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Chinese Foreign Aid in Africa

The Relationship of China's Aid and Conditionality- Kenya as Case Study

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ABSTRACT

Foreign Aid can be described as the act of transferring of resources, services, or capital voluntarily from rich countries to developing countries. The function of foreign aid is broad as it also involves the flow of loaned capital, requested from governments of well-developed nations to assist in development projects in poor countries. The borrowed capital is often expected to be paid back within a given period agreed between the donor and recipient. The loans are regularly dispatched by the governments of richer countries and it can be in form of official development assistance (ODA), which is thereby directed to promote in development of either economic, social, political or environmental aspects of a poor country.

Foreign aid in its general context however has always been known to be accompanied by conditions. This therefore brings to the discussion of conditionality, which can be illustrated as that act of attaching conditions while offering advantages in form of loans, low interest free loans, or debt forgiveness in cases where recipient are unable to pay. The conditions are set by the donors for the recipient to pursue given objectives that comprises of practicing of good governance, human rights, political or economic reforms and promoting democracy. These types of conditions are generally formed by the donor prior to establishing any aid association with the recipient. In the past years, there has been disputes of using conditionality as a tool for dominance or control. This particularly has been linked with Western donors to poor countries whereby through aid conditionality, the push for economic growth, political reforms and poverty alleviation have been arguably debated not to be effective. This paper therefore assesses the relationship of aid and conditionality. It can be evaluated in an angle whereby, poor developing countries are now seen to be shifting their focus to the types of aid that are not tied, meaning aid conditionality is an aspect that is starting to lose its appeal. The reason however can be attested to donors focusing more on conditions and dictating ways of governance or choices.

On this basis, the new emergence of donors offering aid with no conditions to poor countries is now the current trend, this is specifically to third world- African countries. Given the colonial history between the West and Africa; a lot of African countries have been critiqued to be suppliers of raw materials such as minerals and natural resources to their traditional donors- the West. This has been a controversial issue because they do so while still languishing in poverty instead of pushing for industrialization and economic growth. The emergence of donors offering no conditions to African countries has been the point of concern, as fears of repeating of past trends

by taking advantage of African resources or promoting of rogue and corrupt African leaders has been an issue to reckon with. The study therefore seeks to establish the relationship of aid and conditionality, simply by analyzing if foreign aid can really exist without conditions, is it possible or is there a hidden agenda in the new model of aid without conditions.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

“We in China always say that you better teach someone how to fish than give him fish. The purpose of China’s assistance to Africa, is to enhance self-reliance capability of the African countries” (Yu, 2017).

China’s foreign ministry spokesperson, Jiang Yu’s comment during a press conference with reference to China-Africa relation received a lot of responses from joint discussions, where the session was mainly about criticism of China’s foreign aid investment in Africa. The spokesperson depiction was that, China’s aid builds up the capability of self-reliance to Africa. These issues have instigated numerous discussions and debates within media, political spheres and academics and some questioning the nature of China’s development aid. This is together with its impacts, as well as reasons behind these aid to the African recipients (Dopgima, 2013)

According to Shimomura & Ohashi (2013), it has to be admitted that the upsurge of China’s foreign aid is an international contentious issue. On one hand, China faces criticism from mainstream scholars, international aid community, Development Assistance Committee and the world Bank (Brautigam, 2009, p. 277), as cited in (Shimomura & Ohashi, 2013). Moreover, while aid agreement efforts can include a large variety of benefits to the developing countries, it also deprives the recipients the opportunity to compare other alternatives as well as making choices that would inspire ownership. For this reason, the rising power of China’s aid could make up for the lack of alternatives. Under these circumstances, Chinese aid would be presenting various ways of thinking hence opening discussions and views which could change the international aid community form uni- to a multi-polar world. Further to this, Shimomura & Ohashi (2013), goes ahead to mention that the evolution of a multipolar aid could equip developing countries with wider options and freedom that contribute to ownership. (Shimomura & Ohashi, 2013)

What is more, the number of China's aid recipient increased after announcement of the guiding eight principles of Chinese Aid in Ghana on 15th January 1964. The principles included aspects such as, 1) respect for sovereignty and no conditions attached; 2) equality and mutual benefits; 3) reflecting recipients needs and offering low-interest or no-interest loans; 4) assist in self-reliance in order to avoid creating dependency on China; 5) assist in recipient countries with projects that requires less capital and quick return; 6) ensures the local staff learns the technology transferred from China; lastly, offer equal treatment of both Chinese experts and technicians together with the recipients local counterparts. (Shimomura & Ohashi, 2013). In this regard, Chinese aid recipients increased after the announcement of the eight principles. This was noted by China providing foreign aid to 6 African countries by the end of 1963, then later grew to 11 more countries by end of 1970. The foreign assistance that China provided took the form of building industrial infrastructure as well as technical assistance which involved sending Chinese experts to recipient countries. (Shimomura & Ohashi, 2013)

In respect to China's guiding principles of foreign aid, new principles from Zhao visit to Tanzania in 1983 included adjustment such as, China making efforts to getting good economic outcome with less investment during its cooperation with Africa. Secondly, aside from China following principle of equality and mutual benefits, it would also attach no political conditions and ask no privileges (Shimomura & Ohashi, 2013). This was followed by another adjustment made which was, aside from providing technical services and training personnel in both scientific and technological exchanges, a joint venture would also be part of the process. Lastly, promoting self-reliant capabilities could also be made in a way that can encourage recipient economic growth. In summary, the new principles were directed to ensure the China – Africa cooperation was more mutually effective. For this reason China came to refer foreign aid as a 'win-win' means for common development, which increases mutual benefit not for the recipient only but for China also. (Shimomura & Ohashi, 2013)

Problem Formulation

Kenya has been selected as a case study for this research. And if compared to other African countries, Kenya is no exception as it has also come to the limelight with a lot of scrutiny from Western countries, mixed reactions from Kenyan leaders, communities and media. According to Dahir (2018), the renewing questions of the government's borrowing spree is connected to the recently exceeded public dept of US \$ 5 billion mark. This has sparked concerns on how Kenya

will show proceeds in regards to economic growth and whether it will, in the long run manage to payback the loans. A lot of the lending is identified to have come from China during recent years. For this reason, Kenya is currently by far the largest debtor of China. The lending accounted for a bilateral dept of 72% by end of March 2018 which is according to Treasury documents acquired from Kenya's Daily Newspaper. (Dahir, 2018) . This therefore illustrates a 15% increase from the year 2016, where the bilateral dept from China was at 57%, hence being 8 times more than its second biggest lender, France.

In the light of above statement, officials in Nairobi in last few years have supported the borrowing spree, stating it was one of the efforts involved towards the upgrade of infrastructural investment, improving transportation system as well as distribution and expanding of energy options. Dahir (2018), added that, the increasing access to funding provided by China points out to the growing Sino-Kenyan ties where the government is keen on acquiring easy loans with no conditionalities attached. Further to this, Kenya was seen to be among the latest countries in joining Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, which is a China- led financier that renders credit. They offer these credits by relinquishing conditions on privatization, deregulation and reforms accompanied by aid from multilateral Western- led agencies such as IMF. (Dahir, 2018)

However, critics have brought forth arguments, that Kenya's increasing loans from China will not only prompt dependency but could lead to possible entrapment of the country in dept. This is according to Jaindi Kisero – a columnist from the Kenyan Daily Nation paper. (Dahir, 2018) He articulated that, China “have become skillful at collaborating with heads of parastatals, and cabinet secretaries into signing commercial agreements that are non-transparent, hence imposing the external debt records with excessive costly loans” (Dahir, 2018) . Due to the indicated rise of depts, the issue has therefore caused levels of concerns globally. On this perspective, Dahir (2018), also affirms that, on account of Kenya not complying with fiscal targets, the International Monetary Fund resulted into stopping the access of US\$ 1.5 billion standby credit. In addition, they ended up urging Kenya to decrease its deficits as well as put the county's dept on a 'sustainable path'. This however is said to be outcomes from Kenya's constant plagues of corruption scandals that implicates government official, who are alleged to have extracted millions of dollars from state treasury simply by using fake suppliers and tenders. (Dahir, 2018)

Additional problems included criticism against number of Chinese large-scale projects that were being undertaken in the country. This came from both local and international contractors who complained on the China road initiative. They stated concerns of being permanently shut out of businesses, hence indication that success of Chinese operations in the country comes with an expense. Other allegations resulting from Chinese construction firms in Kenya were those of violation of local labor laws from Chinese employers, it entailed either hiring of their own or local people. (Chege, Morrison, Campos, & Vines, 2008)

As the statement demonstrates, there lies various challenges and rousing opportunities in the China-Kenya relationship. And for this, Chinese promoting its foreign influence with no conditions has brought forth many controversies, this is together with uncertainties on how the relationship is going to emerge in the future. On the grounds of the mentioned accounts, the research question will be analyzed based on the already discussed predicaments of the above problem formulation. The prevailing situation will therefore be explained by formulating the main research question below;

“What is the relationship between China’s aid and conditionality in Kenya?”

followed by a sub-question; “How does China’s aid occur in Kenya and what are the effects of it?”

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Foreign Aid Definition

Foreign aid in its broadest definition is outlined to consists of all resources such as physical goods, skills and technological know-how, loans-at concessional rates and financial grants that are transferred by donors to different recipients. According to Tarp and Hjertholm (2000), the donors don’t have to be necessarily rich or recipient poor, meaning that long or short-term impact could either be neutral, positive or negative. Additionally, the motives that come with the foreign aid provided are not considered which signifies that it could be to benefit the recipient, benefit the donor or help both parties. A broad outlook of foreign aid would involve transfer of resources that

can address humanitarian, development and poverty needs in poor countries. Moreover, this could also comfortably embrace the aid or resources provided to advance the donors, recipients or both parties' political or strategic interests. (Tarp & Hjertholm, 2000)

In this regard, the most substantial work undertaken to establish a set of definitions of what comprises foreign aid, what counts as actual aid and what does not, all this have been driven by Development Assistance Committee (DAC) together with the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). This committee was developed in 1960 by top donor governments in order to promote and coordinate aid coming from donor governments. The work of DAC on defining aid did not present the general definition of aid, nor the entire development aid. Instead, it merely defined the part of overall aid given by donor governments to recipients in poor countries. This was therefore termed as official development assistance (ODA) which is a phrase that has stuck with us since. (Riddell, 2007)

Nonetheless, after the formation of DAC, it took almost 10 years for donors to agree on definition, for this part, the core definition of ODA, was first agreed upon by DAC in 1969 and later refined in 1972. This therefore brings to ODA definition which is explained to consist of different flows to development countries together with multilateral organizations provided by official institutions that include local governments and states or by executive agencies. The transaction of each thereby meets the following criteria; one being, it is executed with the aim of promoting economic development as well as the developing country's welfare as its main objective. Second criteria, states that it should be concessional in character hence requiring it to contain at least 25 per cent grant element which is calculated at discount rate of 10 per cent. (Riddell, 2007)

In continuation, DAC makes differentiation between two forms of recipients. This is done by terming them as part 1 and part 11 countries. Part 1 consists of poorest developing countries together with those countries described to be of lower and upper middle-income countries. On this account, only aid directed to Part 1 countries is referred to as ODA. Part 11 countries on the other hand, comprise of developing and more advanced nations and countries termed as territories in transition. Furthermore, all official aid meeting both the first and second qualification criteria mentioned earlier, falls under Part 11 countries. As a result it is thereby termed as OA (Official Aid) and not ODA (Official Development Assistance) (Riddell, 2007). Subsequently, neither OA or ODA involves any aid provided by rich to poor countries that comes from non-governmental

sources. Since the agreement of the original definition, changes have been made mostly on the interpretation instead of on the substance. This is noted from 1979, where the costs of overseeing official aid has been constituted as part of ODA. Consequently, it has become possible for countries that are ODA or OA recipients to be donors. In many decades, China has been an ODA recipient and a major donor. (Riddell, 2007).

