A Study on the Impact of China’s Investments in Africa: The Case of Kenya

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Abstract

The increase in China’s economic and political involvement in Africa is arguably the most momentous development on the continent today. One of the contentious issues surrounding Sino-African relations involves investments. Although Africa and China have been trading with each other for centuries, the level and intensity of their trade relationship have increased dramatically since 2000. The trends and patterns of trade between China and Africa suggest many possible impacts in Africa. This paper examined the impact of the China’s Investments, economic and developmental activities in Africa with focus to Kenya having already benefitted from the development of hydro-power plants and a loan of US$ 16 million for roads, plus recent news that Chinese firms will construct a multi-billion dollar port near Lamu (on the East coast a second port (Lamu Port) and the Southern Sudan–Ethiopia Transport Corridor (LAPSSET) project). Data and information was gathered from the existing literature, books, journals, newspapers and internet search. It appeared that there is scarcity of the up to date data and information about China-Kenya and much of the information available captured a number of the past years and since this was the information the author could access, it was the same information used to examine the research paper study issue. The paper will be of great importance to the government in making its foreign policies and investment and the void by analyzing the link between foreign investment inflows on the diffusion of good governance. For the researchers it will assist them in their research and a basis for research and further conclusions.

Keywords: China, Kenya, foreign direct investment (FDI), aid, trade.

INTRODUCTION

China’s growing political and economic presence in Africa and its involvement on the continent has alarmed many in Europe and the United States, best characterized by media headlines such as Why China is trying to Colonise Africa? (D. Blair 2007), and think-tank pieces entitled Beijing’s Safari (J. Kurlantzick 2006). China’s recent activities, such as the November 2009 pledge of US$ 10 billion in low-cost loans for Africa over the next ten years, and its debt-forgiveness for many of Africa’s poorest states, have only added to Western suspicions about China’s activities in Africa.

China established diplomatic relations with Kenya in 1963. Since then, a number of Chinese companies have invested in various projects, and by 2010 China had become the leading source of Kenya’s foreign direct investment (FDI), investing KES 2.5 billion into the country’s economy ( Kenya Investment Authority, Annual reports 2010). Having already benefitted from the development of hydro-power plants and a loan of US$ 16 million for roads, plus recent news that Chinese firms will construct a multi-billion dollar port near Lamu (on the East coast a second port (Lamu Port) and the Southern Sudan–Ethiopia Transport Corridor (LAPSSET) project), the construction of vehicle assembly plants and oil exploration Kenya was an ideal country for study.

According to the Kenyan National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS) show’s that the country’s imports come from a variety of states. The rate of imports since 1996 has generally increased and imports from China have increased the most dramatically at a rate of 2,084% from 1996-2008. In 2011 the two governments signed 10 agreements, including a concessional loan to finance a proposed Kenyatta University Teaching and Referral hospital; solar energy generation; a malaria treatment project; hydropower station construction and upgrading; educational exchange and co-operation; a Memorandum of Understanding between China State Administration of Radio, Film and Television and Kenya’s Ministry of Information and Communication; and a co-operation agreement.
between China Central Telecoms and Kenya Broadcasting Corporation. (Nairobi Star, East Africa 22 April 2011.)

Chinese electronic company AUCMA has set up a television assembly factory in Kenya with a Sh117 million investment. The facility has the capacity to assemble 800 television sets per day and employs 52 people. The two countries have signed two technical and economic co-operation agreements to support economic recovery programmes under the Ministry of Planning and National Development.

It is the aim of this paper to assess the impact of China’s Investment, economic and developments activities in Africa by focusing on a single African country: The study’s specific objectives are as follows;

i. To examine the type of investments being made in Kenya by china
ii. To examine China – Kenya trade relations
iii. Identify features and significance of Chinese aid to Kenya
iv. To identify China-Kenya military relations

Research Hypothesis

- China’s investment in Africa aims at achieving tangible developmental results and the conditionality are suitable for African countries.

Research Question

- What is the impact of China-Kenya’s relation in terms of, investment, trade and aid?

Sub-Research Questions

- What is the composition of China’s FDI in Kenya?
- What are the major exports from China?
- What type of aid does Kenya receive from China?

