FOREIGN AID CONDITIONALITIES AND SOVEREIGNTY IN AFRICA: THE CASE OF CHINESE AID IN ZIMBABWE.

By

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this work to my husband, Tatenda Kangai, my late father and mother, my mentor Chipo Mudzamiri, my family, my supervisor Dr Jeffrey Kurebwa and most of all to God the almighty for sustaining me through the difficulties and challenges of seeing my work through.
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## CHAPTER ONE:

1.0 **INTRODUCTION**

1.1 Background to the study ................................................................. 1

1.2 Statement of the Problem ............................................................... 2

1.3 Purpose of the Study ........................................................................ 3

1.4 Significance of the study ................................................................. 3

1.5 Assumptions ...................................................................................... 4

1.6 Objectives ......................................................................................... 4

1.7 Research Questions .......................................................................... 4

1.8 Delimitations of the study ............................................................... 4

1.9 Definitions of key terms .................................................................... 5

1.10 Chapter Outline ............................................................................... 5

## CHAPTER 2:

2.0 **LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

2.1 Introduction....................................................................................... 7

2.2 Theoretical Framework ................................................................... 7

2.3 Literature Review ............................................................................ 9

2.4 Types of Aid .................................................................................... 9

2.5 Aid Conditionalities ......................................................................... 10

2.6 Chinese Aid in Africa ..................................................................... 10

2.7 Chinese Aid to South Sudan ........................................................... 15

2.8 Chinese Aid to Mauritania ............................................................... 16

2.9 Chapter Summary ............................................................................ 17
CHAPTER 3:

3.0 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

3.2 Research Design .................................................................18
3.3 Research Methodology..........................................................19
3.4 Population and Sample..........................................................19
3.5 Sampling Method.................................................................19
3.6 Data Collection .................................................................20
3.7 Validity and Reliability ..........................................................21
3.8 Data Presentation and Analysis ..............................................21
3.9 Ethical Consideration ............................................................22
3.10 Chapter Summary ...............................................................22

CHAPTER 4:

4.0 DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

4.2 Background data of the respondents ........................................23
4.3 Responses to the research key Questions ..................................24
4.4 Analysis and discussion of findings ..........................................25
4.5 Chapter Conclusion...............................................................26
CHAPTER 5:

5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

5.1 Introduction ................................................................. 29

5.2 Summary ............................................................... 31

5.3 Conclusions ............................................................... 32

5.4 Recommendations .................................................... 33

Areas for further study ......................................................... 34

REFERENCES ................................................................. 35

ANNEXURES ........................................................................ 46
Abstract

When foreign aid is offered from a developed country to developing or under-developed one, there are many conditions placed on the receiving country which usually seek to serve the greater interests of the donating country, (Okolo, 2015). This paper focused on researching whether or not China placed any conditions on Zimbabwe following the foreign aid it offered. It would also evaluate to what an extent the sovereignty of Zimbabwe was compromised if at all. Quantitative analysis shall be used to obtain that information by means of interviews with targeted key personnel in the office of the Chinese consulate; the ambassador and representative and some senior members of the economic sector as well as representatives for the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe. The findings from the research reveal that indeed China does have a policy on non-interference but that it is unclear, can be obscured and may at times be used to camouflage certain hidden agendas on behalf of China with no clear demarcation of what would and would not be done within the confines of the policy. It is also hinted at that the aid may come in to benefit certain individuals and not the general populace. In conclusion, it is apparent that the Chinese-Zimbabwean foreign agreement would need clarity of terms and much transparency so that both countries benefit without one feeling more superior than the other as well as for everyone in the country to benefit. Recommendations are thus on how the terms can be specified and made more opaque.
CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Montinola (2010) defines conditionality as the practice of tying disbursement of aid to policy reform in the recipient countries. Traditional aid that came to Africa from Western countries had conditionalities, some of which include conditional implementation of political reforms, promotion and fulfillment of human rights, democracy and governance objectives. Barder, Clark, Lepissier, Reynolds and Roodman (2013) are of the notion, that if a recipient country did not meet the conditions; the donor country would then threaten to terminate, suspend or reduce aid flows. On the other hand, donor countries promised additional aid as a reward for implementing reforms that they deem as necessary for the recipient country's development. In doing so, there is interference in the governance of recipient countries, and thereby amounting to undermining their sovereignty. (Barder, Clark, Lepissier, Reynolds and Roodman, 2013). The point of contention on conditionalities though has been on their usefulness and to whom they are really supposed to serve and their effects on states sovereignty.

China has been favored by most African states as a trade partner because of its non-interference policy which denotes that China does not meddle in the internal affairs of other nations as this is a core part of its five principles of peaceful coexistence. According to (Okolo, 2015), these principles include; mutual respect for a nation's sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression and equality based on mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence. In light of the non-interference policy that China has it may assume that its aid has no conditions attached to it. However, there are growing concerns that the policy merely benefits Beijing’s economic and investment interests in Africa as it largely overlooks the conflicts and socio-political realities on the continent. Aubyn (2013) denotes that, in practical terms, the application of the policy has been tailored to suit Chinese interests wherever it is at stake on the continent.

Zimbabwe has a long relationship with the Peoples Republic of China, dating back to the pre-independence, but the relationship was largely diplomatic and political. However, the past six years have seen China and Zimbabwe embarking on an economic relationship with the
latter adopting a Look East Policy. This has seen Chinese investors becoming quite strong in terms of their investments in Zimbabwe. *(New Zimbabwe, 2015).* To date, there are more than 100 Chinese companies that have invested in Zimbabwe. The Look-East policy was adopted as a measure to counter the effects of sanctions placed by western nations. This adoption of this policy has had to a greater extent, the effect of over reliance on Chinese aid by Zimbabwe since there is nowhere else to look for assistance. China is increasingly taking over major sectors of the Zimbabwean economy such as energy, agriculture and mining sectors. Statistics from the Zimbabwe Investment Authority (ZIA) reveal that China is the country’s biggest investor as it accounted for 74% of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in the first half of 2015. In 2013, ZIA approved US$929 million with more than half of it coming from China *(Sunday News, 2016)*

As China’s economic hold continues to tighten, the sovereignty of Zimbabwe is under threat as can be seen by the deals that are signed. For instance, in 2009, China paid US$3 billion for exclusive rights to Zimbabwe's platinum rights, a contract that is worth US$40 billion. *(Clampet, 2012)*. What is worrying is how the Zimbabwean government readily accepted to such a paltry sell of its platinum to the Chinese. One may attribute this to undisclosed conditionalities that came with the signing of the deal.

Zimbabwe's combination of debt, political, military reliance and the increasing number of local and national businesses under Chinese supervision have blurred the line between Chinese investment in Zimbabwe and Chinese control over Zimbabwe.