Moreover, the major problem of purpose-based definition of aid is that purpose is viewed to be a slippery concept, hence opening the meaning to a broad variety of interpretations. This includes notions that involves, who is to judge the true intent of a particular type or form of aid and its aim in contributing to development. It also constitutes, what criteria should be applied to assist in judging whether the criteria of this purpose-based aid is met. Lastly, it seeks to clarify, If aid is provided with aim to contributing to human welfare and development, or used in part to achieve other objectives such as political, commercial or strategic purposes? And for this reason, how should the mixed-purpose be handled or treated? In this regard, ‘foreign aid’ and ‘aid’ are used for all forms of sources unless from its context it becomes clear that it is a narrow type of aid. Development aid is therefore used to refer to aid given or used for the purpose of development, whereas, the terms humanitarian and emergency aid intended for humanitarian and emergency purposes. (Riddell, 2007)

Definition and Delimitation of Aid Conditionality

The term conditionality has been a major slogan from the 1980s and 1990s, with this, development researchers have produced different books, articles and papers on the field, hence contributing their own definition on the notion. One interpretation given of the concept is that, in present-day terminology, conditionality is not a distinct strategy but a set of actions that donors apply to bring about economic and political changes in countries receiving aid (Nelson and Englington 1992, as cited in (Selbervik, 1999). Concise definition of the term is also expressed as, trading of policy changes for external resources (Kahler 1992: 89, as cited in *ibid*) or rather it can be illustrated as the act of buying reform with aid (world Bank 1998a, cited in *ibid*)

According to Selbervik (1999), the main element of conditionality is that of the donor seeking to coax the recipient to embrace certain policies and persuade certain goals. For this part, the goals and policies are therefore positioned by the donor, whereby high priority would not have been given by the recipient. It was also noted in aid literature that distinction was drawn that involved

two generations of conditionality. *First generation* referred to it as economic conditionality, which was introduced by IMF and World Bank during the early 1980s. The concept entailed large sector loans and balance of payments which were particularly linked to enactment of specific economic policies towards the side of the recipient. In addition, the concept of economic conditionality thereafter was extended to encompass political conditionality. This was later seen with this *second generation* of conditionality known as new conditionality which developed in the 1990s. For most part, political conditionality caused development aid to be conditional more-so on implementation of political transformation in recipient countries. Altogether, the demands associated with second generation conditionality occurred mainly on the support and fulfilment of democracy, human rights and objectives towards good governance. (Selbervik, 1999)

In this regard Selbervik (1999), goes ahead to explain further by illustrating with a concept named *Ex ante* conditionality. This is referred to as the act of a donor setting pursuit on particular objectives that includes democracy, human rights and good governance to be major conditions before establishing any form of aid relationship. A second concept illustrated was *Ex post* conditionality which implies that the donor communicates implicitly or vaguely beforehand about expectations of certain conditions to be met; hence letting the donor to later consider the response to carry out if conditions are not adhered to. The donor's response to recipient failing or successfully meeting the demands can be positive or negative. This therefore brings us to Negative conditionality meaning if pre-set conditions are not met by the recipient, the donor threatens to suspend, terminate, reduces aid flow or at the end decides to do so. In many scholar's perspectives, the notion of "conditionality" only covers *negative conditionality* (Stokke 1995: 12, as cited in *ibid*). Furthermore, it is seen through mass media description of conditionality which is generally understood to be type of negative conditionality. (Selbervik, 1999)

Positive conditionality is a second aspect that was defined as the act of donor promising to give additional aid inform of a reward for a "good behavior". The reward was only made when given policies, certain goals and achievements set by donor were adopted by the recipient (Waller 1995:111; Ball 1992; Nelson and Eglinton 1992, cited in *ibid*). In regard to this, example of additional aid resources that were promised was in condition that measures of human rights and democracy were met. Additionally, it was also issued as direct reward to government, by increasing the volume of aid, dept relief and Balance of Payment (BoP) support. The most frequent

type of donor sanction in cases when negative conditionality is practiced is by withholding debt relief and Balance of payment support. Even so, conditionality of “good behavior” set by the donor as a reward may be used, and at the same time the donor may try to support and increase positive trend in a country by taking clear measures. This therefore does not indicate that recipient countries will face consequences or punished if they don’t meet certain conditions. (Selbervik, 1999)

In spite of conditionality being applied in different levels, a large distinction can be drawn on macro and micro levels. With this, a number of scholars have distinguished the different four levels of conditionality hence including: 1)sectoral level; 2)systematic and national level; 3) administrative level; lastly, 4) project and programme level. (Selbervick 1997; Stolz 1996; Stokke 1995; cited in *ibid*). Further to it, this distinction was established on degree of political interference and the rationalization that intervening on lower level to be less “serious” than that of “higher level. In this respect, the trend in present-day has been on higher degree from political interference, more-so towards rising the numbers of strings attached on the lower levels. (Selbervik, 1999)

According to Selbervik (1999), aid has never been unconditional. However, before the concept of conditionality and problematique became a factor of the terminology, conditions were enforced and examples of them being; project and programme level together with administrative level (Selbervik, 1999). In respect to this, increasing number of conditions were seen to come as conflict in instances where there are new objectives such as “recipient responsibility” and “ownership”. On this take, having routines of stringent follow-ups and more strings attached may indicate complex management by donor to recipient, while simplification was meant to have been the objective. In worse cases, donors may result in steering programmes and projects in details, hence, it might signify a take-over and most certainly create a mockery of the recipient’s responsibility (Selbervik 1997, as cited in (Selbervik, 1999)

Aid Conditionality, Its Relation with Past Traditional Donors And China As An Emerging Donor

According to Xiaojun (2017), it has been argued by different academics of foreign aid that one method by which aid can be promoted towards democratization in countries receiving aid is by means of conditionality. This is for instance common in donors who attach conditions like democratic governance before disbursement of aid (Robinson 1993; Stokke 2013; Stone 2008; as cited in *ibid*). On another note, it was established that conditionality is not always effective or

work, this is mostly if donors have competing priorities (Bearce and Tirone 2010, as cited in *ibid*). The notion was supported with the case of the Cold War where United States together with other donors provided aid in order to “strengthen the corrupt but geopolitically useful autocrats” (Brautigam and Knack 2004, 275, as cited in *ibid*). And for this part, when the war came to an end, Western donors could therefore refocus on applying conditional aid so as to advocate for democratic changes. (Xiaojun, 2017)

However, China’s rise as major donor to Africa and other developing countries respectively, have posed new challenges particularly on the effectiveness on conditionality of aid in the recent millennium (Qian 2015, cited in (Xiaojun, 2017). The first Ministerial conference held in 2002 about the forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC,) brought forth the various Chinese development assistance directed to Africa which consist of aid and finance hence growing exponentially (Thaler 2012, cited in *ibid*). Aside from the increased amounts provided by China, the recipient countries frequently consider the assistance to be more attractive. This is due to its few or “no political string attached”, secondly the disbursement of it is often efficient and fast than the assistance coming from Western countries. Consequently, while traditional donors continue to criticize China’s approach of giving aid, Beijing’s assistance on the other hand is embraced by many African countries and are glad to have more alternatives. (Xiaojun, 2017)

Two contrasting views relating to aid conditionality have been viewed by skeptics who maintain that aid restricts democratization solely because aid is same as non-taxable incomes such as remittances and oil. As a result, it therefore leads to same obstacles of resource curse (Ahmed 2012; Morrison 2009; Smith 2008; cited in *ibid*). Contrary to this, supporters of aid dismiss the view by indicating that, donors can engage in major roles of influencing aid outcomes. They point out that mechanism used for aid to contribute to democratization in countries receiving the assistance is through conditionality. A good illustration in this regard would be donors exercising leverage by attaching conditions of democratic governance to disbursement of assistance (Robison 1993; Stokke 2013; Stone 2008; cited in *ibid*). In respect to this, some scholars have pointed out that poor outcomes of conditionality may be associated to structural barriers in recipient countries (Brown 2005, cited in *ibid*) This is due to donors finding it difficult in implementing conditions particularly when there exist competing priorities. (Xiaojun, 2017)

Furthermore, number of explanation on effectiveness of aid conditionality in influencing policy changes and reforms have been argued that conditionality can resolve the principle problem of the donor and recipient, this is in incases where there exists a mismatch of their chosen policies (Williamson 1983, as cited in, (Xiaojun, 2017). On the other front, conditionality was also noted to assist recipient governments to dedicate to a policy in instances where they encounter domestic resistance upon its implementations (World Bank 2005, as cited in, 2017) Dreher 2009 (as cited in ibid, 2017) also states that with conditionality, there ought to be prevention of mishandling of money in situations where the recipient wishes to stay dependent of future transfers. (Xiaojun, 2017)

Meanwhile, Moyo 2009, as cited in, (Hilary, 2010), argued that the harmful factors of aid dependency to be, donors using conditionality in imposing both their political and economic ideas on the recipient nations. She proceeds by mentioning that attachment of conditions to aid in this method has undermined democracy in a lot of countries, hence restricting governments from introducing development policies suitable for their countries national conditions. Consequently, the reliance on loans together with dept relief from international financial institutions and bilateral donors such as; the World Bank and IMF has caused many African government to satisfy international donors' interests. This has been done over past thirty years and with no reference to the urgency of own economies and needs of people. (Hilary, 2010)

In sharp contrast, Moyo further explains, that she does not see the imposing of aid conditionality as a problem. In her view, she goes ahead to argue that the imposing of conditionalities on African nations by World Bank together with International Monetary Fund in the period of 1980s and 1990s held a lot of meaning. Instead, Moyo located the problem to be governments of the recipient countries failing to apply the given conditions that they were expected to do hence pointing out that 'conditionalities were openly ignored' (Hilary, 2010, p. 81). On a more similar note, According to (Montinola, 2010), given that many countries receiving conditional aid on policy change showed not to develop as presumed, early critics maintained that conditionality was a result of policies being tied to aid. Therefore, different proponents attributed lack of development on the recipients to not implementing full policy reforms (Kuczynski Godard and John 2003, as cited in ibid, 2010). They saw the problem not to be in the content of aid conditionality but failing to exercise in promoting policy changes (Montinola, 2010)

KENYA AS A CASE STUDY

China's Aid to Kenya From Historical Perspective

When looking at China-Kenya's history, the relation begun between the year **1963-1978 in President Jomo Kenyatta Era** where there was a diplomatic corporation that covered issues like: oil exploration, roads and bridges and anti-piracy operations. This stages were dated back in 1964 with the establishment of relations between People's Republic of China and Kenya where fair bilateral ties was witnessed (Chege, 2008 cited in (Kioko, 2011)

In **1978-2002 President Daniel Arap Moi Era** saw the fast development due to the relation of the two countries. This was together with high levels frequent and mutual visits where the friendly relation witnessed remarkable achievements in various fields. The visits which were done by both Kenyan and Chinese official leaders between themselves brought forth bilateral consent of economic and trade agreements that were signed by the two countries hence including; Economic and Technological Cooperation Agreements, together with Trade Agreement and so on. Furthermore, a lot of constructions made by the Chinese and other trade relations materialized during Moi's era. (Kioko, 2011)

Subsequently, **2002-2010 in President Mwai Kibaki Era** witnessed a great relations with China that sort to continue and expand the friendly relation between China and Kenya. (China-Kenya Embassy website, cited in ibid) The cooperation also came with visit between President Mwai and President Hu Jintao together with other government officials. They made five-part agreement that involved, official development aid inform of infrastructural grants; extended aid services between China and Kenya; technical aid for evaluation and classifying standards of industrial products; and providing energy assistance (Gadzala, 2009, p. 209, cited (Kioko, 2011).