China’s Foreign Policy

Since the founding of the people’s republic of China in 1950, Chinese leadership has wrestled with the dilemmas of the need to restore the country to its historical standing as a leading power against the milieu of its own development challenges. According to Alden (2007) in 1978, the new leader Deng Xiaoping set China on a gradual capitalist –oriented development road which produced three decades of double digit growth with income per capita of US$1, 700 in 2005 Alden continues to state that the approach to foreign policy was based on the following: - ‘observe calmly, secure our position. Hide our capabilities and bide our time. Be good at maintaining a low profile, never claim leadership’. –

According to Pere (2006), Chinese development is not a zero-sum game and so the policy statements express six themes, namely;
1). China is a peace-loving nation and opposes the use of force in international disputes, with the exception of Taiwan.
2). China is a developing country, and pursues unity with the third world countries
3). China is co-operative in international affairs, and supportive of international organizations and international treaties.
4). Chinese foreign policy is independent and autonomous
5). China is an aspiring great power with growing national strength and rising international status.
6). China pursues “people-centered” (or put people first) development and policies (Xiaoxing 2005).

China – Africa Relation

China was attracted to Africa as early as the T’ang dynasty (A.D. 618 – 907) and the 19 century reports of the meat-eating, ivory exporting people of bophali who are the inhabitants of the now modern Kenya or Tanzania confirms this (Rotberg, 2008). It is in the 15th century that China started its first certain direct involvement with Africa. Since then China and Africa have enriched each other intellectually, culturally and commercially, but still there are questions as to whether China’s promises to do more for economic growth and poverty alleviation more than Western nations will bear results. China’s goals are ideological as well as material. It is not in competition with United States or Europe for Africa or to score in the ongoing battle for global hegemony. Diplomatically China has established embassies in 38 of Sub-Saharan Africa’s 48 countries and exchanged military attaches with African nations (ibid.). There are also scholarships available for study in China for African students.

China and Africa’s shared reliance on one another can be evidenced in Beijing Summit of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) which is held every third year. In 2006 the summit included the heads of state, government officials and representatives from forty eight African countries. As of 2007, President Hu Jintao had paid five visits to the continent- twice as vice president and three times as president (ibid).

According to Li Anshan as cited by Rotberg (2008) China’s African policy can be divided into three periods, namely;
2). 1978–1994: a transitional period; and
3). 1995 to date: as a period of rapid development

Within these periods there has been gradual shift in Chinese policy towards economic development which was followed later by new foreign policy of independence, peace and development. After the
founding of People’s Republic of China (PRC) in 1950, China foreign policy was hemmed in by international politics. In 1982, the Communist party of China (CPC) had its new principle of party relation – independence, complete equality, mutual respect, non-interference in others affairs and promised to network with other parties within and outside China. In 1982, Premier Zhao Ziyang had his first visit to eleven African countries with an intention of showing China’s diplomatic focus on Africa as well as other developing countries and to establish mutual understanding, friendship and strengthen two sides cooperation. Zhao announced four principles on Sino-African Economic and Technical Cooperation, namely equality, bilateralism, effectiveness and co-development.

The principles are more of a declaration of China’s aid framework which provided favourable conditions for the recipient countries in Africa and most importantly the "no political strings" issue coupled with the Beijing’s willingness to provide aid and concessional loans.

Chinese – African relations are characterized by summit diplomacy, equality, co-development and cooperation and it is worth mentioning that summit diplomacy is not found with any other country, except in Africa. Rotberg (2008) argues that China has a unique feature in foreign policy embedded in the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. China’s African policy has retained its principles while at the same time adapting to domestic and international conditions.