### 1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Zimbabwe's sovereignty is under threat as a result of the tied aid it is receiving from China. The Chinese have taken over the major sectors of the Zimbabwean economy, posing a threat to Zimbabwe's sovereignty. Energy production, agriculture, telecommunication and minerals extraction are critical sectors that the Chinese seem to have a major stake in thereby putting these under the control of China *(Abiodun, 2014)*. Fei (2013) postulates that, China’s capital flows into Africa also create business opportunities for Chinese service contractors, such as construction companies. Chinese analysts argue that Africa is China’s second largest supplier of service contracts and “when we provide Africa assistance of RMB 1 billion, we will get service contracts worth USD 1 billion (RMB 6 billion from Africa” *(Fei, 2013)*. Coupled with
this, Anderlini, (2007), points out further that in exchange for most Chinese financial aid to Africa, Beijing requires infrastructure construction and other contracts favour Chinese service providers; 70 percent of them go to “approved”, mostly state owned, Chinese companies and the rest are open to local firms, many of which are also joint ventures with Chinese groups. In this light, China’s financing to Africa, including aid, creates business for Chinese companies and employment opportunities for Chinese labourers, a critical goal of Beijing’s Going Out strategy.

1.3 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY
This research seeks to find out the effects of Chinese aid and its conditionalities on Zimbabwe's sovereignty.

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY
Firstly, the study will help the Government of Zimbabwe to ascertain whether Chinese aid is beneficial or not. The findings from this study will assist the Government to formulate and implement well informed aid policies with China in its future bilateral economic engagements.

To add on, agencies such as the Zimbabwe Investment Authority (ZIA) will also benefit from this study by determining if investments from China are benefitting Zimbabwe. The mission of the ZIA is to contribute to sustainable economic growth, so through this study they will be able to assess whether investments from China are truly contributing to Zimbabwe’s economic growth or not.

Thirdly, the research findings will be beneficial to China as it will help determine if indeed they are upholding their policy of non-interference and if they are realizing the goals of their aid in Zimbabwe.

Lastly, the findings of this study will benefit other scholars as they will have a basis for further enquiry and investigation thus adding to the body of knowledge on China's relations with African states particularly Zimbabwe.

1.5 ASSUMPTIONS
1. Zimbabwe has not benefited from Chinese aid.
2. China has benefitted more from the Zimbabwe aid relationship.
3. China aid is threatening Zimbabwe's sovereignty.
1.6 OBJECTIVES
1. To understand Chinese aid conditionalities to Zimbabwe.
2. To examine the impact of Chinese aid conditionalities on Zimbabwe's sovereignty.
3. To examine the relevance of China’s policy of non-interference in the 21st century.
4. To assess the nature of the aid relationship between China and Zimbabwe.

1.7 RESEARCH QUESTIONS
1. What are China's aid conditionalities to Zimbabwe?
2. What is the impact of Chinese aid conditionalities on Zimbabwe's sovereignty?
3. Is China's policy of non-interference still relevant in the 21st century?
4. Who is benefitting more from the China-Zimbabwe aid relationship?

1.8 DELIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY
The research will focus on the major investments that China has made in Zimbabwe from 2010 to 2016. The research will also draw a comparison between Chinese aid deals with other African countries. A comparison will also be made with the role of international financial lending institutions. The research will however, not cover humanitarian aid that Zimbabwe has been receiving from China.

1.9 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY
The main limitation faced was in the accessing of certain key agreements on the bilateral relations between China and Zimbabwe. To overcome this limitation, there was use of secondary documents such as newspapers, monetary policy statements made by the Reserve bank of Zimbabwe, budget statements by the Minister of Finance and publications by the Zimbabwe Investment Authority (ZIA) which gave insight and information on the state of aid given to Zimbabwe by China.

1.10 DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS
1. Sovereignty: Randhawa (2012), defines sovereignty in the sense of contemporary public international law as the basic international legal status of a state that is not subject, within its territorial jurisdiction, to the governmental, executive, legislative, or judicial jurisdiction of a foreign state or to foreign law other than public international law.
2. Foreign aid is economic, technical, or military aid given to one nation by another so as to give relief and rehabilitation, economic stability or for mutual defense (Randhawa, 2012)
3. Humanitarian aid; Moyo (2009) defines humanitarian aid as emergency relief that is administered when there has been a crisis. In this light, it is adhoc humanitarian assistance meant to alleviate distress and suffering of the communities.
4. Conditionalities: According to (Brautigam, 2015), these are requirements placed on the usage, distribution, or setting of policy goals to another country in exchange for access to aid or funding.

1.11 PROPOSED CHAPTER OUTLINE

The research is comprised of five chapters.

Chapter One: Introduction
This chapter will cover the introduction to the research presenting the objectives and problem that stirred the research. It embraces the justification and organisation of the research. Covered in this section are research methodology, definition of key terms, literature review and theoretical framework.

Chapter Two: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework
Under this section the rational of the research will be discussed. Different views of on foreign aid, conditionalities and receiving states sovereignty will be discussed.

Chapter Three: Research design and Methodology
This chapter will outline the research design to be used to undertake the research. The research will use the qualitative approach. It will also highlight the methods to be applied by the researcher to gather data for the research such as interviews and questionnaires.

Chapter Four: Data Presentation, Analysis and Discussion Findings
This chapter will be dedicated to presenting the data findings from the research ascertaining whether Chinese aid to Zimbabwe is conditional and how that impacts on Zimbabwe's sovereignty.
Chapter Five: Summary Conclusions, Recommendations and Areas for Further Research

This chapter concludes, recommends the whole study and summarises the findings of the research. It will point out the gaps discovered during the research and advice areas for further study.
CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION
The purpose of this literature review is to provide a general overview of Chinese aid conditionalities and their impact on Zimbabwe’s sovereignty. Recently, Chinese aid, its policy of non-interference and issues of states sovereignty have become a popular subject in the development discourse. Within the past five years, researches have been carried out which bring to light Chinese aid to Africa. The first part of this chapter brings to light the theoretical framework underpinning this research which is the Dependency theory. Next, a literature review of what other researchers have done in relation to Chinese aid to Africa will be highlighted, so as to ascertain the knowledge gaps which this particular research is coming in to fill up.

2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

For the purposes of this study, the Dependency Theory will be used to explain the effects of Chinese aid and its conditionalities on Zimbabwe's sovereignty. In discussing the Dependency paradigm, the research’s assumptions namely Zimbabwe has not benefited from Chinese aid, China has benefited more from the Zimbabwe aid relationship and China aid is threatening Zimbabwe's sovereignty will be analysed.

Dependency Theory developed in the late 1950s under the guidance of the Director of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America, Raul Prebisch. Prebisch and his colleagues were troubled by the fact that economic growth in the advanced industrialized countries did not necessarily lead to growth in the poorer countries. From their studies, they suggested that economic activity in the richer countries often led to serious economic problems in the poorer countries. In this regard, dependency theory was viewed as a possible way of explaining the persistent poverty of the poorer countries. (Ferraro, 2008). This research’s utilisation of the dependency theory is based on the need to answer the key assumptions regarding the Chinese - Zimbabwe aid relationship as well as the research question of who is actually benefitting in this relationship.
To add on, dependency theorists such as Prebisch, Frank and Wallerstein are of the notion that, the relations between dominant and dependent states are dynamic because the interactions between the two sets of states tend to not only reinforce but also intensify the unequal patterns. Moreover, dependency is a very deep-seated historical process, rooted in the internationalization of capitalism. Frank (1972), notes, historical research demonstrates that contemporary underdevelopment is in large part the historical product of past and continuing economic and other relations between the satellite underdeveloped and the now developed metropolitan countries. Furthermore, these relations are an essential part of the capitalist system on a world scale as a whole.

