

Online Appendix: Supplemental Materials

Appendix A: Summary Statistics

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Democracy	1,602	3.03	1.57	1.00	7.00
ODA/GNP	1,439	12.94	13.30	-0.27	143.70
French Colony	1,632	0.38	0.48	0.00	1.00
Population	1,531	11.13	17.65	0.06	144.72
Major Recipient	1,632	0.23	0.42	0.00	1.00
Soviet Client	1,632	0.29	0.45	0.00	1.00
Log GDP per capita	1,264	7.28	0.94	4.61	10.34
Common Law	1,632	0.38	0.48	0.00	1.00
Ethnic Fractionalization	1,632	60.15	33.26	0.00	144.00
Polity Score	1,513	-2.12	5.93	-10.00	10.00
Voice & Accountability	480	-0.64	0.75	-2.14	1.02
Political Stability	480	-0.57	0.98	-3.31	1.19
Government Effectiveness	479	-0.75	0.63	-2.45	0.88
Regulatory Quality	480	-0.72	0.65	-2.67	0.79
Rule of Law	480	-0.75	0.69	-2.67	1.06
Control of Corruption	479	-0.62	0.61	-2.06	1.25

Appendix B: Robustness Check

Table B1: Table IV Using Polity2 Score instead of Freedom House Score for Democracy

VARIABLES	Model 1 1987-2000	Model 2 1987-2000	Model 3 1987-2000	Model 4 2001-2008	Model 5 2001-2008	Model 6 2001-2008
ODA	0.122** (0.0531)			0.000673 (0.0666)		
L.ODA		0.124** (0.0530)			0.000792 (0.0644)	
L5.ODA			0.184*** (0.0621)			-0.0185 (0.0685)
GDPPC	2.121*** (0.509)	2.055*** (0.496)	2.039*** (0.467)	-0.311 (0.643)	-0.362 (0.583)	-0.529 (0.509)
Comlaw	0.615 (0.508)	0.602 (0.510)	0.501 (0.521)	1.367** (0.689)	1.384** (0.637)	1.419** (0.611)
Ethnic	0.0125 (0.00980)	0.0132 (0.0101)	0.0200* (0.0120)	-0.0107 (0.0110)	-0.0111 (0.0102)	-0.0127 (0.00967)
Constant	-19.69*** (4.752)	-19.32*** (4.686)	-20.40*** (4.719)	4.199 (5.731)	4.700 (5.230)	6.303 (4.728)
Observations	579	576	554	252	294	336
R-squared	0.010	0.010	0.027	0.021	0.022	0.021

Note: Standard errors from instrumental variables regressions are reported in parentheses. The instruments for ODA are all independent variables plus a dummy variable indicating whether the country was a French colony and a variable for population. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table B2: Table IV Estimated by OLS with Country Fixed effects

VARIABLES	Model 1 1987-2000	Model 2 1987-2000	Model 3 1987-2000	Model 4 2001-2008	Model 5 2001-2008	Model 6 2001-2008
ODA	0.00417 (0.00329)			0.00101 (0.00298)		
L.ODA		0.00731** (0.00303)			0.00567* (0.00295)	
L5.ODA			0.00763*** (0.00292)			-0.00747** (0.00311)
Lagged DV	0.781*** (0.0237)	0.777*** (0.0237)	0.757*** (0.0254)	0.523*** (0.0528)	0.510*** (0.0525)	0.516*** (0.0525)
Population	0.0161* (0.00936)	0.0156* (0.00931)	0.0120 (0.00946)	0.0400** (0.0181)	0.0342* (0.0181)	0.0404** (0.0179)
GDPPC	0.269* (0.158)	0.321** (0.148)	0.205 (0.136)	-0.512* (0.293)	-0.434 (0.287)	-0.512* (0.286)
Constant	-1.434 (1.177)	-1.836* (1.095)	-0.906 (0.986)	4.987** (2.032)	4.494** (1.986)	5.076** (1.981)
Observations	602	600	576	270	269	265
R-squared	0.682	0.681	0.663	0.346	0.355	0.361
Number of Countries	44	44	44	45	45	45

Note: Robust standard errors from OLS regressions are reported in parentheses. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table B3: Table IV with Voice and Accountability as Dependent Variable