China-Kenya relation according to this paper is subdivided into three historical periods, namely:

1. President Jomo Kenyatta Era (1963 – 1978): This diplomatic corporation between Kenya and China covers a number of issues, like the Antipiracy Corporation, roads and Bridges Corporation, and oil Exploration Corporation.
2. President Daniel Arap Moi Era (1978–2002): The year 1978, saw President Daniel Arap Moi in power, and only after then that the relation of the two countries fetched a fast development.
3. In December 2002, a new government was formed under President Mwai Kibaki and he expressed to hold a great account of the relations with China, willing to further deepen and expand the friendly cooperation between the two countries (China-Kenya Embassy website). China-Kenya economic relations in the Kibaki era began with high-level political contacts between the two states followed by a series of agreements. During his visit President Mwai Kibaki held extensive talks with President Hu Jintao and Chinese government officials who resulted to a five-part agreement covering official development assistance in grants for infrastructure and energy, extended air services between the two countries, technical assistance for assessment and classification of standards in industrial products, and modernization of equipment and training at the state-owned Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (Gadzala, 2009, p. 209). In general, the establishment of the diplomatic relations between the two countries has realized a series of aid and assistance provided by China to Kenya which include Moi International Sport Center, methane-generating pit and the expansion project of Eldoret hospital, Confucius Institute at Nairobi University, Teaching Chinese and Joint Research Work on Vegetables with Egerton University, Road Construction Projects.

The two countries renewed a new Cultural Cooperation agreement, May 2009 signed between the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of State for Culture and National Heritage and Vice minister for Culture of China (China-Kenya Website).

**Importance of the Relation**

China views Kenya as an opportunity to the region and it has become a key focus of China’s trade and economic strategy in Africa. Kenya is a war-free country with stable political situation and this makes it an ideal regional flat form for Chinese investors to increase their business in Africa. Currently China is offering favorable loans to Kenya, building hospitals and schools for less developed areas, has set up malaria prevention and control centers as well as sending volunteers to train the locals.

**Gains and Losses of the corporation**

According to Rotberg (2008), China and Africa greatly need each other it’s like both benefit from this remarkably symbiotic relationship. China not only purchases Africa’s unprocessed returns of the sub soil, but also constructs or refurbishes roads and railways, creates export processing zones (EPZ), supplies equipment, supplies military free power, builds barracks, provides uniforms and offers various types of assistance.

**Foreign Direct Investments by China in Kenya**

Foreign direct investment (FDI) is investment in foreign assets, such as foreign currency, credits, rights, benefits or property, undertaken by foreign national for the purpose of production of goods and services, which are to be sold either in the domestic market or exported overseas (Investment Promotion Center Act, Chapter 518).

**Natural Resources**

While the country has little proven actual resources such as oil and gas ‘an offshore exploration deal was
signed between the Kenya Government and China, allowing CNOOC to explore in six blocks covering 445,000 square miles in the north and south of the country.

The Manufacturing and Service Sector

Chinese firms that have been present in Kenya since around 2000 have produced and exported anything from the manufacture of solar panels, processing maize and wheat, building bicycles, growing mushrooms, producing sausages and farming ostriches. The rate of investment has been varied with Chinese Huangpai Grain Processing Ltd spending US$ 924,000 in 2000 in capital costs, and Chinese supermarket chain Horizon Ivato Supermarket Ltd making capital costs of US$ 11,154,000 in 2003. Composition of Chinese investment projects in Kenya currently number about 96 with a workforce of about 6,700 Kenyans and an investment capital of 52.6 million US dollars (Kenya Investment Authority). Most FDI from China is made by companies from China which is either wholly or partially state-owned even though in Kenya they operate as private companies. Until the year 2000, the FDI from China remained very low. The flows from China became remarkable in 2004–2006.

According to Chege (2008) in the year 2001 and 2002, there were 17 Chinese investments established in Kenya. In the year 2003, 11 Chinese firms were also started, which were fully owned by the Chinese, mostly in services sub-sector making 82% of the firms while the rest were in manufacturing. It was noted that capital investments in these firms were entirely foreign, averaging US$ 1.3 million per firm and most of the capital was invested in service sector. More so eight (8) Chinese firms were established in Kenya in 2006, again mostly in the services (63%) and manufacturing (37%) sub-sectors and most of the capital was invested in services sector. The average capital investment amounted to US$ 636,000, with a bigger share of it going into services investment. Employment averaged 85 persons per firm for locals and 8 persons per firm for foreigners.