Dependency theorists such as Andre Gunder Frank (1972), rely upon a belief that there exists a clear "national" economic interest which can and should be articulated for each country. In this regards, this national interest can only be satisfied by addressing the needs of the poor within a society, rather than through the satisfaction of corporate or governmental needs. Dependency theorists argue that these elites maintain a dependent relationship because their own private interests coincide with the interests of the dominant states. Dependency relationship is a "voluntary" relationship in the sense that these elites are typically trained in the dominant states and share similar values and culture with the elites in dominant states. Elites in a dependent state are consciously betraying the interests of their poor; the elites sincerely believe that the key to economic development lies in following the prescriptions of liberal economic doctrine. (Ferraro, 2008). Relating this to Chinese aid to Zimbabwe, it could be that the aid relationship between the two countries is being used by the former to further her own private socio – economic and political interests.

To add on, another key assumption of the theory is that developed countries perpetuate the state of dependency through various means such as the use of media, sport, culture, economics, and politics. In light of this, the provision of aid thereby is never done with purely philanthropic purposes but rather used to create a debt trap for the developing countries. In his study on dependency theorists, According to Nyatoro (2012), he argues that as a result of the debt trap, it is inevitable that the developed countries will end up indirectly dictating how the developing states should be governed thus disregarding the principle of states sovereignty. The research at hand is motivated by the fact that Zimbabwe’s sovereignty could be under threat taking into consideration that statistics from ZIA that reveal that China is the
country’s biggest investor as it accounted for 74% of FDI in the first half of 2015. In 2013, ZIA approved US$929 million with more than half of it coming from China. With such a huge debt and a failing economy, the debt trap could be the means by which China is using to threaten Zimbabwe’s sovereignty.

Another key assumption of the dependency theory is the concept of unequal and asymmetrical exchange. International trade relations between the north and south are unequal and impoverishing and lack of progress at the World Trade Organization. (Ferraro, 2008). This brings to light that economic and political power are centralized in the industrialized countries such that governments will take whatever steps necessary to protect their private economic interests. Relating this to Chinese aid to Zimbabwe, it could be that, the use of aid conditionalities by China is shrouded with unequal and asymmetrical exchange. This can be seen by how during the Government of National Unity (2009 - 2013), the $98 million in aid from China to Zimbabwe to build a military college came with conditionalities. These had to do with bringing in goods, technologies and services from China instead of getting them locally to resuscitate the Zimbabwean economy. In light of this, one can note that, though aid is given it is done so with one hand and taken with the other countering development efforts of the recipient countries.

2.3 LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review will begin by focusing on aid in general and then move on to Chinese aid in Africa. Lastly the focus will be on two case studies where China has given aid with conditionalities in African states so as to justify the reasons behind undertaking this current study which is assuming that Zimbabwe’s sovereignty is under threat as a result of Chinese aid.

2.4 TYPES OF AID

Moyo (2009), argues that, there exist three types of aid namely; humanitarian or emergency aid, which is mobilized and dispensed in response to catastrophes and calamities. Examples are aid in response to the 2004 Asian Tsunami, or monies which targeted the cyclone-hit Myanmar in 2008. The second type of aid is what is known as charity-based aid, which is disbursed by charitable organizations to institutions or people on the ground. Thirdly there is systematic aid which is, aid payments made directly to governments either through
government-to-government transfers (in which case it is termed bilateral aid) or transferred via institutions such as World Bank (known as multilateral aid).

Foreign aid has also been defined as official development assistance, or any form of western government financial grant to African nations, ranging from technical assistance projects to structural adjustment lending, programme assistance and food aid (Moss, 2006). Foreign aid is also viewed as grants and long-term loans for the industrial and socio-economic development of poorer nations. Foreign aid has also been expressed to be all aspects of economic relations between developed and developing countries, which includes grants, loans and private investment and trade. Foreign aid was defined by Morgenthau (1962:301), as the fulfilment of an obligation of the few rich nations toward the many poor ones. He underscored the fact that foreign aid can be used to further the interests of the donor and that foreign aid is the goal of foreign policy. Riddle in his view agreed to the fact that foreign aid was an important facet of international relations in the 1950s due to the poverty of the developing countries, which originated from the colonial links between western imperial powers and their overseas territories.

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) argue that, aid includes grants, "soft" loans (where the grant element is at least 25% of the total) and the provision of technical assistance. The OECD maintains a list of developing countries and territories; only aid to these countries counts as Official Development Assistance (ODA). The list is periodically updated and contains over 150 countries or territories with per capita incomes below USD 12 276 by 2010. A long-standing United Nations target is that developed countries should devote 0.7% of their gross national income to ODA. This indicator was measured as a percentage of gross national income and million USD constant prices, using 2014 as the base year. (OECD, 2016)

2.5 AID CONDITIONALITIES

Aid has always been political. This fact has come as no surprise to scholars and practitioners of statecraft. Describing one of the functions of aid, Morgenthau (1962:302) noted; the transfer of money and services from one government to another performs here the function of a price paid for political services rendered or to be rendered. Indeed, since the late 1940s,
every United States administration considered aid to be important in achieving foreign policy goals (Ruttan, 1996). Politicization of aid comes in the form of conditionalities which donor countries attach to it. In this light, Gould (2006) notes that, the conditions that donors attach to their aid programs go far beyond any legitimate measures to ensure that aid money is used efficiently for its stated purposes. Indeed, they go to the heart of the public policymaking process in the countries concerned. Utility privatization is a prime example of this trend, and is particularly worrying given its relevance to poverty reduction. In a large number of low-income countries, donors are pressuring governments to sell off and subcontract services in water and electricity to private companies. They do so despite the lack of evidence that this increases access for poor people, accountability to consumers or cost-effectiveness. In this regard, it is apparent that aid is never given solely for altruistic purposes but that it often comes from donors with conditions attached to it.

2.6 CHINESE AID IN AFRICA
In 2009, Kennan’s study on the effects of unconditional wealth with regards to China and Africa revealed that, China's recent interest in Africa provides a sort of natural experiment in which to consider the relationship between wealth, the conditions associated with wealth, and state behaviour. The unparalleled pace of China's growth and its changing role on the global stage has had tremendous consequences in almost all areas of life around the world. In just the past five years, China has increased its activities in Africa at a staggering rate. In the first three quarters of 2007 alone, trade between China and Africa was just over $50 billion, a 42% increase in just one year. Coupled with this, 750,000 Chinese people have recently lived or worked in Africa. To add on, Chinese companies have reportedly received half of the new public works contracts in Africa in recent years. Furthermore, the economic and strategic consequences of China's increased focus on Africa have been the subject of much debate in the United States and around the world.

Furthermore, the rapid expansion of Chinese investments in Africa has generated considerable interest among analysts of law, politics and economics. The said investments have sparked both hope and uncertainty about the true intentions of China on African soil and the implications they have on the development of African economies. Without sufficient official data available in most African countries, especially with regards to data related to Chinese investments, it is rather complicated to determine with certainty the actual negative
or positive contribution of Chinese investments to African economies. In trying to decode the controversies that are attached to Chinese investments in Africa, one is left to question the laws binding the African countries and the regulatory framework within which Chinese investors conduct their business (Mapaure, 2014).