VARIABLES	Model 1 1987-2000	Model 2 1987-2000	Model 3 1987-2000	Model 4 2001-2008	Model 5 2001-2008	Model 6 2001-2008
ODA	0.0119 (0.0139)			-0.00867 (0.00914)		
L.ODA		0.0129 (0.0143)			-0.00731 (0.00854)	
L5.ODA			0.00789 (0.0103)			-0.00782 (0.00981)
GDPPC	0.432*** (0.111)	0.440*** (0.115)	0.400*** (0.104)	0.0983 (0.0892)	0.0987 (0.0792)	0.109 (0.0676)
Comlaw	0.129 (0.120)	0.132 (0.119)	0.0863 (0.121)	0.271*** (0.0964)	0.294*** (0.0885)	0.318*** (0.0848)
Ethnic	0.00119 (0.00204)	0.00132 (0.00209)	0.00105 (0.00226)	-0.00396** (0.00156)	-0.00394*** (0.00143)	-0.00331** (0.00134)
Constant	-4.073*** (1.023)	-4.159*** (1.074)	-3.812*** (0.981)	-1.035 (0.817)	-1.064 (0.732)	-1.203* (0.649)
Observations	132	132	130	225	270	311
R-squared	0.236	0.242	0.208	0.115	0.107	0.102

Note: Standard errors from instrumental variables regressions are reported in parentheses. The instruments for ODA are all independent variables plus a dummy variable indicating whether the country was a French colony and a variable for population. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table B4: Table IV with Political Stability as Dependent Variable

VARIABLES	Model 1 1987-2000	Model 2 1987-2000	Model 3 1987-2000	Model 4 2001-2008	Model 5 2001-2008	Model 6 2001-2008
ODA	0.00556 (0.0176)			0.00564 (0.0100)		
L.ODA		0.00743 (0.0181)			0.0114 (0.00922)	
L5.ODA			-0.00202 (0.0130)			0.0283*** (0.0103)
GDPPC	0.546*** (0.140)	0.560*** (0.146)	0.500*** (0.132)	0.423*** (0.0976)	0.466*** (0.0854)	0.541*** (0.0712)
Comlaw	-0.0624 (0.151)	-0.0592 (0.151)	-0.0564 (0.154)	0.0347 (0.106)	0.0638 (0.0954)	0.144 (0.0893)
Ethnic	-0.00473* (0.00258)	-0.00456* (0.00264)	-0.00520* (0.00288)	-0.00755*** (0.00170)	-0.00744*** (0.00154)	-0.00641*** (0.00141)
Constant	-4.308*** (1.294)	-4.445*** (1.360)	-3.842*** (1.249)	-3.228*** (0.895)	-3.632*** (0.789)	-4.470*** (0.683)
Observations	132	132	130	225	270	311
R-squared	0.321	0.326	0.311	0.328	0.350	0.380

Note: Standard errors from instrumental variables regressions are reported in parentheses. The instruments for ODA are all independent variables plus a dummy variable indicating whether the country was a French colony and a variable for population. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table B5: Table IV with Government Effectiveness as Dependent Variable

VARIABLES	Model 1 1987-2000	Model 2 1987-2000	Model 3 1987-2000	Model 4 2001-2008	Model 5 2001-2008	Model 6 2001-2008
ODA	0.00812 (0.0108)			0.00325 (0.00663)		
L.ODA		0.00874 (0.0112)			0.00550 (0.00626)	
L5.ODA			0.00573 (0.00794)			0.00733 (0.00730)
GDPPC	0.448*** (0.0859)	0.453*** (0.0894)	0.428*** (0.0799)	0.299*** (0.0647)	0.307*** (0.0580)	0.301*** (0.0503)
Comlaw	0.289*** (0.0918)	0.291*** (0.0920)	0.258*** (0.0932)	0.290*** (0.0700)	0.310*** (0.0648)	0.323*** (0.0631)
Ethnic	0.00225 (0.00156)	0.00234 (0.00160)	0.00217 (0.00173)	0.000327 (0.00113)	0.000324 (0.00105)	0.000339 (0.000995)
Constant	-4.280*** (0.790)	-4.338*** (0.833)	-4.122*** (0.756)	-3.081*** (0.593)	-3.183*** (0.536)	-3.166*** (0.483)
Observations	131	131	129	225	270	311
R-squared	0.390	0.391	0.359	0.288	0.283	0.275

Note: Standard errors from instrumental variables regressions are reported in parentheses. The instruments for ODA are all independent variables plus a dummy variable indicating whether the country was a French colony and a variable for population. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table B6: Table IV with Regulatory Quality as Dependent Variable