Part Conclusion

The analysis reveals that China's aid relation with Kenya is not a new phenomenal, and that China provided aid to Kenya in the past hence indicating the significance of the relationship between them. The study however does not reveal the whole content of China's aid to Kenya from the past operations, it is therefore limited to knowing if China aid strategy came with no conditions or

certain conditions were imposed. Despite this, the use of it in the study has assisted by forming a foundation and offering a clear understanding from how China's aid manifested itself in the past and how Kenya is receiving it in the present.

Importance and Gains of China's Aid to Kenya

According to the information given on earlier relations between the two countries, China perceives Kenya as a great opportunity for it has developed its key focus in trade as well as economic strategy. Given that Kenya is a peaceful country with a stable political state, it has made the region ideal for China to continue increasing its investment in the country. This therefore has led to favorable loans afforded to Kenya which has later witnessed different initiatives such as constructions of schools and hospitals in areas less developed. This is together with establishing malaria prevention centers, and dispatching their volunteers to train locals. (Kioko, 2011)

The cooperation brought forth certain benefits that included providing landing rights between Kenya Airways to cities in China, and further operating directing flights from Nairobi to Guangzhou in southern China and Hong Kong (China-Kenya website, cited in Kioko, 2011). An additional achievement from the cooperation resulted to providing the Preferred Tourist Places in 2004, which saw a number of Chinese arrivals to double hence expecting the number to continue growing (Kaplinsky R. et al, 2007, cited in *ibid*). Such initiatives were later projected to boost the economy in Kenya by increasing earnings from both the Airlines and tourism section given that it is one of the leading main foreign exchange earnings in Kenya. (Kioko, 2011)

Features of Chinese Aid in Kenya

Since the formation of diplomatic relations, aid and assistance projects provided by China to Kenya mostly entailed building and expansion of projects such as: Moi International Sport Centre; Expansion of Eldoret hospital and generating of methane pit; Building of Nairobi University Confucius Institute; Joint Research work on Vegetables at Egerton University and Teaching Chinese; other projects involving road construction(China-Kenya Embassy website, as cited in *ibid*). In the case of supporting higher education, both China and Kenya signed a cooperation protocol where China agreed to provide Egerton University with teaching and research apparatus with 2 Chinese teachers sent to work there. From 1982, China also provided at least 10 scholarships

to Kenya yearly which saw the new number rising to 20 scholarships yearly (Kioko, 2011). In addition, the road projects in Nairobi was a good example of “China way” of performing development, this has earned China’s aid popularity due to Chinese companies undertakings on the road (Chege, 2008, cited in (Kioko, 2011).

In respect to the road initiatives projects such as A109 National Highway main road carried out from the year 1999 to 2000, it connected Nairobi to coastal regions hence being a major road that enables millions of vehicles to cross Nairobi and Mombasa. After 20 years, the road has been the most used section from any roads in Kenya therefore bringing returns. Second major road project was the Nairobi-Thika Super Highway constructed from 2010 to 2012. The Highway brought significant change in Kenya in many areas. The change of the new highway was beneficial since the old original road caused challenges as it brought a lot of clogged traffic that lasted hours, together with frequent road accidents that were rampant. The highway was constructed through funding of Exim Bank of China, Africa Development Bank together with Kenyan government at a US\$360 million. Chinese construction prowess of 3 companies constructed various sections of the highway. Thika road known by many Kenyans later came to be one of the signature projects ever initiated by former President Mwai Kibaki, reason being, the Highway opened greater sections of Northern, Central and Eastern Central of Kenya to many developments. This is due to rising number of controlled new residential estates emerging along the road, in addition several malls have also been built. Despite that, a sizeable fragment of GDP was also attributed from the road. (Chege K. , 2018)

The third major project was witnessed with the Mombasa-Nairobi Standard Gauge Railway(SGR) constructed from 2014 to 2017 which brought forth a lot of debate for years, particularly on the effectiveness and viability of it. Regardless of different sides of debates, the SGR project has been major economic endeavor introduced by President Mwai Kibaki during the 2012 signing of deals. The cost of constructing SGR was US\$3.6 billion therefore being an infrastructure project that is most expensive since independence. More-so, the construction of SGR was undertaken by China Road and Bridge company where tender for the projects were funded from China Exim Bank. With this, a big number of Kenyans got employment as it also raised Kenya to modern railway development. The benefits experienced was the capacity to run cargo and commuter train hence revolutionizing the way Kenyans travel in the two major cities of Nairobi and Mombasa. In

addition, cargos consisting thousands metric tonnes moved across cities compensated for sizeable measure of money used during constructing it. However, many have argued on the amount spent and technology used, but the project remains a big change towards Kenya's economy. (Chege K. , 2018)

The fourth large project of Lake Turkana- Suswa power line transmission of year 2018, is one of another additional project. Lake Turkana Power proposal was devised to generate 310MW of low cost and reliable energy to national grid in Kenya. Withal, concerns came about mainly due to the project yielding nothing, and largely being the Spanish company won the tender but the task ended up redundant as they were not successful to connect the collected power to national grid. The taking over of the Chinese company however, brought a quick turn as they managed to build a 433.96km power line from Turkana to Narok in duration of only seven months. This therefore came with the launching of the project by the President, together with adding of more power lines which is predicted to cut down the cost of power. (Chege K. , 2018)

The Relationship of China's Aid and Conditionality

In the different classification of foreign aid, three main categories involve; systematic aid, charity-based aid, and humanitarian or emergency aid (Moyo 2009, p.7 cited in (Kioko, 2011). In this regard, systematic aid which is referred as the aid disbursement done directly to government and in this case is official development aid issued straight from Chinese government to Kenya. (Kioko, 2011). Kenya has also been noted to receive development aid from China that differs considerably from that of Western donors. This is due to the difference in expressing the 'terms and conditions' enforced, seconded with the sense of 'trying' (McCormick, 2008, cited in *ibid*). In this respect and unlike donors from the West, China is seen not to be concerned with affairs of democracy, internal governance and human rights in Kenya. Aside from endorsing the 'One China Policy', China is said to have no other conditionality imposed on the country it donates aid to (*ibid*). Furthermore, China's "no political strings attached policy" derived from China-Africa policy is regarded with only one political condition. The condition involves China provides establishments with the 'one China' principle, that would apply in its relations with African countries, this meant that the recipient countries should not give any formal recognition to Taiwan. The same condition accordingly applies to Kenya (Pere, 2006, cited in (Kioko, 2011)

Another aspect on the nature of China aid is that, it is 'tied' to only using Chinese procurement materials and companies situated in China, on contrary, many government officials maintain that China is price-competitive whether or not development aid is 'tied' (Onjala, 2008, cited in *ibid*). Further to this, Chinese aid is also noted to consists of monetary as well as monetary aid packages that cover, loans for infrastructure and grants; training opportunities; scholarships; technical assistance; plant and equipment (McCormick, 2008, cited in *ibid*). In this respect, McCormick indicates that China's monetary aid is tied to using Chinese goods and services, hence only attachment needed is "One China" policy and not of "good governance" as characterized from conditionalities of Western donors. (Kioko, 2011)

Beneficiary and Losers of China's Aid Conditionality

According to Onjala (2008), the different forms of Chinese aid provided to Kenya has been noted to bring benefits such as infrastructural and market development. He goes ahead to state that due to China's quality of development, the recipient is placed to gain (*ibid*, 2008). However, if the fundamental goal of China's aid is to access markets and raw materials from Kenya, then it will, in long run hurt the economy by disrupting local firm's ability to exploit and make use of same resources and markets. (Onjala, 2008)

On the other hand, China's fast increase of aid to Kenya and the lack of aid conditionality may result to outweighing of aid coming from other Western donors. It was also noted that Chinese aid to Kenya may foam productive capacities that compete with producers from regional countries thus lowering export costs. Meanwhile, while looking at Chinese general drive of policy involving no political strings attached, some principles behind it are stated as: First, policy for non-interference being rooted in historical participation of the West interfering with China, therefore they deciding not to form any interference with African countries. Second to that, non-interference policy is built upon China's own encounters that involves their ability of developing in its national circumstances without experiencing any conditionalities. The principle originated from China's government not being careful as they were not to interfere, for it perceives its political troubles in Tibet and Taiwan to result from internal affairs (Embassy Attache, 2007 as cited in (Onjala, 2008)

Even so, setbacks for lack of political strings was illustrated as creating risks that would be produced due to Chinese policy. This involves involvements such as:1) encouraging and strengthening repressive regimes that are not engaging towards poor people's interests and helping

them develop. 2) it would also impair efforts to fight corruption as well as pushing for good governance in Kenya, 3) another aspect involves weakening both environmental and social standards which later turns out not to benefit poor people and environment at large (Onjala, 2008). Furthermore, as indicated by Kaplinsky, R. et al (2007, cited in *ibid*), the aid conditionality indeed seems to be different as it shows to be closely connected to political, strategic objectives, possibly more than assistance offered by the US and European donors. For this part, one of the factor indicated to harm Kenya in long run involves situations of: Chinese aid which is associated with various infrastructural projects being frequently linked to extraction of minerals and oil and later exporting to China. (Onjala, 2008)

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Dependency Theory, Its Relation to China's Aid and Conditionality in Kenya

Dependency theory originated in the late 1950s where it brought concern of the fact economic growth in developed industrialized countries did not lead to the poorer county's growth. (Ferraro, 2008). Dependency theory which was initiated under the supervision of Raul Prebisch who is the Director of United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America gave other suggestions to the studies. This was done together with his colleagues where they indicated that economic growth in rich countries oftentimes resulted to grave economic problems in poor countries. With this, possibility of such happenings could not be foreseen by neoclassical theory, that believed economic growth was favorable to all regardless of benefits not always being shared equally. Prebisch's also brought forth a straightforward explanation about, the exportation of primary commodities by poor countries to richer countries who later on manufactures the gotten commodities then later sold back to poor countries. The value added from manufacturing the usable commodities ended up costing more than primary commodities used in creating the same products. (Ferraro, 2008)