The differences between Chinese and Western development approaches in Africa mirror long-held theoretical debates in the human rights community. The usefulness or ethics of conditionality, poverty and rights in tension, the trade-off between respect for sovereignty and principles of human rights these are all topics that China’s aid and investment in Africa bring to the surface in the development debate. China provides large cheap loans and grants to African governments in exchange for securing access to natural resources. Based on its principles of nonintervention and respect for sovereignty, China gives this money with few or no strings attached. The West, which typically conditions its loans on initiatives like democracy promotion and corruption reduction, has labeled China a rogue donor, whose actions will be damaging to Africa in the long run. However, Western aid approaches like conditionality have largely led to development failures. As Chinese roads and factories begin to dot the continent in increasing numbers, it is a mistake for the West to ignore what Africa finds appealing in this new South - South approach (Condon, 2012).

China has been favored by most African states as a trade partner because of its non-interference policy which denotes that China does not meddle in the internal affairs of other nations as this is a core part of its five principles of peaceful coexistence. These principles include; mutual respect for a nation’s sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, equality based on mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence (Okolo, 2015). In light of the non-interference policy that China has, it may assume that its aid has no conditions attached to it. However, there are growing concerns that the policy merely benefits Beijing’s economic and investment interests in Africa as it largely overlooks the conflicts and socio-political realities on the continent. This is because, in practical terms, the application of the policy has been tailored to suit Chinese interest wherever it is at stake on the continent (Aubyn, 2013).

Woods (2008), investigated the rise of new economies such as China, the United Arab Emirates, Brazil, Korea, India, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia and how they are subtly changing the rules of foreign aid with profound consequences for the role of multilateral institutions.
and conditionality. He argues that with the rise of the new economies they tend to pose a threat to traditional Western donors and as such a conflict of interest is brewing. Woods 2008, study provides an entry point into examining the existence of the few Chinese aid conditionalities to Zimbabwe and how they have impacted Zimbabwe's sovereignty.

Condon (2012) carried out a research to assess the differences between the Chinese aid model and that of Western countries. He observed that, China gives aid with little or no strings attached stemming from its non intervention policy and respect for sovereignty. The West, on the other hand, typically conditions its loans on initiatives like democracy promotion and corruption reduction. In this light, the West has labeled China a rogue donor, whose actions will be damaging to Africa in the long run. In his conclusion, Condon, (2012), argued that, it is upon the African countries themselves to choose which aid model they would want to work with since both have advantages and disadvantages. Taking a leaf from Condon's research, this paper seeks to understand the Chinese aid relationship with Zimbabwe to ascertain why the latter would have chosen it over Western aid.

Haglund (2008), initiated an investigation in the copper mining sector in Zambia, where he found out that the economic and political context surrounding Chinese investment risks undermining the effectiveness of local environmental, social and fiscal regulation. From his analysis, he noted that the large-scale Chinese investment, including the prevalence of state-led financing and the challenges of effectively monitoring overseas Chinese projects brought with it lack of transparency. In view of the investigation by Haglund, this paper seeks to assess the validity of the key research assumptions of who is really benefitting between Zimbabwe and China with regards to the twos existing aid relationship.

To add on, Kaplinsky and Morris (2009) in their study on Sub Sahara Africa’s engagement with large state-owned Chinese firms investing in Africa’s resource and infrastructure sectors brought to light that Africa should maximize the opportunities opened to them by their (Mantolio 2007) resource-base by adopting a similarly integrated and focused response to Chinese (and other large) investors who seek to draw on the continent's natural resources. The key findings from this research present opportunities to draw lessons for the study under investigation where there is needs to assess whether Chinese aid to Zimbabwe has benefitted Zimbabwe or not. In the event that Zimbabwe is benefitting from this aid relationship, there will be need to develop more mechanisms that ensure that the Chinese aid relationship remains lucrative to Zimbabwe.
Mullins, Giles, and Marcus (2010), in their study on Chinese engagement in African development; brought to light the issue to do with national interests and foreign policy. They went on further to postulate that normative liberal discourse criticizes the Chinese for disbursing rogue aid and undermining good governance in the African continent. According to them, these criticisms not only ignore the longer-term motivations and modalities of Chinese aid and the historical diversity of Chinese relations with Africa, but also uncritically assume Western aid to be morally superior and more effective in terms of development outcomes. In their final analysis, Mullins et al, (2010), argues that, Chinese and Western donors employ different ideologies and practices of governance to conceal their own interests and political discourses in the African continent. Cogniscent of this, this research seeks to understand the concealed Chinese national and political interests that bring with them conditionalities that impact on Zimbabwe's sovereignty.

To add on, (Mohan, 2008), undertook a study to investigate the political dimensions of the China - Africa engagement focusing on class and racial dynamics, state restructuring, party politics, civil society responses and aid effectiveness. Mohan (2008), argues that the role of China in Africa must be understood in the context of competing and intensified global energy politics, in which the US, India and China are among the key players vying for security of supply. Contrary to popular representation, China's role in Africa is much more than this however, opening up new choices for African development for the first time since the neo-liberal turn of the 1980s. As such it is important to start by disaggregating China and Africa since neither represents a coherent and uniform set of motivations and opportunities. In this regard, China as a choice of economic engagement by African countries becomes the basis for the study under review whereby it would be crucial to understand the Chinese aid to Zimbabwe. By assessing the aid relationship, the findings and recommendations will inform whether the China - Zimbabwe aid relationship is beneficial or not.

Large (2008), carried out an investigation with regards to China’s policy of non-interference. This is because; this policy principle has recently come under increasing and more visible strain in China's relations with Sudan. Non-interference has been central to Beijing's relations with different governments in Khartoum since 1959. From the mid-1990s, however, the Chinese role in Sudan has become more embedded and consequential. Today China faces the challenge of accommodating its established policy of non-interference with the more substantive and growing complexity of Chinese involvement developed over the past decade
in Sudan, amidst ongoing conflict in western Darfur and changing politics after the North-South peace agreement of January 2005. Taking a leaf from the above study, this research will also examine the relevance of China’s policy of non-interference in the 21st Century.

Brautigam (2015), in his investigation on the rules and norms about foreign aid looked at China’s development aid to Africa underscored the need to first understand China as a donor. Arguments arising are that analysts disagree about the nature of China’s official development aid, the countries that are its main recipients, the reasons for providing aid, the quantity of official aid, and its impact. For the purposes of his study, Brautigam is of the opinion that it is important to know more about Chinese development aid so as to understand Chinese foreign policy and economic statecraft: how and to what ends does China use its government policy tools? It is also important for more accurate comparisons between Chinese practices and those of other donors and providers of finance. The rules and norms about foreign aid have been forged not by a global institution, but primarily by the OECD a group of countries of which China is not a part. The findings above, presents an opportunity to understand China as a donor and how it is relating its aid with Zimbabwe.

2.7 CHINESE AID TO SOUTH SUDAN

South Sudan has featured prominently in recent attention to China’s changing role in Sub-Saharan Africa. In the process it has become a notable case study in the evolution of global Chinese foreign policy (Large, 2016). This is because of China’s diversion from its non-interference policy which states that it does not meddle in the internal affairs of other nations; as this is a core part of the five principles of peaceful coexistence (Okolo, 2015). In 2013, during the South Sudan Civil War, South Sudan received Chinese weaponry aid worth some $46.8 million according to the Chinese Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning. Previously, in its peacekeeping role, in South Sudan, China had been involved in logistical and medical support. A clear diversion came in 2013 where sent a battalion of 700 peacekeepers. Coupled with this, China has also been providing other forms of financial aid to South Sudan’s oil production being estimated to be $21 million (Tiezzi, 2015).