VARIABLES	Model 1 1987-2000	Model 2 1987-2000	Model 3 1987-2000	Model 4 2001-2008	Model 5 2001-2008	Model 6 2001-2008
ODA	-0.000329 (0.0115)			-0.0105 (0.00669)		
L.ODA		0.000696 (0.0119)			-0.0100 (0.00620)	
L5.ODA			-0.00336 (0.00847)			-0.00897 (0.00721)
GDPPC	0.318*** (0.0919)	0.325*** (0.0957)	0.289*** (0.0856)	0.164** (0.0653)	0.161*** (0.0574)	0.185*** (0.0497)
Comlaw	0.338*** (0.0991)	0.339*** (0.0994)	0.336*** (0.100)	0.287*** (0.0706)	0.294*** (0.0642)	0.295*** (0.0623)
Ethnic	0.000970 (0.00169)	0.00105 (0.00174)	0.000527 (0.00187)	-0.000157 (0.00114)	-0.000120 (0.00104)	0.000154 (0.000983)
Constant	-3.130*** (0.848)	-3.199*** (0.894)	-2.840*** (0.811)	-1.824*** (0.598)	-1.816*** (0.531)	-2.038*** (0.477)
Observations	132	132	130	225	270	311
R-squared	0.297	0.298	0.286	0.247	0.239	0.230

Note: Standard errors from instrumental variables regressions are reported in parentheses. The instruments for ODA are all independent variables plus a dummy variable indicating whether the country was a French colony and a variable for population. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table B7: Table IV with Rule of Law as Dependent Variable

VARIABLES	Model 1 1987-2000	Model 2 1987-2000	Model 3 1987-2000	Model 4 2001-2008	Model 5 2001-2008	Model 6 2001-2008
ODA	0.0198 (0.0138)			0.00824 (0.00744)		
L.ODA		0.0209 (0.0142)			0.00936 (0.00685)	
L5.ODA			0.0111 (0.00983)			0.0155* (0.00794)
GDPPC	0.539*** (0.110)	0.550*** (0.114)	0.501*** (0.0993)	0.306*** (0.0726)	0.303*** (0.0635)	0.315*** (0.0547)
Comlaw	0.253** (0.118)	0.258** (0.118)	0.232** (0.116)	0.257*** (0.0785)	0.269*** (0.0709)	0.307*** (0.0686)
Ethnic	0.000540 (0.00202)	0.000726 (0.00207)	0.000415 (0.00217)	-0.00183 (0.00127)	-0.00190* (0.00115)	-0.00178* (0.00108)
Constant	-4.996*** (1.013)	-5.114*** (1.063)	-4.662*** (0.941)	-3.019*** (0.665)	-3.012*** (0.587)	-3.190*** (0.525)
Observations	132	132	130	225	270	311
R-squared	0.241	0.248	0.282	0.220	0.229	0.224

Note: Standard errors from instrumental variables regressions are reported in parentheses. The instruments for ODA are all independent variables plus a dummy variable indicating whether the country was a French colony and a variable for population. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Table B8: Table IV with Control of Corruption as Dependent Variable

VARIABLES	Model 1 1987-2000	Model 2 1987-2000	Model 3 1987-2000	Model 4 2001-2008	Model 5 2001-2008	Model 6 2001-2008
ODA	0.0312** (0.0134)			0.00590 (0.00684)		
L.ODA		0.0326** (0.0141)			0.00751 (0.00639)	
L5.ODA			0.0184* (0.00945)			0.0145* (0.00750)
GDPPC	0.538*** (0.107)	0.553*** (0.113)	0.472*** (0.0951)	0.247*** (0.0668)	0.244*** (0.0592)	0.259*** (0.0517)
Comlaw	0.182 (0.114)	0.190 (0.116)	0.133 (0.111)	0.138* (0.0722)	0.166** (0.0661)	0.205*** (0.0648)
Ethnic	0.00349* (0.00194)	0.00375* (0.00202)	0.00307 (0.00206)	-0.00193* (0.00117)	-0.00210** (0.00107)	-0.00220** (0.00102)
Constant	-5.115*** (0.983)	-5.276*** (1.050)	-4.539*** (0.900)	-2.423*** (0.612)	-2.420*** (0.547)	-2.605*** (0.496)
Observations	131	131	129	225	270	311
R-squared	0.067	0.042	0.102	0.191	0.189	0.174

Note: Standard errors from instrumental variables regressions are reported in parentheses. The instruments for ODA are all independent variables plus a dummy variable indicating whether the country was a French colony and a variable for population. *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1.