Within the firms, employment averaged 45 persons, with local employment averaging 37 (82%), while foreign averaging 8 (18%) persons per firm. By 2004 there were about 60 Chinese companies doing their businesses in Kenya of which firms had established their activities the in same year with capital costs averaging US$ 775,000 per firm (ibid.). Employment was mainly local (97%), averaging 114 per firm and foreign (3%), averaging 4 persons per firm. These companies have also been quick to make use of Kenyan labour, countering remarks that ‘there are constraints to the number and quality of jobs created through Chinese investment’ because of a lack of transparency between Chinese businesses and civil society. Of the total 72 Chinese companies that were established in Kenya from 2000-2006 326 employees were Chinese and 4,940 employees were sourced locally. The only reported case where the level of Chinese employees exceeded Kenyan employees was the case of Changhong Electronics Ltd. where 70 employees were Chinese compared to 46 local employees. The wage labour situation in Kenya also appears comparatively fair for those employed as production workers in the manufacturing sector.

Road Infrastructure

Current transport infrastructure in Kenya equates to 177,500 KMs of roads, with 63,000 KMs making up classified (read major) roads and 114,500 KMs of unclassified (read rural) roads, with that said major investment is still required for approximately 40% of roads in an unmaintained condition located mainly in rural areas. Connecting these areas is clearly the key infrastructure task at hand for the Kenyan government, and to its credit it has actively tried to encourage such development, promoting itself as a stable and geographical “gateway” to Africa. The Chinese government, having its largest African embassy in Nairobi, have seized on the opportunity to develop major transport links to support its own economic interests and employs Chinese firms to carry-out the work (although these firms do not work exclusively for the government).

Chinese investment in Kenyan roads began in 2006 and has resulted in the rehabilitation or construction of approximately 905.4 KMs of road at an estimated cost of € 316 million over a four-year period. Chinese firms have, for example, sought to ease traffic congestion in cities such as Nairobi by completing by-passes in the north, east and south of the city and by linking the Jomo Kenyatta International Airport to the city centre.

Where motorways are concerned the Chinese have invested approximately € 200 million in the rehabilitation of the Nairobi-Mombasa (termed the A109 officially, but the “China Road” by Kenyans on an informal basis). Ambitiously, the China Road and Bridge Cooperation (CRBC) is also in the process of taking-on a former British colonial dream of linking-up Africa, by investing an estimated € 43 million in a 530 KMs connecting Kenya with Ethiopia. Chinese firms are honing their road-building skills and learning from experiences in Kenya.

Chinese investment in Kenya is concentrated in the manufacturing and service sector and recently they are moving to mining and mineral exploration.
Table 1: Types of investment by China in Kenya (Sh thousands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mode of investment</th>
<th>Project</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Loans</td>
<td>Gambogi Serem Road</td>
<td>3,100</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kipsigis-Shamkhoko Road</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Purchase of tractors</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Tele. Devt. Programme</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>24,500</td>
<td>14,583</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kenya power distribution modernisation &amp; strengthening</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20,130</td>
<td>6000</td>
<td>19,220</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kenya e-Government</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7,688</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nairobi Eastern and Northern Bypass Project</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>57,662</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nairobi-Thika Highway Project (LOT 3)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>60,289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Drilling of Olkaria IV Geothermal Wells</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>55,791</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grants</td>
<td>Kasaram Sports Ground maintenance</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>3,620</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>43,846</td>
<td>12,698</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Various courses in China</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Government office equipment</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maize flour processing project in Bomet &amp; drought-hit areas</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3,330</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,766</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tsunami relief Kenya</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>442</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Economic and technical co-operation Kenya</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10,387</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rehabilitation of Nairobi rds and street lighting</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>21,538</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Technical training courses to govt. officials</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>548</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gambogi Serem Road</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Construction of hospital in Eastlands</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,996</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Onjala J.