Chinese supply of weaponry, financial aid as well as mediation together with international efforts to respond to the growing civil war, led by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), eventually produced a deal to end the fighting in Juba. It was formally signed in August 2015. By October 2015, the conflict had displaced more than 2.2 million
people, including over 630,000 refugees in neighboring countries, and severely challenged the ability of the UN Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS) and a wide range of other international agencies to respond effectively (Large, 2016). In view of the above, aid by China helped bring peace in the country thereby enabling South Sudanese to work together to contribute to national development.

2.8 CHINESE AID TO MAURITANIA

Mauritania, a predominantly Arab desert nation, has some of West Africa's richest fishing waters. Fishing accounts for about 10 percent of its gross domestic product and up to 50 percent of its export earnings. The European Union pays Nouakchott about $100 million annually for fishing rights (Prieur, 2011). In 2010, Mauritania and China signed an agreement for a Chinese company; Poly Hon Done Pelagic to invest $100 million into Mauritania’s fishing industry. The funds were to be used for the construction of a new plant that would process 44,000 tons of fish per year, in addition to a new boat manufacturing site, a training centre for Mauritanians and value added fish products. Other benefits cited for the Mauritanians include the creation of 2,500 jobs for the locals. In return, China was granted a 25 year fishing license, allowing Chinese trawlers to fish in Mauritanian waters (AidData, 2010)

Though, several benefits were cited during the signing of this deal, critics have cited a number of concerns chief among which is the fact that, the locals will not benefit from this deal. Arguments are that, Mauritania’s fishing fleet consists primarily of artisanal fishers with canoes and these fishers struggle to compete with the large, technologically advanced vessels of foreign fleets (Chinese in this case). To add on, foreign industrial fishers deplete the supply, meaning small-scale fishers catch less (Burroughs, 2016)

Coupled with this, the Poly Hon Done Pelagic Fishery deal in particular, reveals that, the firm is spared all import customs. For the first five years, it is exempt from paying tax on profits equivalent to 20 percent of its investments and may employ foreigners to make up as many as 30 percent of its staff. After the ratification of this deal, Mauritanian fisherman stormed the national assembly and threw eggs at lawmakers who had voted in favor of the deal citing that the Chinese company was receiving too many tax exemptions at the expense of the local firms (Prieur, 2011)
2.9 SUMMARY

This chapter focused on the Dependency Theory in explaining the Chinese foreign aid conditionalities and how these affect Zimbabwe's sovereignty. Coupled with this, the researcher also looked at aid in general then went on to look at Chinese aid in Africa with South Sudan, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and Mauritius as case studies of African countries that have received aid with conditionalities from China. Lastly, related studies by other scholars were mentioned bringing to light that, the issue of Chinese foreign aid is a topical one. Having identified the focus of other studies, this study will build upon them by examining the existence of Chinese foreign aid conditionalities and how it impacts on Zimbabwe's sovereignty.
CHAPTER THREE

3.0 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides insight into the methods used for this research to gather data so that the objectives of this research will be achieved. The research design, research methodology, population and sample, sampling methods used data collection, validity and reliability, data presentation and analysis and ethical considerations will be discussed here in great detail. The case study research design will be applied with data collected through key informant in-depth interviews and document study. Both probability and non-probability sampling methods will be used to select respondents of the study while presentation and analysis of data will take a qualitative approach. Justification is also given on the choices of methodology chosen based on the strengths identified. The weaknesses of methodology will be identified and addressed in order to improve the validity and reliability of the research data and findings.

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

Burns and Grove (2003:195) define a research design as “a blueprint for conducting a study with maximum control over factors that may interfere with the validity of the findings.” This research will adopt use of a case study as the method for obtaining data. The case study comprises the need to find already recorded, already existing or already experienced events and situations which means that the data arising there-from is based on facts that can easily be adopted or analysed in context, (Zucker, 2009:3). Because of the need for plausible referencing to answer the question of this research, the case study becomes qualitative in nature as it offers insightful recording of findings relevant to the Zimbabwe-Chinese relationship. A qualitative research design can be defined as “any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification” (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:13). This research will utilise a qualitative research design mainly because it is a form of social enquiry that focuses on the way people interpret and make sense of their experience and the world in which they live (Holloway and Wheeler, 2002).
3. 3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research methodology can be defined as the process used to collect information and data for the purpose of making informed decisions. (Peters, 1994). For the purpose of this research, data will be collected through qualitative methods. Qualitative research methods can be defined as relevant to the researcher seeking to find truths within a natural setting and, concerned with developing explanations for the problems of either a human or social nature, (Creswell, 2016). It is used to gain an understanding of underlying reasons, opinions, and motivations. It provides insights into the problem or helps to develop ideas or hypotheses for potential quantitative research. Qualitative research methods were also chosen because they uncover trends in thought and opinions, and dive deeper into the problem. In light of this, this research will utilise qualitative research methods to have a better understanding of Chinese aid conditionalities in Zimbabwe and their impact on Zimbabwe’s sovereignty.

3.4 POPULATION AND SAMPLE

A research population can be defined as a well-defined collection of individuals or objects known to have similar characteristics (Webster, 1985). For the purposes of this research, the population is key stakeholders that directly interface with Chinese aid to Zimbabwe and these include Economists, officials from the ZIA, the Ministry of Finance, the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe and the Chinese Consulate in Zimbabwe. Sampling is the deliberate selection of a subset group of the population because it is impossible to carry out a study of the whole. These are selected either probabilistically in which they all have an equal chance of being selected or non-probabilistically where random selection is made. For a case study, the non-probabilistic method is used where the parameters for the entire population are not consequential, (Puza, 2015:560; Webster, 1985). Ten members of the population in the key sectors of both Zimbabwe and China shall be used for sampling.

3.5 SAMPLING METHOD

The research will make use of purposive sampling mainly because as an approach it starts with a purpose in mind and the sample is thus selected to include people of interest and it excludes those who do not suit the purpose. A purposive sample is a non-probability sample that is selected based on characteristics of a population and the objective of the study.
Purposive sampling is also known as judgmental, selective, or subjective sampling (Webster, 1994).

For the study, interviews shall be held with the following; The Director and Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning in order to obtain insight into the contents of the actual trade agreements. For the Reserve Bank the research will be based on an interview with the Governor and Deputy Governor to find the funding assistance the country has received from China and how these have benefitted Zimbabwe at large. From ZIA research will focus on an interview with the Director and CEO will provide an analysis on whether the bilateral trade agreements have benefitted Zimbabwe and citing relevant case studies. Chinese Consulate interviews will be held with the Ambassador and Counselor for Economic and Trade Cooperation to find out whether or not and to what extent if any do their agreements adhere to their policy of non-interference. Both economists; Senior Research Economist and Policy Advisor at the Labor and Economic Development Research Institute of Zimbabwe (LEDRIZ) and Director of the Zimbabwe Economic Policy Analysis and Research Unit (ZERAPU) will be approached for an assessment of the implications of the bilateral trade relations between China and Zimbabwe.