On this note, dependency theory was considered as a practicable way of explaining persistent poverty in poor countries. Nonetheless, another approach from the traditional neoclassical virtually made no remark on this note but maintained that; poor countries were late in catching on to solid economic operations and that poverty would start to subside as soon as they immediately learn the modern techniques of economics. Further, persistent poverty was viewed by Marxists theorists to

be a result of capital exploitation. It was then argued by a *world system approach* who claimed poverty to be direct result of evolution of global political economy, straight to the rigid separation of labor that favored mostly the rich and punished the poor. These debates originating from liberal reformers (Prebisch), Marxist (Andres Gunder Frank) and world system theorists (Wallerstein), had proven to be quite intellectually and vigorously challenging. However, there exists points of disagreements on different strains from the dependency theorists, this therefore suggests it is a mistake to believe on a single unified dependency theory (ibid, 2008). Therefore, it leads to a more analysis and definition of dependency to be; description of a state's economic growth with reference to external influencers which are; economic, political and cultural present on national growth policies (Sunkel, O., 1969, p23., cited in (Ferraro, 2008). Additionally, more emphasis on historical aspect of dependency relationships is upheld by Theotonic Dos Santos who offers his dependency as;

"[.....] an historical condition that shapes certain structures of world economy in a way that favors a number of countries but detrimental to others, which then restricts possibilities of development of subordinate economics...it is a situation by which economy of particular group of countries are conditioned by that of the expansion and development of another country's economy, on which they have subjected their own". (Santos, T., 1971, p. 226 cited in (Ferraro, 2008)

Indeed, during the year 1950s and 1960s a consensus best expressed by Walt Rostow emerged indicating that development strategies to be universally applicable. With it, it suggested Dependency theory defines the richer county's success as highly contingent on success and occasion on international economic history. This is further illustrated by one being dominated by colonial relationships of the highly exploitative European powers, and those relationships are high likely to repeat itself on poor countries. (Ferraro, 2008). While trying to critically analyze Chinese presence and foreign aid conditionality in Kenya, dependency theory will be used to create a better understanding (Agbebi & Virtanen, 2017). The welcome of China by most African countries in this case Kenya was seen to come with benefits such as financial aid as well as technical assistance. China was viewed to offer more advantages as opposed to the traditional western donors and as adequately illustrated,

"The employment of conditionality by the West, is solely in the decades of experiences that were humiliating and at the hands of former colonial powers and that of the United States, echoes..

humiliation of unequal treaties which the West imposed on China during the nineteenth century. Indeed the ability of China to recognize this is a genius part towards its endeavours of its foreign policy in Africa”. (Alden and Alves 2008, p. 20 cited in *ibid*, 2017, p.438)

Furthermore, when looking at China today the new age of Sino-African relations focuses on, mutual benefits; practical outcomes and development driven aspects by China’s development aim; and its growing energy demand. This has therefore created the need for China to secure energy resources that would assist its economic growth and that of its global drive for resources and new markets, which has necessitated its focus to its current presence in various African countries (*ibid*, 2017). China is also viewed to becoming a significant aid partner in Africa, this is due to its development assistance that is increasing in the continent. For this, a strong demand for mineral resources and oil particularly from China has caused a positive impact on the growth rate of economies of some African countries. This however has generated conditions for better trade terms and greater volume of exports (*ibid*, 2017).

Dependency theorists attest to the exploitative relations mainly on the North-south association of the third world supplying of raw materials thus preventing possibilities of industrialization, has been condemned. Given this, Sino-Africa relations contends that Africa is not relegated to supplying of its primary commodities. It therefore suggests that China holds major capacity for industrial productivity in this commitment, hence there lies opportunities for Africa in seizing the productive capacity in this commitment. (Agbebi & Virtanen, 2017)

Furthermore, bulk commodities such as recycled metals and soda ash contributed to 67% of entire exports that were made from Kenya to China, this is together with a manufactured goods accounting to 15.3% (Chege, Morrison, Campos, & Vines, 2008). Meanwhile, Chinese household commodities was seen to continue increasing. This comprised of building fittings, electronic, furniture and office equipment that has now dominated manufacturing sector, hence accounting to half of Kenya’s entire imports coming from China. In addition, 40% of imports made to Kenya by China comprised of transport and machinery equipment, meant for industrial and agricultural production, together with the service sector respectively (*ibid*, 2008). Even though Chinese found their way into the Kenyan market through their household consumer commodities, a vast number of imports fueled productivity in sectors of building construction, industrial areas of resurgent economy and agriculture(*ibid*,2008). Both countries were said to have gained from it. More-so in

February 2006, the Kenyan government embarked on eliminating all duties on computers and its components, this therefore added another item on the list of increasing commodities from China (ibid, 2008). The growing imports of this computer commodities assisted in strengthening an emergent information and communication technology (ICT) mainly in Nairobi and Mombasa. (Chege., et. al. , (2008)

Chege (2008), goes ahead to point that, out one perverse effect that is engaged in the China-Kenya relation was the involvement in export of a controversial commodity in Kenya, the kind critics of China-Africa economic do not pay much ties or focus on. This was the growing acquisition of local scrap metal sold to Chinese companies, and that, “crude” metal is recognized to be one of Kenya’s fast rising materials being exported to China. In this regard, China’s known appetite for metals such as copper and iron has brought number of challenges that involves illegal acquiring, for not all metal is gotten through the right lawful channels. The stealing of electric wiring and steal telephone by criminal syndicates has been witnessed to grow, as the stolen material would then be smelted into copper and later exported to China. The same act has been witnessed on iron and steel which are broken down, pilfered then exported inform of scrap metal. Chege (2008), describes the act as export diversification through theft and plunder. Despite the actions taken by the Kenyan government to arrest and persecute the criminal syndicates, the problem still largely persists. Equally so, laws governing trade regulations among two countries necessitates for closer examination into the matter. Given that the problem is experienced in different regions of other countries, it therefore calls for an intervention form a multilateral convention such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) (Chege, Morrison, Campos, & Vines, 2008)

Realism Theory, Its Relation to China’s Aid and Conditionality in Kenya

According to Donnelly (2000) realism highlights constrains on politics that are enforced by human nature together with the lack of international government. Jointly, they create international relation that is mostly a domain of power as well as interest. Different scholars have debated different description to realism stating that, “*The nature of humans have not changed since the classical days of antiquity*” (Thomsen 1985: 17, as cited in (Donnelly, 2000), and according to realist the nature is at its core egoistic and therefore lead towards immorality. On the other hand, most realist identifies that “men are driven by other desires than the need for power, and therefore power not being the only stand for international relation” (Spykman 1942: 7, cited in ibid, 2000). This is then supported by the affirmation that “humans are not constantly egoistic” (Niebuhr 1944: 123, cited

in *ibid*, 2000), hence the argument of “perception of human nature that performs justice to both heights and depths of human life” (1934: 113, cited in *ibid*, 2000) However, the characteristics of realists offers paramount emphasis on egoistic passions and that of “tragic existence of evil within every political action”(Morgenthau 1946:203, cited in *ibid*, 2000). And since these passions are deep-rooted, “conflict is inevitable”. (Niebuhr 1932: xv, cited in, (Donnelly, 2000)

In this respect classical realists has been summed up to involve the association among nation states which are predominantly political, and therefore ruled by basic traits of human nature like pursuit for power, greed and selfishness. For this reason, the absence of a superior authority (world government) in in international structure has enforced great powers to increase their power hence allowing them chase national interests. Another attribute of realism is explaining that, an international society that has been power oriented has a state’s foreign strategic objectives at either preserving status quo, improving the nation’s prestige or seeking imperial growth (Storey & Yee, 2004). More-over Morgenthau (1993, cited in (Jütersonke, 2010), asserts that the declaration of all politics and the fight for power, could be summed to three types: Indicating, ‘a political approach seeks to either retain power, demonstrate power, or increase power’ (Jütersonke, 2010)

As indicated by Robert Keohane (1986: 7, cited in (Chi, 2010) realism can be considered in three core assumptions; first, the primary actors in international affairs are the sovereign states and not the international institutions or non-governmental organizations. Secondly, the maximization of power is aimed by each state, whereby knowledge is limited in these states as they are fundamentally motivated to survive, and primary goal being to safeguard own security. Thirdly, each state is claimed to be a rational actor always operating in its own self-interest, therefore restricting cooperation on international grounds. (Chi, 2010)

While looking at another realist perspective, the consideration of national interests are essential in deciding; What aid ought to be given, and To whom is to be given; in What form is it to be given; and in What quantities (Riddell 1987: 67 cited in (Raposo, 2013). This therefore proves to show foreign aid illustrates, that prospective recipients who supports the interests of the donor will most likely receive aid and that security goals will triumph over other factors pertaining to aid decisions (Barrat 2008: 12, cited in *ibis*, 2013). On this account, aid was concluded to enlarge donor’s influence politically, affects its foreign investments and trade programmes, lastly, to enhance its

military security (Hook 1995: 34, as cited in *ibid*, 2013) and thereby aid being viewed as indivisible power in international political sector. (Raposo, 2013)

As a latecomer in the field of great powers, China is not fulfilled with the current global power system and is therefore aimed to challenge the existing power relation by embracing an approach of imperial expansionism, which is focused at achieving both global and regional hegemony. In this respect an imperial power can therefore achieve its strategic aims through economic, cultural or military force. Nonetheless, when looking at the neorealist perspective, the anarchic condition in international politics does not express the pursue of unlimited power by single nation- states. Indeed, the power pursuit from single nation-states is controlled by international system (Storey & Yee, 2004)

According to Xiaojun (China is offering ‘no strings attached aid’ to Africa. , 2018). one of the underlying believe that makes aid conditional is the question as to whether good governance promotes economic development. In this respect, some initial measures of economic development is required, this would facilitate institutes of economic development to produce more growth and development. Therefore, evidence has shown China can assist a country such as Kenya to recognize such initial growth by means of investment and industrialization. Xiaojun, (2018) goes ahead to state that, China’s aid and investment presents nothing innately good or bad. However, the “no political strings attached” policy signifies potential benefits and can easily be traded-off by corruption and local politics. Furthermore, researchers at AidData observed that, the development finance projects provided by China is more concentrated in the African politicians and leaders birth regions rather than the needy regions. (Xiaojun, 2018)

In respect to Kelley, on Kenya Daily Nation (2019), the analysis carried out by Washington based African Centre for Strategic Studies (ACSS) points out that, borrowers should recognize that infrastructural loans from China are predominantly intended to increase political power and military gain. Aside from that, it was also established that the Kenyan standard gauge railway financed and constructed by the Chinese lenders is producing economic deficit along with potential benefits. For this, there could be an increase of exports by \$192 million by the Kenyan railway to the East African Community. However, incidences termed as “offloading of Chinese excess capacity” is illustrated from an assessment of Chinese imports growing in Kenya by 4 and 6 percent in the past decade. Nonetheless, there have been blames from Kenyan manufactures about the

countries decreasing market share which is mostly of industrial products connected to Chinese firms. With this, they have accused China's importation of raw materials and hiring of own labor", states Nantulya (Kelley, 2019)

In addition, further studies from US think tanks, suggested that, what happened to Sri Lanka in 2017 where it handed over its Hambantota port to Chinese state-owned companies could also happen to Kenya. This was after defaulting on infrastructural loan of a 99 -year lease. The same applied to Pakistan after handing over their 40-year lease of Gwadar port where there were also plans of Chinese partners to keep 90 percent of its gotten revenues." US think tank also added, that "Beijing tends in some cases to attach importance in acquiring strategic assets than repayment of debts from its respective partners". (Kenya's Daily Nation, (2019). Additionally, the study urged Kenya to strive in making more transparent deals with China and by this it will be protecting its national interest (Kelley, 2019)

