because of the economic benefits they bring to the local community, local Chinese seemed to be able to cope with the rare and insignificant noises made by African traders in the city. Whereas the survey results give one of the clearest indications that the African community in Guangzhou is receiving rather irritated views from the local government officials and it is mainly due to the media's perpetuation of Africans as illegal migrants who cause some serious social issues such as drug trafficking or AIDs which ultimately leads to a destabilized city. In sum, contrasting view of Africans in Guangzhou is caused mainly because

the fundamental perception differs from the two distinguished groups; the local Chinese residents or business partners/traders perceive them as people who bring economic benefit to the community, while the government officials perceive them as people who bring social disorder to the community.

The future of the ‘Chocolate city’ in Guangzhou deserves much academic attention and further studies must better understand the two distinguished views on African traders by the local Chinese and the local government officials. It is not to say that the view of a particular group is relatively more important than the other view regarding the appearance of African diaspora traders in Guangzhou, China. Both views from two distinguished groups are understandable. To local Chinese business partners and traders, African traders generate unprecedented benefits to them spatially, culturally, and especially economically. In regards to the views of African diaspora traders by the local government officials, it is also understandable because illegal acts such as drug trafficking and illegal migration has caused for a fact by some African diasporas in Guangzhou and it is the local government officials’ duty to regulate illegal acts and protect the civilians via enforcement of laws and ordinances. As one of the fastest-growing and most powerful economies in the world, China must find

a way to exquisitely calibrate the laws and regulations to maintain and further enhance the benefits generated by the African diaspora traders which satisfy the local Chinese residents or business partners and traders, and also to provide protection of life and property of citizens simultaneously.

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국문초록

중국 내 아프리카 이주민들에 대한 연구:

중국 广州 지역을 중심으로

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개혁개방 이후 중국의 수출 지향적 경제는 급속도로 발전하고 있다. 이를 바탕으로 중국은 세계 2위의 경제라는 눈부신 성장을 이루어 냈다. 중국의 경제성장은 국제적 지위를 상승시킴과 동시에 중국으로 유입되는 국제 이주민의 증가를 야기하였다. 외국 이주민은 중국 내 주요 도시인 베이징, 상하이, 광저우 등으로 밀집하기 시작하였다. 특히 광동성의 수도인 광저우시의 경우 유입된 이주민 중 아프리카인의 비중이 가장 높은 것으로 확인되었다. 따라서, 본 논문은 지금까지 많은 주목을 받지 못했던 광저우 내 아프리카인들의 유입에 따른 변화 및 아프리카인을 바라보는 현지인들의 시각에 초점을 맞춤으로서 현대 중국 사회 및 국제 이주 동향에 대한 이해 증진에 도움이 되고자 한다.

광저우의 샤오베이 지역은 '초콜릿 시티'라고 불릴 만큼 수많은 아프리카인들이 집단 주거지를 형성하고 있는 지역으로 그 수가 공식적으로 20,000명이 넘는다고 알려져 있다. 현재까지 지속적으로 증가하는 광저우 지역의 아프리카인의 유입이 역사적으로 어떤 이유에서 발단하였는지, 그리고 광저우시에는 공간적, 경제적, 문화적으로 어떠한 변화를 야기하였는지에 대한 의문들을

남긴다. 본 논문은 국가통계수치와 타 학자들의 연구를 기반으로 2014년 2월부터 2015년 4월 중 2차례에 걸쳐 진행한 현지조사, 현지인 인터뷰, 그리고 심층 설문조사를 통하여 광저우로 유입되는 아프리카인들의 삶과 광저우 시민들의 삶이 어떻게 다양하게 변화하였는지를 나타내고, 또한 이들에 대한 현지인들의 시각적 차이에 대한 타당한 답안을 제시하고자 한다.

본 논문은 2차례에 걸쳐 진행한 현지조사, 현지인 인터뷰, 그리고 심층 설문조사를 통해 광저우 샤오베이 지역내의 아프리카인들에 대한 통계 및 기본자료를 제시한다. 광저우 샤오베이 지역내에서 만난 아프리카인들의 대다수는 무역업에 종사하는 행상인임을 확인할 수 있었다. 값싼 중국산 물품을 대량으로 구매하여 본국으로 돌아가 판매하며, 그에 따른 수익금으로 다시 광저우로 돌아오는 반복적인 무역업에 종사하고 있는 점을 확인할 수 있다.

중국산 물품에 대한 늘어나는 아프리카인들의 수요에 따라 광저우시 또한 공간적, 경제적, 문화적으로 변화하는 모습을 확인할 수 있다.

아프리카인들의 유입에 따라 광저우시는 공간적으로 개혁개방 이전에 설립된 낙후된 수많은 단위 아파트들이 그리고 도매시장이 재활성화 되는 점을 확인할 수 있다. 경제적으로는 먼저 거시적으로 중국산 물품의 수요가 늘어남에 따라 전례없는 중국-아프리카 사이의 무역량의 급증을 확인할 수 있으며 미시적으로는 광저우시내의 아프리카인 밀집지역의 다양한 도·소매 상점들이 기존의 내국인 지향적 경제에서 외국인 지향적 경제로 발전하는 점

을 확인 할 수 있다. 문화적으로는 다양한 아프리카 전통 의상 및 음식을 파는 상점 및 음식점의 수가 급격히 증가한 것을 확인 할 수 있으며 특히 이슬람교를 믿는 아프리카인의 유입에 따라 회족(回族)의 유입량 증가 또한 확인할 수 있다.

아프리카인의 유입에 따른 공간적, 경제적, 문화적 혜택에 따라 현지 주민 및 직접적인 관계를 형성하는 현지 무역업 종사자들은 대부분 긍정적으로 이들을 바라보는 점을 확인할 수 있다. 반면 정부 관계자들의 시선은 상대적으로 상당히 부정적인 것을 확인할 수 있다. 아프리카인들에 대해 영속된 편견을 기반으로 현지인들에게 손해를 끼지는 불법 행위에 초점을 맞추고 있으며, 아프리카인들의 유입은 즉, 도시 치안에 위협적인 요소라고 여기는 점을 확인 할 수 있다.

따라서, 광저우시 샤오베이 지역의 '초콜릿 시티'의 미래는 본 논문에서 발견한 두 가지 구별된 시선을 어떻게 융화하느냐에 달려있다고 본다. 급격한 경제성장을 통해 이루어낸 국제적 지위 상승과 동시에 양산된 국제 이주민의 증가에 대해 세밀하고 진지한 검토를 통해 이들의 유입에 따른 공간적, 경제적, 문화적 혜택을 유지하며 동시에 지역 치안을 유지할 수 있는 방안을 마련해야 한다.

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