3.6 DATA COLLECTION

Data collection is the process of gathering and measuring information on variables of interest, in an established systematic fashion that enables one to answer stated research questions, test hypothesis and evaluate outcomes. (Peter, 1994). Data collection enables a research to answer relevant questions, evaluate outcomes and make predictions about future probabilities and trends. For the purpose of this research, in depth interviews and document study are the data collection methods to be utilised. Key informant interviews are "qualitative, in-depth interviews of key people selected for their first-hand knowledge about a topic of interest. The interviews are loosely structured, relying on a list of issues to be discussed (Boyce, 2006). This research will make use of key informants such as officials from the Chinese Consulate, Ministry of Finance, ZIA, Economists and the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe.

According to Lentz and Mart, (2004) document analysis is a form of qualitative research in which documents are interpreted by the researcher to give voice and meaning around an assessment topic. The secondary documents that will be consulted for this research are newspapers, monetary policy statements made by the Reserve bank of Zimbabwe, budget
statements by the Minister of Finance and publications by the Zimbabwe Investment Authority (ZIA).

3.7 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

Validity refers to the credibility or believability of the research. There are two aspects of validity namely; internal validity where the instruments or procedures used in the research measured what they were supposed to measure. External validity can be used to enforce what the internal qualifies but without being specific and rather generalizes the results, (Kennet, 2014:3). To ensure validity or credibility, the researcher will make use of a case study research design which makes the research appear in the real world thereby giving it high external validity or non-general. The use of key informant in-depth interviews together with document study will also increase validity of this research mainly because the shortcomings of one approach will be offset with strengths of the other.

Reliability refers to the repeatability of findings. This entails that if the study were to be done a second time, would it yield the same results? Other researchers can interview the same key informants and obtain the very same results, (Cadman, 2017; 34). In view of the fact that, the informants for this research are key and are from established designations, it would be possible for a repeat of the data collection exercise.

3.8 DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

Data presentation refers to disseminated detail which is the main characteristic of the information set described in an easily understandable manner, referring to the information and indicators disseminated. (Bouma and Ling, 2004). For the purpose of this research, data will be presented in the form of frequency tables, graphs and pie charts using Microsoft Word and Excel.

Data analysis is the process of re-organizing, manipulating, interpreting and giving meaning to the body of collected data. (Neuman, cited in Shumba, 2011). In this light, this research will make use of qualitative approaches to make meaning of the data to be collected through open ended questions. Data analysis for this research will include data coding, editing and tabulation. Data analysis will also include developing themes (headings) or sub themes, which will be derived from the study objectives.
3.9 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Creswell (1998) defines ethics as moral standards that the research should consider in all research methods in all stages of the research design. For the purpose of this research, informed consent, voluntary participation and privacy and anonymity of respondents will be followed. The principle of informed consent implies that everyone participating in the study fully understands what is going to happen in the course of the study, why and when it is going to happen as well as the effect it is going to have on him/ her. In this study, I will prepare consent forms which I will explain the goal and objectives of the study to the participants before they sign. I will inform and explain to the participants that they will voluntarily participate in the study.

The principle of confidentiality is synonymous with the right to privacy. The principle of confidentiality detects that information provided by participants will not be shared without their will. (Creswell, 1998). The researcher will ensure that the respondents’ identities and information is held in strict confidence due to their high profile positions both as key representatives of Zimbabwe and China in a political sense. Their integrity is of paramount importance. I will further assure the participants of confidentiality in the written consent form and verbally. The management of information builds on the principle of confidentiality. After the interviews have been finished, I will make sure that no names are kept separate from recordings, transcription and notes. After I have finished transcribing, sorting, synthesizing the data and submitted the research study write up, I will destroy the recordings and transcriptions as highlighted in the consent form.

3.9 SUMMARY

This chapter addressed the methodology that will be applied in this research. The research will be qualitative in nature and will make use of a case study research design. Issues of ethical concerns to be addressed include voluntary participation of respondents as well as ensuring their anonymity. The research will make use of both probability and non-probability methods to establish a sample size of respondents. Research data will be collected through conducting key informant in-depth interviews and document study. The key informant interviews will be conducted by the researcher herself with the help of two Research Assistants. The targeted key informants are the Chinese Consulate, Ministry of Finance, ZIA, the Reserve Bank and Economists.
CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides an insight into how data was presented, analyzed and the discussion of findings. This chapter captures the questions that were asked in the interview guide in their order. The voices of the key informants; members of the Chinese consulate including the Chinese ambassador to Zimbabwe, the Office of the president as advised to represent the Reserve bank of Zimbabwe as well as economists came out through the direct quotations obtained during the interview process. Pursuant to that are the literature references that give explanations and overview to the responses and their relevance to the objectives of the study. Lastly, the chapter provides the discussion of findings after the analysis indicating what available literature says on each question in the interview guide.

4.2 Background Data of the Respondents

4.2.1 Length of Time in position

The respondents were first asked on the length of time they had spent in office. This was to identify and establish their authority in the system of Chinese aid to Zimbabwe with full knowledge of all relevant information. The Councilor for Economic and Trade Cooperation responded as follows,

“I have been in this position as Councilor for Economic and Trade Cooperation for the past 2 years.”

The response sheds light on the fact that if there is to be some information he is privy to, it would most likely be recent. This may be an advantage for a more recent analysis of the situation now between China and Zimbabwe as far as aid conditionalities go. When compared to the responses of other respondents, a more unbiased feedback can be achieved, for example the RBZ representative in the office of the President and Cabinet who has been employed for 4 years and the researcher who has been analyzing on economic issues for all of 11 years. There would be a chronologically informed transition of the Chinese aid to Zimbabwe.

According to Carter, Bishop and Lyman, (2007:49) and Kiss, (2005), the specifications of a person’s professional capacity underlie their base knowledge of the matters that have to do
with that professional much better than anyone else otherwise. It is also important to get insight from one who has had a considerable amount of experience in that area. The response from the Chinese councilor is credible both for his designation in a position of intimacy with the premise of the fund and aid portfolio thus lending much to the requirements of quantitative credit through relevant authoritative information. Credibility thus established, the rest of the questions have been recorded as Question and Answer sequences with analysis at the end of each designated individual’s interview as follows;

4.2.2 Designations

The respondents were selected based on the positions held in the relevant offices that may have access and full knowledge of the policies and aid details between China and Zimbabwe. This is why the Reserve bank, the Chinese consulate, economists and analysts formed the respondents group. Typically, how each of them responded would be influenced both by their designation and informed by their position in the respective offices. The researcher chose to describe himself in his personal capacity as follows;

“I am an economist and I am a researcher with the Labour and Economic Development Research Institute of Zimbabwe. I am however more economist than researcher and would prefer to respond as such.”

In line with assertions by Thompson, (2006), the responder’s designation give credibility to what they say. Almost similar to the effect of the years of experience in the position is the role of the individual in an organization; it adds strength to what they say.

4.3.1 The Chinese policy on non-interference

When asked on their understanding of the belief in China’s adherence to a policy of non-interference within the nations it gives aid to, the respondents ad varying answers but each displaying a considerable knowledge of the policy. For instance the Chinese consulate responded thus;

“From the time of Death of Mao Tse Zedong, China has believed firmly in the ideology of peaceful coexistence I which those who can may help those without and expect no extra
sacrifice thereafter. We have always followed in that in every nation we give aid and work with, the idea is not to seek power, it is to seek peace and unity of purpose.”