The Neoliberal Shift, Its Relation to China's Aid and Conditionality in Kenya

A backlash from seen failures of developments that were led by states began to dominate in 1980's after the neoliberal revolution. Prior to this, development was viewed as a state-led venture and therefore, the giving of development assistance was primarily directed to the state. Bauer (an advisor to Margaret Thatcher a former British Prime Minister), articulated that the earlier approaches used by the state to promote the economy through policies of state-planning, protectionism and import-substitution and industrialization were unwarranted. As a result, the negative economic status of poor countries was due to this prolonged development assistance. (Elmi, 2012)

To rectify the failures of development projects, conditions were further placed on recipient countries. Despite conditionalities being part of the aid system, new development plans led to more direct and strict conditions. According to Goldin et., al (2002), as cited in (Elmi, 2012), the downfall of primary commodities in 1970s combined with debt crisis resulted in a lot of developing countries recognizing with new conditions. The also included the terms from donor countries and International Finance Institutions before getting access to the development aid. Some of the imposed conditionalities were from political, economic and social in nature. Through economic incentives, Western donors argued the effectiveness of aid to be brought by 'positive' conditionalities that promote instituting democracy, human rights, and instilling rule of law (

Lirong, 2011, as cited in ibid, 2012). Nonetheless, the 1980s saw the introduction of Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) where it made assistance conditional, and therefore implementing of policies such as liberalization, deregulation and reduction on government expenditure (Rodrik, 2007, as cited in ibid, 2012)

Another purpose for economic conditionality was to promote liberalization of market, where it would force a lot of countries to relinquish state-led development method. However, this meant the vast natural resources and labor in developing countries was open for exploitations from private sectors who were more efficient. Political conditionality is yet another vital part of new development policies which involves reforming political systems that requires a lot of democratic processes to governing. This is in instances where there are set requirements for governments to have multi-party elections, together with promoting political power decentralization, and having transparent decision-making actions (Rodrik, 2007, as cited in, ibid, 2012). The adaptation of these policies was further argued to create developing governments that are more accountable to their own citizens and that of international donors. This on the other side, meant that opening-up countries would engage the outside investors to developing countries. For this reason, the capital flow and foreign investment would therefore ease development challenges experienced by developing countries hence assisting in encouraging economic growth (Mencinger, 2003 as cited in (Elmi, 2012)

Indeed, there also emerged a vigorous debate questioning Structural Adjustment Policies (SAP) conditionalities in fostering economic hence social decline in a lot of developing economies in past decades. There were arguments of recipient countries not whole heartedly attempting to implement the SAPs hence causing its failure (Elmi, 2012). However, other blames that rose were those of restrictive conditions plaguing normal roles of the developing countries (Leys, 1996; Harvey, 2005, as cited in ibid, 2012) For this reason, it was therefore acknowledged that the policy of neoliberal prescribed have not shown to deliver necessary results for developing countries, mostly in the context of African states. Subsequently, according to Cheru & Obi (2010) statement, “*A monopoly influence on Africa’s future development by China is no longer enjoyed by the West*” (p. 9, as cited in (Elmi, 2012)). China therefore transpired to be an alternative means of development assistance to dominant approach of the West (Elmi, 2012)

Neoliberalism prioritizes on mutual interdependence of countries as a means of achieving economic growth, prosperity and growth. (Raposo, 2013) However, according to (Wamboye & Tiruneh, 2017), much has been debated on China's economy not being neoliberal, this is due to its foreign aid strategies which contradicts its development policies of business-as-usual of the Washington consensus. The Chinese government thereby retains significant ownership and arguably vital economic areas that consists of financial and natural resource sectors. This has encouraged sourcing of natural resources hence directed towards the fueling of China's economy. More-so, one distinguishable features of China from the traditional donor's involvement in the African nations is the "noninterference" shared policy, which is applied in relation to the political affairs and economic policies. In respect to neoliberalism, free trade was promoted inform of structural adjustment programs from International Monetary Fund and World Bank the years 1980s and 1990s, where the objective was to create mutual benefits. (Wamboye & Tiruneh, 2017). On this regard, China's aid influence in Kenyan, it is yet to be determined as to whether the economy is structured to line up with the neoliberal aspects of "free trade" when it comes to Chinese development aid in the country. Issues such as trade imbalance between China and Kenya was also discovered in the process of the research. It is therefore discussed and analyzed in details in the Chapter Five of the analysis section.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH PURPOSE

The objective of the research is to look at the relationship between China's aid and conditionality in Kenya. It also seeks to answer the question of how Chinese aid occurs in Kenya and the main effects of it.

This will therefore involve the analysis of how China's aid manifests itself, what relation does this aid have with the conditionality, which is mainly about imposing certain restrictions for the country receiving the aid. Or rather, what is required by Kenyan governments in-regards to acquiring certain benefits that the Chinese offer. The focus will therefore be directed in researching different insights of China's aid, this however is done by striving to attain outcomes without a lot of bias, but that of trying to offer a middle ground. The extensive critics and bias from Western scholars who demean Chinese aid model to African nations offers different mixed views, some stating Chinese unconditionality will delay progress as it encourages corruption and bad regimes.

Meanwhile, others indicate the true nature of Chinese aid as being one that is conditioned to plunder natural resources as that is the real intention.

In order to establish how Chinese aid happens in the context of Kenya, creating a balance perspectives will be necessary, this will be done by also looking at the positive side simply by studying Chinese various newspapers articles, this is the China Daily that vocalizes a lot on the beneficial aspects of aid that they offer. In addition, the Western scholar's articles or newspapers will be included which will assist in presenting a balanced academic debate on the China's aid. Most importantly, in order to achieve the effects of China's aid in Kenya, either on conditional or unconditional grounds, second objective will involve closer scrutiny of how this aid is being carried out and analyzing how the aid is being received by different proponents of Kenyans.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

On this rational, the identification of different paradigms is also vital to consider, this includes paradigms of positivism and interpretivism. The first concept of positivism can directly link to epistemology of objectivism, this clearly confirms to the theory that it is possible for individuals to access hard and objective knowledge of external reality (Carson et al., 2001, cited in, (Levy, 2006). On the other hand, the second concept of interpretivism confirms that individuals cannot get direct access to the real world, this is due to knowledge and the understanding of world or external reality being considered by use of interpretive processes (Carson et al., 1998, cited in, ibid, 2006). In summation, the aim of interpretive concept is to understand and explore the various phenomenon in a given context. (Levy, 2006)

The nature of research according to (Neville 2007, as cited in (Askarzai, 2017), involves a methodical, a systematic process, and ethical steps involved in solving a problem. It also concerns with the understanding of the phenomenon, the answering a question, and lastly establishing facts. The fundamental of research is therefore described as establishing and understanding research methodology. On this basis, Lan (2002, cited in, ibid 2017) points out that identifying proper research methodology as being fundamental to the success of a research. Moreover, additional remark, was that '*without a suitable design and proper application of research methods, the researcher is unlikely to collect quality information*' (MacDonald, et al 2008., as cited in (Askarzai, 2017, pp. 22-23)

Ontology and epistemology are the two dimensions used to differentiate existing research. They therefore connect with the nature and development of knowledge. Hence, indicating ontology as the perception of how we view reality. With it, the interpretation is of objectivists this is because reality exists in an external while being independent of the social actors. Contrarily, epistemology, is referred as being the beliefs of the ways to create, understand and apply knowledge that are considered justifiable and valid. (Laughlin et al., 1995 as cited in (Wahyuni, 2012). Research methodology and research methods are also indicated to be distinctive concepts, where, methodology being termed as a map or domain, while method referring to the set of steps traveled between two places on a map. Accordingly, methodology again described as the model that conducts a research in a context of a specific paradigm. (Jonker and Pennink 2010, as cited in, (Wahyuni, 2012)

Deductive Research Approach

The research approach that was considered in the analysis was a deductive theory or deductive reasoning respectively. It is also known as the top down approach where it begins with an hypothesis or a theory then forms its way to a conclusion which is built on evidence. According to Bryman (2016) the approach conveys the most common views of the nature of relationship between the theory and the social research. This therefore allows the researcher to build on the already known domain or make use of the relevant theoretical views to determine a hypothesis (ibid, 2016).

In using a deductive approach, the formation of theory together with hypothesis later directs the process of data collection. First there will be developing of theory, which will be seconded by the hypothesis, thirdly there will be collection of data which will then, lead to fourth step of analysing the findings, and later to the fifth step that involves to confirming the hypothesis or rejecting it, the last step will then entail the revision of the theory (ibid, 2016). In a brief, the research will demonstrate the proceeds in which the hypothesis are gathered from various existing theories, then later used to direct the process of collecting data which can be tested. (Bryman, 2016)

Limitation of Using Deductive Approach

Given that the process of deductive approach shows to be very linear, it is described in a way that one step comes after the other hence in a logical, clear sequence. However, Bryman, (2016) ,notes that, on certain instances this may not be the case. This is solely because a researcher's perspective

on theory or a given literature might change due to an outcome of analysis from the data collected. On this note, there may be publishing of new theoretical findings and ideas by others just before the researcher has produced his or her own findings. Second to this, the relevance of a given data of a theory may not be proven real after the collection of the data. (Bryman, 2016)

Data Collection

The research analysis that was included in the collection of secondary data comprised of academic books, academic reports and scholarly journals and articles. Moreover, gathering of secondary information comprised of data that already exists, this served as foundation and a guiding tool for collection of primary data.

In addition, the research method the study focused more on was qualitative approach, this was used to collect qualitative data. In places where qualitative research method lost its validity quantitative research was then applied. While looking at qualitative research method, it is regarded as an approach that is used to get understanding of underlying issues, motivation and opinions, hence providing insights of the existing problems. More-so, it helps to develop an idea or a hypothesis for a possible qualitative research (Wyse, 2011, as cited in (Sinaga, 2014). The application of it in the study, involved investigating the nature of China's aid to Kenya. Conditionality is an aspect associated with different foreign aid that is tied, in order to justify whether the aid Kenya is receiving from China is truly with no strings attached, a lot of bearings were considered. The qualitative research also termed as non-numerical method was put in place by following certain steps. In detail, it involved acquiring and analyzing both data from media such as newspapers, opinions form online videos, and lastly, interviews data collected from official government websites such as the Embassy of China in Nairobi. Doing so, revealed a lot of findings, some showing the positive processes of China's engagements through construction of different projects in Kenya. The other side however, depicts different levels of exploitation for example exportation of natural resources to China, trade imbalance, and among other issues discussed in the analysis. (Sinaga, 2014)

As previously discussed, all this was carried out through descriptive or interpretive research method by getting perceptions and opinions from online newspapers articles; online videos of local people in Kenya, politicians, western traditional donors and Chinese government officials themselves. Secondly, the use of quantitative research only came into place when analyzing the

different types of activities that China undertakes in terms of development and carrying out of construction projects. As described by Wyse(2011, as cited in, (Sinaga, 2014), quantitative research involves the approach of generating numerical data that can be conveyed into useable statistics. It can be applied in quantifying opinions, behaviors, attitudes and other variables. By studying academic books, reports and journals, the use of quantitative research enabled the examining of figures, and the amount of money directed in the various development projects. This mainly consisted of construction of roads, railways and bridges and other construction activities that China undertakes in relation to the aid it is providing to Kenya. Through quantitative consideration, it is therefore possible to attain different statistics that comprises of opinions or figures explaining the costs and number of projects. (Sinaga, 2014)

The choice of qualitative research method was found appropriate for this study as it facilitated a deep analysis, offering of subjective views and understanding of the research question and its sub-question, which is *What is the relationship of China's aid and conditionality in Kenya? How does China's aid occur in Kenya and what are the effects of it?*

The fact that qualitative depends on the sole interpretation of individuals enables a more distinct analysis of the description of social reality. This is in connection with China being a donor of foreign aid to its recipient, Kenya. With this, China's process of aid assistance has received a lot of interpretation by individuals who either raises concerns or give support to China's undertakings, particularly to its non-conditionality policy that comes with it. A lot of interpretations assessed shows a social reality of how the mentioned segments of people feel regarding China's processes as well as the pros and cons involved in the China-Kenya aid relation.