Appendix C: Survey Questionnaire

Thank you for agreeing to take time to complete this short questionnaire. The goal of this questionnaire is to understand how much foreign aid China is giving to countries in the sub-Saharan Africa since the first FOCAC in 2000. Your answers in the questionnaire will be completely anonymous and will ONLY be used to construct **aggregate measures**. There will be NO questions about your personal information.

First, please list two countries in the sub-Saharan Africa that, to the best of your knowledge, that have received the most/least amount of aid and economic assistance from China between 2000 and 2008:

Country that receives the largest amount of aid from China:

Country that receives the largest amount of aid from China:

Now, using these two countries as reference group, please rank the following countries on the amount of aid they receive from China, from least (1) to most (7):

(The order of the countries are randomized in the actual questionnaire)

Country	Least Aid							Most Aid
Angola	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Benin	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Botswana	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Burkina Faso	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Burundi	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Cameroon	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Cape Verde	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Central African Rep.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Chad	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Comoros	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Congo, Dem. Rep	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Congo, Rep.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Djibouti	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Equatorial Guinea	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Eritrea	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Ethiopia	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Gabon	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Gambia	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Ghana	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Guinea	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Guinea-Bissau	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know

Ivory Coast	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Kenya	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Lesotho	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Liberia	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Madagascar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Malawi	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Mali	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Mauritania	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Mauritius	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Mozambique	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Namibia	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Niger	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Nigeria	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Rwanda	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Sao Tome & Principe	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Senegal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Seychelles	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Sierra Leone	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Somalia	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
South Africa	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Sudan	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Swaziland	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Tanzania	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Togo	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Uganda	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Zambia	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know
Zimbabwe	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Don't know

Thank you again for your participation and support!

Appendix D: Synthetic Control

Table D1 displays the weights of each control country in the synthetic group. The weights reported in indicate that the trends in democracy in the major recipients before the first FOCAC is best reproduced by a combination of Ivory Coast, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Democratic Republic of Congo, Uganda, Rwanda, Zambia, and Mauritius. Eight of the 37 states in the donor pool are dropped due to missing values (Sao Tome and Principe, Tanzania, Somalia, Djibouti, Eritrea, South Africa, Namibia, and Seychelles). All other states in the donor pool are assigned zero weights.

Table D1: Country Weights in the Synthetic Control Group

Country	Weight	Country	Weight
Cape Verde	0	Kenya	0
Sao Tome & Principe	N/A	Tanzania	N/A
Guinea-Bissau	0	Burundi	0
Equatorial Guinea	0	Rwanda	0.016
Gambia	0	Somalia	N/A
Mali	0	Djibouti	N/A
Senegal	0	Eritrea	N/A
Mauritania	0	Mozambique	0
Niger	0	Zambia	0.144
Ivory Coast	0.025	Malawi	0
Guinea	0	South Africa	N/A
Burkina Faso	0	Namibia	N/A
Sierra Leone	0.113	Lesotho	0
Ghana	0.215	Swaziland	0
Togo	0	Madagascar	0
Central African Rep.	0	Comoros	0
Congo, Rep.	0	Mauritius	0.071
Congo, Dem. Rep	0.387	Seychelles	N/A
Uganda	0.029		

The synthetic control group is constructed using the `synth` function in Stata. The results are presented in Table D2, which compares the pre-treatment characteristics of the major recipients with that of the synthetic one. The last column is the average of the 37 countries in the donor pool. It is clear that the average of countries that do not receive large amount of aid from China fail to constitute an appropriate control group for the major recipients. In contrast, the synthetic group matches much closer to the ODA and population measures in the major recipients prior to the first FOCAC.

Table D2: Freedom House Predictor Means

	Major Recipients		Average of 37 control states
	Real	Synthetic	
ODA in 1986	6.18	10.01	18.09
ODA in 1988	6.15	8.35	17.65
ODA in 1990	9.03	9.91	19.16
ODA in 1992	11.54	11.48	19.31
ODA in 1994	12.77	12.82	22.37
ODA in 1996	16.64	9.09	14.57
ODA in 1998	6.25	6.96	11.74
ODA average	9.62	10.03	16.75
Population in 1986	18.54	18.13	7.10
Population in 1988	19.64	19.26	7.52
Population in 1990	20.81	20.52	7.96
Population in 1992	22.07	21.97	8.39
Population in 1994	23.41	23.48	8.84
Population in 1996	24.78	24.79	9.31
Population in 1998	26.19	25.92	9.82
Population average	22.53	22.33	8.53

Figure D1 plots the annual differences in Freedom House scores between the major recipients and the synthetic control group. The sharp decline of the line suggests a large negative effect of China's unconditional aid, and that this effect has increased in time. The magnitude of the estimated impact of being a major recipient of China's economic assistance is substantial: for the entire post-treatment period the Freedom House score would have arisen by an average of 0.546 point on a seven-point scale, a increase of 16.6%.