Table 2: China’s FDI to Kenya 2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Company name</th>
<th>activity</th>
<th>Cap Cost (000)</th>
<th>F US$</th>
<th>EMP F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MANU</td>
<td>Huaj long auto repairs co ltd</td>
<td>Manuf. of M/V bodies</td>
<td>385</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MANU</td>
<td>Gold lida ltd</td>
<td>Manuf. of PVC products</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MANU</td>
<td>Dong fang auto assembly Co. ltd</td>
<td>Manuf. &amp; assemble M/V bodies</td>
<td>385</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SERV</td>
<td>Zenith rubber roller</td>
<td>Re-rubberizing Rubber</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SERV</td>
<td>Aphi-China international Co. ltd</td>
<td>Grain handling</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SERV</td>
<td>Fast track Kenya ltd</td>
<td>Recycling plastics</td>
<td>519</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SERV</td>
<td>Datang optical Ltd</td>
<td>Glazing &amp; assemble spectacles</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SERV</td>
<td>Ando roofing products (K) ltd</td>
<td>Importing &amp; selling of roofing tiles &amp; paints</td>
<td>954</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Invest Promotion Centre (IPC), Kenya Investment Authority (KIA) data sets NB: MANU = manufacture; SERV = Service; CAPCOST F= capital cost (foreign); CAPCOST L = capital cost (local); EMP F= employment (foreign); EMP L= employment (local)

Table 3: FDI from China 2000 – 2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total FDI in US $ (million)</th>
<th>No of projects</th>
<th>Capital US $ (million)</th>
<th>Employment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>110.9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4.08</td>
<td>787</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2.79</td>
<td>1313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>81.7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13.95</td>
<td>493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>46.1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9.03</td>
<td>1414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.74</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.51</td>
<td>681</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Importance of China’s FDI in Kenya

In the recent past, the FDI inflows from China have become significant and this can be elaborated by two factors according to Kipngetich (2008); 1). The weakening of Kenyan competitiveness to attract direct foreign has been filled by the China’s FDI inflows and this constitutes a very important proportion for the country.

2). China’s adoption of new policy to Kenya with closer economic ties has increased Chinese enterprise presence in the country. However the China’s FDI flow to Kenya has been more in terms of capital investment rather than the quality of activities, because the firms established are engaged in services. The FDI flows from China have assumed significant proportions even though they remain low i.e. ranging from US$ 1-13 million in the last 6 years as shown in table 3.

Beneficiaries and Losers As Result of Chinese Investment in Various Sectors

The FDI from China to Kenya has been of great importance and the following are some of the results experienced from such relations; - It comes along with technological transfer using advanced technology and managerial skills and with such Kenya has been able to benefit from China’s FDI. There has been creation of employment as noticed in table 3 where some Kenyans have been able to get jobs with Chinese firms, though Local contractors argue that Chinese companies have increased
unhealthy competition in the market, which leads to local companies being unable to compete and having to close down.

In Kenya approximately 44 Chinese firms are working on various projects. Kenyan contractors have demanded the government introduce protectionism measures, arguing that infant industries need to be protected so that they can grow and become profitable. However, the government has ‘confidence in Chinese contractors for the good job they have done and continue to do compared to other contractors.

The Chinese government helps its companies to be competitive through a number of measures, for instance by providing companies with operating capital, which gives them a competitive edge. The Chinese government also at times negotiates at a government-to-government level on behalf of their companies for contracts. In this context, the open and fair procurement process in the awarding of tenders is seen to be violated, an argument that the Kenyan government has refuted. The increase in cheap Chinese products affects local companies, which have to retrench employees (to cut operation costs) due to declining revenues and loss of market share. Kenyan companies also have higher production costs, as their equipment is often obsolete compared to the modern Chinese factories. However, some companies have benefited through trading with Chinese companies and importing cheap goods from China. Nevertheless, Kenyan exports face competition from Chinese exports in other developing countries.

The more Chinese manufacturers enter the Kenyan market, the more the manufacturing sector become labour intensive and attract workers from the rural areas of Kenya. This development could change rural–urban incomes and population disparities. However, the downside is that improved technology may result in unskilled workers losing their jobs.

In addition, the continued scramble for market share by new actors such as China, presents a unique opportunity for Kenya to take greater ownership of and to co-ordinate various donor projects, as well as to set up strong institutions that improve accountability and transparency of foreign companies operating in the domestic economy, ensuring alignment with the country’s needs and national development strategy.