Critical Approach to Literature

A critical approach to literature and relative sources used in the research is essential. This is due to the nature of the topic which is highly sensitive, that is also accompanied with various interpretations from different scholars. The research question was noted to bring about both positive views and criticism hence showing the interpretations can be examined from different angles considering all factors.

According to Bazerman (Bazerman, 1995), while representing an account of an event in a particular way, as a researcher, one is able to develop a perspective or a point of view. Oftentimes, that point of view is an element of set attitudes or beliefs the researcher possess about the subject

and due to personal conviction. Furthermore, Bazerman goes ahead to indicate the biases or attitude of a researcher may then appear in a manner which they present the voices they use. On the grounds of this, the more the researcher separates voices characterized as good or bad opposition, the more distinctly the researcher aligns his or herself on one side of the story or the other. More-so the selecting of sides is most likely to take place on controversial matters. (Bazerman, 1995)

Meanwhile, while determining the credibility of the sources of information, some may draw information from type of media, then make interpretations accordingly. The interpretation of it may be based upon, the quality of information; the reliability and trustworthiness of the information; and lastly, the believability of the media. (Savolainen, 2017). Nonetheless, distinctions may be formed across quality newspapers as well as tabloids, this is for instance when judging credibility may be rested on collaborative efforts, this is especially when people sharing common concerns and interest end up evaluating truthfulness or believability of information sources. (Flanagin and Metzger 2000, p. 517), as cited in (Savolainen, 2017)

Research Limitation

The research limitation involves factors such as not being able to access adequate secondary data that comprises of information on China's aid and the how the element of conditionality applies itself in Kenya. This is because not so much research work is available that involves China and Conditionality. Taking the aspect China and the element of conditionality in place, this therefore led to mostly studying and writing some sections as a general view of Western or African countries then linking it to Kenya at the end. Second limitation was the research time was very limited, this is due to the broad nature of the topic that requires a lot of factors to be considered. One being that the research used a lot of secondary data, it was therefore impossible to carry out face to face interviews or create questionnaires that would have revealed more and new knowledge. Additional factors that were encountered was trying to balance the research work in a way that would not lean too much on the bias side.

Most of the analysis proved to be controversial hence forcing the researcher to examine more data that would create a middle ground and generate a less biased report. Theories that were available and used for example Dependency, Realism and Neoliberal were written by Western scholars, this therefore indicates that bias and controversial aspects in respect to China engaging in Kenya as

one of African countries are bound to be noticed. More-so unavailability of theories from China's side that would help support their claims was also a limitation as it would have assisted to understand China's perspectives better.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS

The Relationship of China's Aid and Conditionality in Kenya from Dependency Perspective

According to one of Dependency theory founder' Theotonio Dos Santos' who explains dependence as "a situation whereby economy of specific countries are conditioned by development and growth of another economy in which the former is subjected" (Dos Santos 1970, p. 231, cited in, (Farny, 2016). Given the explanation, "dependence" in the international set-up can be used as a system for explaining global inequalities. Furthermore, as illustrated by Dos Santos, structure of dependency did not only become a challenge, but was also a quite controversial subject of discussion specifically in the school of thought. For example, some agreed and supported the solution of forming more global equality in a socialist revolution that is influenced by Marxism, on the other hand, others advocated improvements in international economic structure (Herath 2008, 820, as cited in, (Farny, 2016). Theotonio dos Santos, goes ahead to express his views by mentioning, he views dependency as a 'conditioning circumstance' which creates the peripheral nations to be backward and exploitative. More-so this stand is due to international labor division perpetuated by the system of capitalist, hence permitting the occurrence of development in few countries and restricting development in others. (Agbebi & Virtanen, 2017, p. 434)

In relation to these concerns, a lot of criticism that was highly felt was with imbalance of volume of trade between the Sino-Africa trade. According to United Nations Office for South-South Cooperation, 2015 (UNOSSC), a report on China, stated that there was removal of custom duty of products originating from the least developed countries in Africa, with the products contributing to 93 percent exports going to China. The Dependence theorists brings importance in this study as it helps to establish and spotlight the exploitative nature of relations involving North-South. This is together with the manner in which third world has been deplored with its role of being a supplier of raw materials that has prevented possibilities for industrialization. Thereby in relation to China,

African countries are encouraged to take the opportunity and commit in productive activities in the midst of the engagement. (Agbebi & Virtanen, 2017, pp. 442-443)

The notion above can be supported by Kenya's President Kenyatta speech as he requested China to rebalance the trade relationship, stating that Beijing should push to widen trade deficit. According to Pilling & Klasa (2017), in Kenya's Financial times Newspaper, President Kenyatta stated'

' [...] , trade deficit is a concern and we will push to see ways of expanding opportunities for Kenyan goods to enter Chinese market" Kenyatta continued by mentioning that if Beijing's strategy of win-win was going to work, then they must open up to Africa, just as Africa is opening up China''. (Pilling & Klasa, 2017)

Pilling & Klasa (2017), also indicated that the calling for China to rebalance trade gap is in reference to the concerns of China flooding the country with manufactured goods, and extracting of raw materials. It was also illustrated that Kenya imported worth \$ 5.9 billion of Chinese goods, while ended up exporting goods worth \$ 99 million in return. (Pilling & Klasa, 2017)

Part Conclusion on Dependency Perspective

In this regard global inequality explained in the dependence theory above points out to the imbalance of trade, where the Kenyan government through the President is calling for a much mutual win- win strategy with the Chinese government. The inequality can be seen from the large magnitude of goods flooding the Kenyan markets, while exporting of Kenyan goods to China being very limited. This has also caused many challenges such as competition and tension with Kenyan locals as China's goods have been viewed to be putting domestic businesses out of the market. The theory therefore helps to raise the question as to whether China's presence in Kenya will end up being beneficial or detrimental to its economy and development.

The Relationship of China's Aid and Conditionality in Kenya from Realism Perspective

Realist perspective points out that a state should be concerned about its own interest or act in pursuant of its own national interest. While looking at one of Morgenthau principle for realism, emphasis is made on the notion of all state actors that comprise of own, should be seen entirely as political entities in pursuant of own respective interests described as power. However, Morgenthau

continues to assert that, a country would be able to seek policies that respected other's interests, while promoting and protecting its own (Zalta, 2010).

Further to this, aspects that were used as a support of policies in respect to mutual interest was through four main prospects that were brought forth from the China-Kenya cooperation; first was consolidating political trust as well as solidifying mutual trust that will oversee both sides strengthens (Baohong, 2018). It constitutes working together on aspects such as poverty alleviation, economic development, anti-corruption and environmental protection, where China-kenya would supports each other to find right ways towards respective development. (ibid, 2018). The second aspect would be to upgrade cooperation as Kenya is already in its initial phase of industrialization and can create production of high-quality capacity, advanced technologies, abundant funds and experiences from Chinese side. Third aspect, is promoting communication and integration as China and Kenya are true brothers and close partners. On this basis, China is prepared to allocate funds and technology and share development experiences with Kenya. Consequently, the initiative has also overseen a lot of Kenyans to look for business opportunities in China. (Baohong, 2018)

From a more different approach known as twentieth-century classical realism, According to (Zalta, 2010), proponents such as Alfred Zimmern, Norman Angell and other idealist provide their intellectual support to collection of nations. They indicated that, rather than focusing on what others might perceive to be inevitability of conflict between countries and peoples, they prefer to give special importance on the common interests that possibly could unite humanity. With this in place, it seeks to plead with morality and rationality. For them, conflicts did not begin in an egoistic human nature, instead it originated from imperfect social conditions together with political arrangements, that can be improved. (Zalta, 2010). However, while looking at Chinese undertakings in Kenya, it can be viewed from factors which will later be discussed. Some being the effects portraying that China is establishing its power and not benefiting Kenya. On another perspective, it was indicated that a realists' negative stand is the emphasis on self-interest and power is oftentimes their pessimism concerning the importance of ethical norms in relation between states (Zalta, 2010)

Further to this, there has existed cautions about Chinese infrastructure loans being primarily intentioned to expand Beijing's political influence and that of its military reach. This is due to the

One Belt, One Road strategy in over 60 nations, Kenya included which is indicated to be China's geopolitical project depicted to strengthen China's grand strategy hence aiming to becoming 'great power'. (Kelley, 2019). The above analysis can be linked using five types of categories described as; **Moral effect, Unemployment effect, Competitive effects, Social effects and Cultural effects**. This will assist in establishing the consequences either positive or detrimental, that has been brought from China's aid and its relation to conditionality in Kenya.

Moral Effects

According to Zweig and Jianhai (2005 p.31), cited in, (Adisu, Sharkey, & Okoroafo, 2010), '*the resource-grounds foreign policy of Beijing has little room for morality*' (p.5-6). For instance, some very rich resources are gotten in nations that have history of governance that are ineffective. This is supported by the claim of China creating relations with rogue countries, which oftentimes has resulted to violent responses from citizens of some of their recipient countries. In regards to Kenya's Daily Nation Newspaper, concerns over transparent deals was pushed for, stating that Kenya should aim at protecting national interest by ensuring deals made with China are transparent. This came after noticing the One Belt, One Road (OBOR) negotiations being prevented from both public and private scrutiny hence indicating the opaque nature of these agreements to be a point of concern (Kelley, 2019). It was also noted that how the host country perceives Beijing made a sensitive touch on them. This is specifically through public awareness, and secondly, when active and vigilant negotiations together with negotiators of OBOR becoming more reactive to the demands of locals. Consequently, the absence of oversight and accountability risks cases of agreements being unfavorable, hence increasing ultimate defaults. (Kelley, 2019)

Unemployment Effect

This was analyzed by examining communities discontent, some came particularly from those who recognized that Chinese operations were not providing enough to strengthen local economy as well as raising local employment. According to Kelly (2016) from the BBC News, Other concerns termed as Chinese ownership was one of the major issue that was brought forward stating that Chinese Road and Bridge Corporation were demolishing shops without a warning. And that the main aim was taking the land, this therefore resulted to leaving locals that owns the shops with ruined and destroyed businesses, hence forcing them to shift to other choice of work. Chinese

response to the above claims of land appropriation coming from China's private company contract sector (Road and Bridge Corporation) stated that:

“The acquisition of land and demolishing of facilities are employer’s responsibility and this case, the government is the employer for the infrastructural projects” (Kelly, 2016)