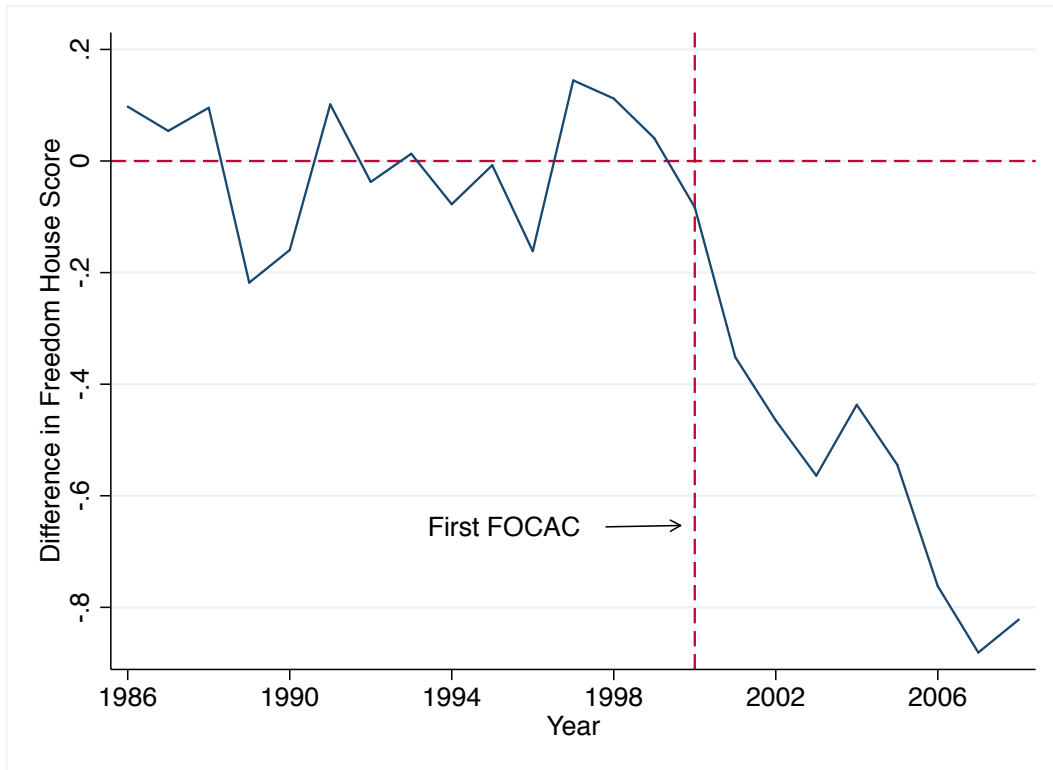


Figure D1: Difference in Freedom House score between the major recipients and the synthetic control group.

To evaluate the significance of the estimated effect, I conduct a series of placebo tests by applying the synthetic control method to every other state in the donor pool, excluding the major recipients as a control unit. I then calculate the estimated effect associated with each placebo test (the average of the differences between the country in the placebo test and its synthetic control). The results are displayed in Table D3. Only one country’s estimate is larger than the estimate obtained for the major recipients, suggesting that the change in the Freedom House score is statistically and substantively larger than what one would expect to see by chance alone.

Table D3: Placebo Test for the Effect of Chinese Aid on Freedom House Score

Country	Estimate
Major Recipients	-0.546
Burkina Faso	-0.083
Burundi	0.93
Cape Verde	N/A
Central African Rep.	N/A
Comoros	-0.17
Congo, Dem. Rep.	N/A
Congo, Rep.	0.303
Equatorial Guinea	N/A
Gambia	-0.121
Ghana	2.551
Guinea	0.134
Guinea-Bissau	N/A
Ivory Coast	-0.489
Kenya	1.917
Lesotho	1.168
Madagascar	-0.839
Malawi	-0.326
Mali	0.296
Mauritania	-0.115
Mauritius	3.76
Mozambique	0.898
Niger	1.45
Rwanda	N/A
Senegal	0.956
Sierra Leone	1.517
Swaziland	N/A
Togo	-0.056
Uganda	-0.316
Zambia	-0.399