On the other hand, based on designation and point of view expressed from respondent’s country of loyalty, the representative from the office of the president responded thus;

“The policy states that China would not expect or place any conditions on any of the recipient countries they deal with. As in our case, they would be offering us aid as aid alone with no strings attached.”

4.3.2 The Driving forces behind Chinese aid to Zimbabwe

The question of whether the aid to Zimbabwe from China has been one sided and mercenary in nature or mutually benefitting also gave rise to a number of responses from either the Chinese perspective or the Zimbabwean one. The Chinese ambassador had the following to say;

“We just wanted to help out a failing economy where we could, but then coexistence also means that when the other has that which you want, there is no harm in sharing. Today, we live as two nations slowly building each other, China providing where it can in mining, infrastructural development and so on, and where Zimbabwe can, it helps us too, everyone is happy.”

Looking from a Zimbabwean perspective, this question evoked responses such as from the Senior Research Economist from Labour and Economic Development Research Institute of Zimbabwe had the following to say;

“It is a policy which stipulates that China will only offer aid where needed but without placing any demands on the receiving nation. In other words, no policy-change lobbying in their favour, and they may not even want any resources within those countries. I just think it is a nice way of exploiting Africans same way we had the bible and gun approach from the Westerners. The so-called policy is a way to earn trust before they start siphoning.”

From the responses given by the Chinese consulate, it is clear that China will always feel a sense of self-righteousness in its position as benefactor to Zimbabwe. In that same vein, it is easy to see how any other coffers it may create from the wealth of Zimbabwe will be seen as justified, following what they believe they are giving to Zimbabwe. In the words of Kiss,
(2013), the Chinese are hypocrites and use non-interference policies as a smoke screen to hide their intentions in the countries they will be offering aid.

4.3.3 Is the nation’s sovereignty easy to uphold in the face of another country offering them aid?

Some critics point to a situation where a country is placed into a compromising situation in which its loyalties are tied to another which offers it help in some way. With the extent and number of years that China has been giving Zimbabwe aid, it is worth evaluating the extent to which this has led to a certain case of loss of sovereignty for Zimbabwe. The Chinese ambassador replied as follows;

“We always admire the president of Zimbabwe when he speaks of the sovereignty of the country. We have not seen stronger convictions in sovereignty as there are in Zimbabwe. There is no way a few million dollars can take that away from Zimbabwe and China is definitely not looking to attempt that change. It is easy if from the very beginning of aid agreements everything is spelt out like it was when we were first engaging with China”

In contrast, certain citizens, as expressed by the researching economic analyst, have the following to say;

“Sovereignty is rule without external influence. I think we only had sovereignty the years right after we won our independence and the days when our president proudly hailed it in the face of George W Bush the then president of the United States. Anything after that has been a pittance if any in terms of any identity and the powerfulness and assertiveness has been lost since the look East policy. Look at how our sons and daughters were being abused by those very Chinese over minor errors. Does that show any sense of sovereignty when we could only look on and not assert discipline as on any other unlawful perpetrators?”

The Senior Research Economist from Labour and Economic Development Research;

“We have always held fast to our national pride, no amount of financial aid will take that always from us. Indeed Zimbabwe’s identity and pride as a nation is still fully intact despite any help we may have received from out there.”
There are a few other questions such as how the relations between China and Zimbabwe can be optimized for a win-win situation which all have different responses from the respondents but each showing that China will always uphold that their offers of aid to Zimbabwe are not laced with any expectations and there will not place any conditionalities to compromise the sovereignty of the country. On the other hand, some critics would state that, “its insistence on the rights of sovereign states simply camouflage its bottom line of profit and resource procurement,” (Thrall, 2015)

The responses from the Reserve Bank governor and the Economist show a lot in terms of how Chinese aid is viewed at leadership level and by the average citizen. Concerns had been raised of how there was no transparency in the allocation of the aid and funds from China which is probably the reason many believe that there is no real benefit from China, only some small teasers in their pursuit for gain from our local resources. Kiss, (2013) denounces Chinese aid as having the same effect as the missionary and the colonialist who simply switched the bible in one hand for a gun in the other having been one person all the while.

There are however, those who genuinely see the results of the aid from China, which perhaps fails to be seen by the ordinary citizen due to misappropriation in which it only feeds the bellies of the elite and the leaders, (Thompson, 2012).

Transparency which denote that it is difficult to track Chinese aid to Africa as it lacks documentation and a tracking or monitoring system (Grim, Rank, MacDonald and Schickerling, 2011)

Essentially, respondents who confirmed that Zimbabwe’s sovereignty was under threat as a result of Chinese aid conditions, noted that, this is because China is investing in key sectors of the economy such as the military citing the National Defence College as an example, Zimbabwe’s energy and power sector with the Kariba South Hydroelectric project, its investments in agriculture which is the backbone of the economy as well as Zimbabwe’s minerals with Chiyadzwa and the exclusive rights of platinum as cases in point.
4.5 SUMMARY

The chapter was detailing the questions that were asked in the interviews with the various respondents and the responses that were given. The aim of the interviews was to seek clarity on the conditions, if any, of the type of aid Zimbabwe got from China. They also sought to find out if those in the relating designations had adequate information of what the aid agreements entailed. The responses received proved that there is aid that Zimbabwe receives from China and it is still debatable whether or not that aid was tied to some conditionalities that may eventually compromise the sovereignty of the country. It is clear, though, that the aid comes and then China does gain somehow from Zimbabwe’s resources and who is to say to what an extent China benefits. However, that does not spell out conditionalities. Rather it spells out mutual gain, if for some reason Zimbabwe loses more than it gains, it is not because China has placed stringent conditions on the country, it is rather a lack of strategy on Zimbabwe’s part. In essence, there is always going to be a developed country that may seek something from Zimbabwe and if not strategically handled, these speculations on conditionalities and manipulations will always be an issue even though it may not be the ulterior motive of the giving country.
CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter contains the overview of the research as well as a summary of the entire chapter from chapter one to five. The chapter also highlights whether the research questions were answered by the research or not. To add on, this chapter also brings out what the field findings were saying and the available literature with the key question of whether there is a link between the findings and literature. Lastly, the chapter focused on the recommendations based on the key findings and these recommendations were addressed to key stakeholders.

5.2 SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH

Chapter One of the research covered the introduction to the research presenting the objectives and problem that stirred the research. It also embraced the justification and organisation of the research. The chapter also covered the research methodology, definition of key terms, literature review and theoretical framework.

Chapter Two explored the rational of the research. It highlighted the different views of on foreign aid, conditionalities and receiving states sovereignty. This chapter focused on the Dependency Theory in explaining the Chinese foreign aid conditionalities and how these affect Zimbabwe's sovereignty. Coupled with this, the researcher also looked at aid in general then went on to look at Chinese aid in Africa with South Sudan, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and Mauritius as case studies of African countries that have received aid with conditionalities from China. Lastly, related studies by other scholars were mentioned bringing to light that, the issue of Chinese foreign aid is a topical one. Having identified the focus of other studies, this study will build upon them by examining the existence of Chinese foreign aid conditionalities and how it impacts on Zimbabwe's sovereignty.
Chapter Three outlined the research design that was used to undertake the research. The research used the qualitative approach. Coupled with this, this chapter also highlighted the methods that were applied by the researcher to gather data for the research such as key informant interviews. This chapter addressed the methodology to be applied in the research. The research was qualitative in nature and made use of a case study research design. Issues of ethical concerns to be addressed included voluntary participation of respondents as well as ensuring their anonymity. The research made use of both probability and non probability methods to establish a sample size of respondents. Research data was collected through conducting key informant in-depth interviews and document study. The key informant interviews was conducted by the researcher herself with the help of two Research Assistants. The targeted key informants were the Chinese Consulate, Ministry of Finance, ZIA, the Reserve Bank and Economists.