Infrastructural projects owned by Chinese companies are said to account to 32 percent, with this educational programs and constructions has later risen the figure to 50 percent. The outcome of it however is that, with the increase of Chinese investment, tension has also risen among local workers and foreign contractors. An approach to the matter was brought about by an institution center known as Art Luo Sino-Africa of Excellence, believing that Chinese training the Kenyan construction workers is fundamental to reducing pressure between communities. This was maintained with a comment that:

“We hope the trained Kenyans in the future may become Chinese subcontractors in their projects, once they acquire technical know-how and management skills, then it will enable the outsourcing of part of construction work to small enterprises in Kenya” (Kelly, 2016)

Competitive Effects

This is yet another conflict that has been emphasized in the Chinese sponsored projects, stating that Chinese use of own labor, instead of local workers in some of African countries has been locally criticized (Alden, 2005, cited in (Adisu, Sharkey, & Okoroafo, 2010). A second aspect that was reiterated to be problematic was the impact caused by competition of Chinese operations on African enterprises as well as exports. (Adisu, Sharkey, & Okoroafo, 2010) . The demanding of protection from Kenyan construction firms has also been one of the underlying issues. This is due to the need for this firms being shielded so as to increase profitable domestics. An example is illustrated with a construction company demanding protection by the name Spencon limited, with experience of 28years of operating in large-scale projects which are donor funded. According to Spencon Limited, the demand for protection is due to Chinese construction company taking the country by storm, hence its Kenyan regional director stating;

“ we have no competitive edge, so we ought not to be exposed to a lot of competition.” (Chege, Morrison, Campos, & Vines, 2008, p. 28)

In the case of Kenya, there has been protest from local workers stating promised jobs not being enough for them or actual jobs not appearing at all. The protest from Kenyan part of the county of Narok resulted into storming and attacking of China's construction sites and contractors of China Road and Bridge (Kuo, 2016). The promised jobs comprised of drivers and plant operators, but instead, the jobs availed to them were negligible. Other complains brought forward was the importing of own Chinese labor in Kenya this is in two years after commencement of construction. Additional concern was of Chinese companies unnecessary firing of workers who were asking for more pay, that is five dollars a day instead of two and half dollar that is average wage payed to unskilled labor. Other issues involved secretly stealing of water coming from local communities, and secretly unearthing sand from beaches in Kenya for use as construction material (Kuo, 2016)

Social Effect

While assessing the pros and cons of Chinese engagement in Kenya, the proceeding may not be simple. This is due to China's contribution to Kenya such as providing infrastructure of roads, railways, bridges and dams. In addition, other positive operations have been linked to sending of doctors in treatment expeditions, training of workers and offering scholarships to Kenyan students in various Chinese universities. While on the other note, the cons have been attributed to the China-Kenya relationship emboldening the government not to promote political and economic reforms that may promote progress. (Adisu, Sharkey, & Okoroafo, 2010)

The positive social impacts are analyzed and described as follows;

According to Wu Peng (2019) a Chinese Ambassador to Kenya, "***Based on common aspiration of China and Kenya, the pragmatic partnership has been flourishing where infrastructural cooperation has embedded different fields including railways, airport, roads, housing, communication, power and water supply***". (Peng, 2019)

Wu Peng also commented on the benefits achieved so far by stating on a number of aspects such as;

'[.....]' China and Kenya are working very closely on constructions of Special Economic Zones that will see rewards for in industrialization sector. The Garissa solar power station is currently

connected to grid enabling generation of power. Projects for mankind's livelihoods such as, Accessing Satellite TV for 10,000 Villages in Africa, are now in place” (Peng, 2019)

Wu Peng went ahead to state, *“Both sides enjoy continual exchanges in education, culture and education. The China-Kenya Crop Molecular Biology Laboratory that were built in Kenya. Around 170 Kenyan students in the year 2018 were granted China sponsored scholarships meant for further education in China. The training in China of 686 Kenya people coming from all walks of life. Concurrently, over 81,000 tourists from China travelled to Kenya for adventure and leisure.” (Peng, 2019)*

“Based on the principles of shared benefits, mutual respect and equality, together with Kenya we will certainly build up our bilateral cooperation in all areas and boost mutual understanding.” (Peng, 2019)

The relationship between China and Kenya comes at a best time in history. In the past, President Kenyatta together with President Xi Jinping enhanced the relation of China and Kenya into a far-reaching Strategic Cooperative Alliance (Peng, 2019). Based on comments from CGTN Africa, youtube video analyses (CGTNAfrica., 2017), the sort of economic returns Kenya was speculated to get after the high expenditure of the Standard Gauge Railway through China's loans is supported by various notions. This includes the fact that Kenya is Eastern Central African key trade gateway, but due to its outdated infrastructure Kenya could easily loose its advantages of linking to the world and the world to it. As indicated by an Economist Aly-Khan Satchu,

“It is absolutely essential that Kenya upgraded its infrastructure and one of the key ones being the railway, it should be looked at that it is there to do a fundamental purpose of taking Kenya's goods to global markets, bringing goods to the region, to distribute and to make profit.” (CGTNAfrica., 2017)

The Standard Gauge Railway being the country's biggest project since independence, massive criticism have been directed on the Kenyan government. The worry on many Kenyan tax payers mind is whether the project is worthy. Aly-Khan Satchu further indicated that, it was after launching of the services that Kenyans will experience the benefit of the new railway. This was later supported with the statement that,

“Ingredients for industrialization are, essentially cheap transport, cheap power and access to global market. I think the railways fits into that. What Kenya is hoping for is the railway should provide access to cheap transport, and not wasting time and money stuck on the road.”
(CGTNAfrica., 2017)

The detrimental social impacts are analyzed and described as follows;

Following Yash Pal Ghai’s (2019), on STAR Classified Kenyan Watchdog News about remarks of whether Kenya is a beneficiary or Chinese victims of the Belt and Road Initiative. According to the information, most clear instance was Chinese take-over of Sri Lanka harbor that temporarily they could not fully pay. The question that Yash Pal Ghai later brought forth was what Kenyans were risking. Kenyans are concerned with the risk of seizure on the Mombasa Port in event of the country being unable to pay out the debts to China. The port was seen as a good military base that China could aim to acquire(Ghai, 2019).

In accordance to this, recent leaks of documents have indicated the threats of seizing any Kenyan assets. The leak refers to the huge loans gotten from China directed towards the Nairobi Standard Gauge Railway project connecting Mombasa to Nairobi. The loans are to be paid off from the revenue earned from the Standard Gauge Railway (SGR), however, this seems not to be meeting the expectation as the revenues have been way below the original estimates. This is despite the efforts of Kenyan government to force importers to use the Standard Gauge Railway. Consequently, it was maintained that in the incidence of default, China can acquire a lot of critical resources, this is anything ranging from natural resources, airports and more (Ghai, 2019). It would happen particularly on the grounds of individuals not paying off their debts, thus the action of seizing of assets so as to appease a court judgement. Ghai (2019), goes ahead to mention that the agreements undertaken between the two countries are solely governed by Chinese law. This was stated by a Kenyan lawyer saying,

“ The making of the agreements is being done in Kenya, the railways built in Kenya, and assets being talked about are in Kenya, then why are the agreement being governed by China laws”?
(Ghai, 2019).

In a nutshell, this means that any disappointment can only be settled by China’s International Economics and Trade Arbitration Commission based in Beijing. On this note, greater confidence

would have been instilled if there was application of neutral law, but it seems not to be the case. Additional prevailing concerns includes issues with transparency. It involves a number of unfair clauses present in the contracts of this agreements (Ghai, 2019). Clauses such as keeping of the contracts a secret brought alot of discontent, this is particularly due to Kenyan government continuous promises of releasing contracts but to no avail as they have stalled, probably because revealing them would violate their agreements with China. Secondly it was presumed that doing so would expose incompetence of Kenyan government officials and most importantly the massive corruption behind it. According to Ghai (2019), looking at Kenya's perception on the issue, it is believed that Kenyans are most worried about the undermining of local industries from cheap goods flowing in the country, it is together with the increasing fear of corruption. Most importantly, the major concern has been the incurring size of large dept that the government is bringing upon the country. (Ghai, 2019) The above analysis is supported by the largest independent newspaper in Kenya, The Nation, stating that,

“Neither Kenya's as a borrower, or either of its assets gets entitlement to the right of immunity as a ground for sovereignty.” (Cited in VOANews., (Solomon, 2019)

Some of the clauses found on the contracts conditions the use of goods form China, this is together with use of technology and services the Chinese is prepared to offer during construction of the Standard Gauge railway and its operations. The confidentiality provision restricts Kenyan government form revealing terms and conditions of the contracts without written consent from Beijing. (Solomon, 2019). Further to the above aspects, a number of involvements that China was accused of planning to do in Kenya was also brought to the table. According to Xinhua (2019) who is one of the Chinese governmental official, there have been issues arising about the takeover of Mombasa Kenyan port by China. In a televised interview in the city of Mombasa 2019, President Kenyatta termed the issues of takeover as pure propaganda, and later proceeding with praising China for providing affordable financial packages that is affordable to both Kenya as well as other African countries. Other alleging reports stating that Kenya had used the port of Mombasa as a collateral to meet the payments of standard Gauge Railway agreement with Chinese financial institutions, was also acknowledged by Kenyatta as issues that do not exist. This is together with the incurring debt which was noted to be a big concern, a response to the pressing issue was

through assurance that Kenya's debt was mainly directed for infrastructure and development. And that it will benefit both current and future generations. (Xinhua, 2019)

Cultural Effects

The research has also tried to combine cultural analysis with foreign policies. According to Storey and Yee (2004), a concept such as constructivism strives to investigate the effects of cultural identity, socialization and different institutions and international actors. Furthermore, the notion holds that only comprehensive cultural review will be able to yield a reasonable justification of a nation's behavior. It is also believed that a strategic cultural position of a nation holds a big impact on the plans it pursues. Therefore, according to Alastair Johnston (cited in (Storey & Yee, 2004), the nature of China's strategic culture is of economic expansion, also known as expansionist. In addition, Chinese strategic culture also involves major attributes of realpolitik that mainly defined as concepts formed on practicality and not on ideological or moral scrutiny. It also mentions that China's case indicates that realpolitik behavior should be started as a 'cultural realist' criteria, which is an impressive root of a state's behavior. (Storey & Yee, 2004)

According to Baohong (2018) who is a Chinese Ambassador to Kenya wrote an article featured in the Nation newspaper 2018, stating the 55year period of people-to-people and cultural exchanges has ended up building fruitful results. For this part, the people-to-people together with cultural exchanges has consistently been an important factor towards China-Kenya relations. Baohong went ahead to mention, that the recent years has witnessed China and Kenya joint efforts that has set up people-to-people and cultural exchanges between the two sides (Baohong, 2018). This is particularly in the fields of culture, science and technology, education, tourism and sports. The joint effort has enabled 1,000 Kenyan students and above to acquire Scholarships from Chinese government, additionally, more than 2,400 kenyan students are also studying in China, hence making it among the top overseas destinations for students coming from Kenya. The learning of Chinese has been a passion for them, as it has brought forth the Confucius Institutes. With it, several Chinese Confucius classrooms have been built since 2005 with the first one being established in University of Nairobi. The people-to-people and cultural exchange has elevated the friendship and understanding between China and Kenya which has strengthened public support for both side's cooperation. (Baohong, 2018)

Chinese influence on the cultural sector can be linked to its initiative of teaching mandarin in Kenya's slums. According to Kelly (2016), the teaching program is in the slum which is Kenya's poorest communities, where Chinese companies are heavily investing in as they partake in constructions of roads together with residential blocks. This was an indication that the Chinese are now opting to education by offering this developing programmes. This view was supported by one of China's House non-profit organization present in the Mathare slum region with the aim of engaging Kenyan communities with Chinese companies.

Liu explains 'it is a means of understanding different culture. In learning a new language, we educate them about China's way of life. Next year, we aspire that Kenyan students will be brought to China so they can practice Mandarin while there.' (as cited in, (Kelly, 2016)

This approach however was noted to create heightened tensions in the local communities as there are mistrusts on Chinese investment toward education programmes. On this account, some of the Mathare slum residents believed that the Chinese are aiming to establish dependence but not assisting Nairobi's slum development areas. Furthermore, culture gap was one of the many impacts that was claimed as an issue, mostly due to the linguistic and cultural barriers showing to be a big obstacle given that 40,000 and over Chinese live and work in Kenya. (Kelly, 2016)

Part Conclusion on Realism Perspective

In accordance with realism perspective where a state is perceived to act in pursuant of its own interest and gaining of power. The already discussed aspects of cultural effects such as China promoting people-to-people and cultural exchange, can be viewed as a means of China portraying itself to Kenya through a positive image. By doing so, China would be able to win public support and strengthen its relationship with Kenya. The teaching of mandarin to children in some parts of Kenya slums has been pointed out by some of the locals to be promoting China's interest. Competitive effects from Chinese construction companies winning of majority of tenders has resulted a number of the local construction companies to call for protection from competition. Other factors such as use of own Chinese labor instead of promoting employability was also criticized.

The positive aspect however, was that of promoting education by offering of scholarships to Kenyan students to study in China, for this reason, one can say that it is through promoting of

educational opportunities that poverty as an example of social effect can be decreased. Other benefits felt by Kenyans that showed positive feedbacks that were supported, was the different infrastructural projects being implemented in the country. It was proved to provide various benefits such as cheap and ease of transportation, creating a number of employment and linking Kenya to the global world through the new built railway. And as a result promote more trade both regional and international. On this account, it can be argued that through realism, it was also established that, the types of China's aid to Kenya with attributes of conditionality were discovered. This pointing out to the type of contracts used, one being China and Kenya agreements being conditioned to using of Chinese goods only. However, despite the given predicaments suggesting China acting according to own interest, other factors showed that Kenya was benefiting through the trade agreement as previously discussed.

The Relationship of China's Aid and Conditionality in Kenya from Neoliberalism Shift Perspective

Ferguson (2006), as cited in (Mohan, 2013), reiterates on Africa's disposition as a supplier of raw materials on global economy. Pointing out on the extraction of resources, Ferguson states that *"economic investment has been intense on the secured enclaves which often times have no economic advantage on the wider society"* (Mohan, 2013). He later retained that the 'secured enclaves' leans towards the mineral regions with restricted linkages in the local economy, however, in a lot of ways Chinese leading infrastructure projects, for example the Sinohydro, functions in same manner. (Mohan, 2013)

The theoretical core of the policies involving China's foreign aid approach is the notion of 'sovereignty'. The outlook is heavily influenced by the experience of China being a developmental nation. In distinction, the Western model has progressively focused on pressing and attaching many conditions on its aid recipients, doing so was an act of improving development 'project'.

On this basis, the Western model generated a backlash as many asserted the conditions imposed to undermine the ability of developing countries, as they could not choose their own path in development sector. Contrarily, China on the other hand emphasizes on its foreign policy that pushes for the aim of non-interference on recipient's countries' domestic politics. This connects with the concept of every country being ultimately responsible for their own path in developments they choose to seek (China, 2011 as cited in (Elmi, 2012, pp. 2-3). China's 'win-win' relation in

giving assistance to developing countries is one core area that has been greatly emphasized. On this perspective, the 'win' for developing countries corresponds to improved infrastructure, offering investments in social sectors of health and education, and thirdly is the willing to offer destination for traded goods. However, Elmi,(2012) states, China's 'win' under other 'conditions' equates with increased acquiring of natural resources, the international diplomatic support, obtaining of multiple customers for its goods (Taylor, 2006, as cited in (Elmi, 2012, p. 3).

Part Conclusion on Neoliberal Perspective

While looking at Neoliberal shift it can be describe by the act of designating resources or services in an effective way through an economic system, that can allow resources to be allocated effectively in the entire the market system, that way both sides benefit. The call for the shift is mainly due to one partner benefiting more than the other. As discussed from the previous analysis of dependency and realism perspectives, the aspect of conditionality can be spotted or felt in some of Chinese processes. This is simply on how they carry out certain aspects while delivering their aid and assistance in Kenya. It is through the analysis of the social effects, where it was noted that the nature of Chinese aid was not promoting transparency and were conditioned in various ways. This is solely due to numerous failed attempts by concerned Kenyans of trying to access the contacts made between China and Kenya. Instead it is kept a secret, and not disclosed to the public as it was said to violet the Kenyan agreements made with China. If the contracts were to be disclosed, it was only to be done through a written consent from Beijing. On the above basis, one can only suggest that, the decision for doing so is to cover the corrupt dealings of governmental officials in Kenya as they avoid exposing their incompetence. Other analysis reveals that, the clauses in the contracts are conditioned to using Chinese goods and services hence being a detrimental factor to the local Kenyan. This has therefore brought a lot of worry in the country. Solely because through the aid agreement, their seems to be a loophole that allows the flooding of cheap Chinese goods into the country, hence undermining the local industry.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary of Findings

While analyzing China's aid provided to Kenya which is in form of development aid, it is argued that the Chinese intention is that of increasing its own political influence. However, China's approach of no strings attached is a model that has been welcomed by many African leaders, including Kenya. The strategy behind it, which is to promote a win-win relation led to an in-depth analysis of China's aid and its connection with conditionality. The way in which China's aid applies in Kenya was also put into consideration, this is through the five categories of (effects) discussed in analysis section, that has shown to depict positive or detrimental impacts of the relation. By looking at the different effects, both Moral, Competitive, Social, Cultural and Unemployment effects; one of the raising issues is, the argument that China creates relationships with rogue countries, hence questioning their aid strategy that is of no conditions. Moral effect however is one area that has proven challenging given the nature of China's aid of not pushing for accountability among Kenyan leaders.

The other concerns brought forth through the analysis of China's aid approach, is that China does not push for political and economic reforms which ends up encouraging corrupt leaders. Other claims such as Chinese operations not increasing local employment or strengthening Kenyan economy were reported by different Kenyan proponents. Issues such as Chinese use of own labor instead of hiring locals, exploitation of Kenya's natural resources, and trade imbalance has been heavily criticized. Additional factors, that are feared will be detrimental to Kenya is that of Chinese taking over of Mombasa port and other valuable assets such as airport built and funded by them, in instance of defaulting to pay back the debts to China. A reference was made with Sri Lanka as an example of China's victim where they seized their harbor, due to temporarily not being able to pay their debt. Kenyans in this perspective were also concerned about the huge amount of loans that the government was acquiring, and not affording to pay back due to the loans being above their capability and limits. Other factors brought forth was; given that Kenya is a poor country, paying off the borrowed China loan through their taxes was a challenge enough.

The analysis gotten in different interviews from diplomats, Kenyan president, news media (both Western, Kenyan and Chinese) together with local Kenyans perceptions revealed a lot, this is also

in terms of positive impacts and detrimental impacts. Positive impacts analyzed through the aspects of social effects was experienced by Kenyans through the development achievement of construction of roads, railways, bridges, dams and many others. The most that impacted the country in a positive light was the Chinese building of the Standard Gauge Railway(SGR), it was described by many as a game changer to the countries' development. This is due to the expected returns that is keenly being followed in terms of reducing of transport time and offering a cheaper means of travel, as opposed to the previous methods that Kenyans were accustomed to. Majority of the development projects made by China were viewed by different proponents to be the best ingredients for industrialization as it would, offer cheap affordable transport; connect Kenya globally; take Kenya's goods both regional and to global market; in return bring goods to Kenyan market. In respect to the mentioned examples of positive attributes resulted from the Chinese building of Standard Gauge Railway, the later fits and corresponds well with Neoliberal shift of theory. This is because the theory supports promotion of factors that can lead to positive development and industrialization. The cultural effects on the other hand were experienced from the positive view through promotion of education by people-to-people cultural exchange, hence indicating the Chinese were pushing to close the gap by assimilating with Kenya. One way was Chinese offering of scholarship to Kenyan students, and providing of education, hence making it possible for Kenyan students to travel to China.

Unemployment challenges such as China offering low ranked jobs to Kenyans and using their own in high ranked jobs is one of the areas the Kenyan government is working on, to ensure Chinese willingness to train local Kenyans in better jobs. This are jobs such as contractors or subcontractor that will enable Kenyans to acquire management skills as well as technical-know how that can assist and be applied in the future endeavor.

Conclusion

While looking at the research question which seeks to find, *the relationship of China's aid and conditionality in Kenya, together with the sub-question of how China's aid occurs in Kenya and the effects of it?* The study suggests that, China does not interfere with Kenya's political issues such as dictating changes or imposing reforms on either political and economic front. But rather it offers to work together with Kenya, to form a mutual understanding and promote development and assist in technological advancement. The analysis therefore establishes that even though the approach of China's aid is with no strings attached or with no conditions, some of the findings

from a close examination confirms otherwise. This can be linked with cultural effect from the analysis that indicates that, according to Alastair Johnston, cited in (Storey & Yee, 2004), the essence of China's strategic culture is of economic expansion, also known as expansionist. In addition, it also involves major attributes of realpolitik that is mainly defined as concepts formed on practicality and not on ideological or moral ideas. (Storey & Yee, 2004)

It is through the use of theories such as Dependency, Realism and Neo-liberal that I am able to conclude the analysis done, by stating that, the nature of China's aid reveals some forms of conditions mostly in economic and social aspects. The discussed elements through development aid uncovers issues such as imbalance of trade, clauses in contracts conditioned to use of China's goods only, transparency issues, and use of own labor and services. This in return has resulted to cases of China's exploitation of natural resources and secondly, concerns of the possibility of China seizing of Kenya's valuable assets in case of defaulting in loan payment.

Recommendations

According to the findings from the analysis discussed, China was noted to be sensitive on criticism of not pushing for political and economic reforms and encouraging corruption on their recipient countries. On this rational, it was seen that China was restructuring some of their agendas, one being working together with Kenya to try and alleviate corruption, poverty and promote economic development and protection of the environment. This therefore indicates that creating awareness on the negative doings of China to Kenya through the aid it provides could force them to change certain factors in order to have a good image. A recommendation therefore would be for the Kenyan government to take charge and push for agreements that are mutually beneficial and not exploitative. Second aspect would be to aim for accountability because it is through it that issues of corruption would decrease. Third recommendation can be through suggesting of future research, that involves elements such as how the media influences donors and China as an example while providing aid to their recipient, be it conditional or with no conditions. This is due to the need of creating more awareness to the recipient and the world in case of rogue dealings and exploitative practices that can later force the donor to act differently.

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