Chapter Four saw the presentation of the data findings from the research ascertaining whether Chinese aid to Zimbabwe is conditional and how that impacts on Zimbabwe's sovereignty. The chapter detailed the questions that were asked in the interviews with the various respondents and the responses that were given. The aim of the interviews was to seek clarity on the conditions, if any, of the type of aid Zimbabwe got from China. They also sought to find out if those in the relating designations had adequate information of what the aid agreements entailed. The responses received proved that there is aid that Zimbabwe receives from China and it is still debatable whether or not that aid was tied to some conditionalities that may eventually compromise the sovereignty of the country.

Chapter Five concludes, recommends the whole study and summarises the findings of the research. It also points out the gaps discovered during the research and advice areas for further study.
5.3 CONCLUSION

5.3.1 The question of what, if any, conditionalities arise from Chinese aid to Zimbabwe has been answered as follows; The research confirmed the existence of Chinese aid conditions to Zimbabwe. It was noted that these conditionalities are not so explicit but are rather subtle. This means that Chinese aid does not come with outright conditions such as those from the Western countries. This is supported by existing literature (Wenping, 2013, Shih, 2013, Yimin, 2011) which postulates that despite Chinese leaders’ claim that China’s assistance to Africa is totally selfless and altruistic, the reality is far more complex. This is because China’s policy toward Africa is pragmatic, and aid has been a useful policy instrument since the early days of the People’s Republic of China in their pursuit to foster relations and make allies of African countries making non-conditionality aid a dream. This is however disputed by Jiabao (2010) who argues that according to the Eight Principles of Foreign Aid, Chinese experts are not allowed to make any special demands or enjoy any special amenities when they provide aid.

5.3.2 The question on the extent of the impact of Zimbabwe’s sovereignty being under threat due to China’s tied aid is another question that the research sought to answer. The research both confirmed and disproved that Zimbabwe’s sovereignty is under threat due to Chinese aid conditionalities. This is consistent with existing literature which suggests that China’s aid to Africa does not affect a nation’s sovereignty, (Hanauer and Morris, 2014). The postulation is that China’s success through alliances with Africa is based on security of the country and sovereignty tampering is one way this could be threatened therefore, China would not have a hand in any unrest situations. Thrall, (2015) further explains that China does not meddle in a country’s political system when it provides aid unlike the Western countries. On the other hand, literature also argues that Chinese aid conditionalities impact on a country’s sovereignty thus the call by many scholars for China’s aid transparency (Brautigam 2010 and 2011, Mawdsley 2014, Tan-Mullins 2010 and Grimm, Rank, Schickerling and MacDonald 2011).
5.3.3 The question of whether China’s policy of non-interference is still relevant in the 21st century was also answered by the research. The research findings confirmed that to a greater extent, China’s non-interference policy is still relevant. These findings are consistent with existing literature such as the assertions of Alden, Large and Oliveira, 2008) that brings out both the relevance and the need for revision of this policy of non-interference. Scholars who argue that China’s policy of non-interference is still relevant argue that it is the adherence to that policy which enables China to become a trading giant in Africa unlike the West. This is because China does not interfere in the local or national governance of the country they will be giving aid in (Hanauer and Morris, 2014). This is however refuted by some scholars who argue that China’s non interference policy is no longer relevant. Their arguments are based on cases where China intervened with military assistance such as South Sudan (Large, 2008) and prostate interventionism and rescaling economic governance (Gonzalez-Vicente 2015).

5.3.4 When it comes to who is benefitting more from the China-Zimbabwe aid relationship, there has been some light shed to that effect. Hanauer and Morris, (2014) and Thrall, (2015) both concur that the relationship between China and African countries is of mutual benefit where China seeks natural reserves such as oil, gas and minerals as well as an ally against some Western countries while African leaders seek association with one super-power nation that has made huge leaps in development economically and technologically. The research confirmed that to a greater extent both countries are benefitting from this aid relationship whilst it was noted that, China is benefitting more than Zimbabwe. This is confirmed by existing literature which brings to light that disparity. Those who argue that both countries are benefitting postulate that China is bringing in the needed investment improving the lives of the people in Zimbabwe through education, health, agricultural investments, mining among others. These are then seen as direct benefits to the Zimbabwean government and its people. Coupled with this, China is benefitting from acquiring natural resources which feeds its industries back home (Jiabao, 2010). Existing literature that denotes that China is benefitting more than Zimbabwe bring to light that China’s aid in Zimbabwe is meant to draw out the natural resources (Ramachandran, 2010) and that China’s national interests are at the heart of their aid in Zimbabwe (Brautigam, 2011).
5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the key findings, the following recommendations are directed to the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning and the Parliament Caucus as well as the Ambassador in the Chinese Consulate;

To the members of parliament in Zimbabwe: Based on the findings that there is existence of Chinese aid conditions to Zimbabwe, there is need for the Members of Parliament to move a motion on the revision of the country’s aid policy so that it gives Zimbabwe more bargaining power with the country offering aid.

The Chinese Ambassador to Zimbabwe: Two recommendations are made to the Chinese Ambassador to Zimbabwe;

i) In view of the above, there may also be need for the Ambassador of China to Zimbabwe to reflect and to re-strategise on their aid relationship with Zimbabwe so that both countries mutually benefit from the aid.

ii) The research also found out that China’s policy of non interference is to a less extent irrelevant. This is because China is not adhering to it as they used to. In light of this, there is need for the Chinese Ambassador to Zimbabwe to also revisit this policy and assess to what extent it is still relevant in light of their bilateral trade relationship with Zimbabwe

Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning: Based on the research findings, it came out strongly that the Chinese-Zimbabwe aid relationship is beneficial to both countries. In light of this, it is recommended that the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning be able to highlight the sectors that China is to invest in so that there is no threat to the country’s sovereignty

Chinese Consulate and Zimbabwean Parliament: In view of the above sentiment, there is also need for both the Chinese Consulate and Zimbabwean Parliamentarians to negotiate for aid that is mutually beneficial to them so that there is a win – win relationship.
5.5 AREAS FOR FURTHER STUDY

After having investigated whether Zimbabwe is under threat as a result of China’s For future researchers, recommendations are made in the following area:

1. Research on the bargaining power of a third world country like Zimbabwe when faced with prospects of foreign aid from a well-developed country.
REFERENCES


Approaches SAGE Publications.


Informed Consent Form – Respondent A

I………………………., agree on my free will to participate in this research topic, which focuses on Foreign aid conditionalities and sovereignty in Africa: the case of Chinese aid in Zimbabwe. I understand that the information that I will share will be used for research purposes only and that nowhere will my identity be known in any research report or publication. I am also aware of the fact that I can withdraw at any time during the study without incurring any penalty.

Signature of the research participant

Date