**Trade relations between China – Kenya**

The volume and size of Kenya exports and imports to China has been growing over time as evident in table 1. Onjala (2008) argues that trade between Kenya and China did not pick up well until the mid of 1990s when there was increase in Kenya’s imports from China and very low value of Kenya exports to China (p. 24). Chege (2008, p. 26) argues that the increase of china’s imports to Kenya came as a result of two things, namely:

1. In 1994 Kenya liberalized its exchange rate as part of economic liberalization programme supported by IMF and World Bank.

2. China’s industrial modernization produced goods that Kenyans desired at more competitive prices than other suppliers.

**Table 4 Trade relations between China – Kenya 2001 – 2010**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>2001</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Imports</td>
<td>94875</td>
<td>74956</td>
<td>86513</td>
<td>163335</td>
<td>304058</td>
<td>412441</td>
<td>678736</td>
<td>932203</td>
<td>965179</td>
<td>1579659</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exports</td>
<td>3033</td>
<td>3684</td>
<td>7621</td>
<td>10558</td>
<td>16957</td>
<td>21554</td>
<td>21859</td>
<td>29432</td>
<td>32180</td>
<td>32995</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade balance</td>
<td>-91842</td>
<td>-71272</td>
<td>-78892</td>
<td>-152777</td>
<td>-287101</td>
<td>-390887</td>
<td>-656877</td>
<td>-902771</td>
<td>-932999</td>
<td>-1.546664</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


As the figures in the table 4 shows, the balance remained in favor of China. Recognizing this widening trade imbalance, the two governments recently agreed to work towards bridging the gap. Some effective short to long-term measures could include EAC countries enacting legislation that ensures value is added to locally produced commodities before exporting, similar to the law in Uganda that requires any extracted oil to be processed before exporting.

**Composition of Kenyan Imports from China**

Kenya’s imports from China were on the rise in 2000s, the Chinese exports to Kenya mainly include telecommunication equipment, electrical machinery, civil engineering equipment, motor and transport vehicles, rubber tyres, motorcycles, and iron and steel products, household electric appliances, textile goods, commodities for daily use, building materials and drugs (Kenya daily nation 29 2010). In the year 2002 saw the trade value between China and Kenya reach US$186.37 million, whereby the Chinese export took up US$180.576 million while the import was US$5.798 million (Chinese-Kenya Embassy).

**Composition of Kenyan Exports to China**

The main Kenyan exports to China include scrap metals (copper and aluminium waste), fruits and nuts, black tea, coffee, sisal fibre, leather, raw hides and skins and fish (Kenya daily nation, 29th June 2010). According to November 2, 2009 news the Kenyan
government statistics showed that Kenya exported goods worth 2 billion shillings to mainland China in 2008 compared with imports worth 63 billion shillings (Reuters Africa). In 2008, total trade was $106.8 billion which is 45.1 percent on 2007 (ibid). “While Kenya’s exports to China increased from Sh1.2 billion in 2005 to Sh2.5 billion in 2009, its imports rose to Sh74.5 billion from Sh19.4 billion in 2005 (Kenya Daily Nation, 29th 2010).

Beneficiary and Loser in Trade
There are huge quantities of cheap Chinese products available in Kenyan markets. However, there have been some experiences of losses due to competition from Chinese imports which has hurt the local textile and other local manufacturing sector (Onjala, 2008.) On the side of exports, there have been losses because Chinese have duplicated the local goods and have been trading with them.

Chinese Aid to Kenya
Aid is a loan to a country at concessional or zero rates of interest (Kiely 2007, p. 45). This study paper tracks on various aids; systematic aid is the one where payments are made directly to governments and in this case it is the official development assistance from Chinese government to Kenya. The development aid Kenya receives from China varies considerably from that originating from Western donors. In the first instant the difference captures the “terms and conditions” imposed, and secondly, on the aspect of “tying” (McCormick, 2008). China is not so much concerned about the issues of internal governance, human rights and democracy in Kenya like the donors from the West. Besides subscribing to the ‘One China Policy’, in the case of China, there is no any other conditionality imposed on the recipient country (ibid.). China” aid is “tied” to using Chinese companies and procurement of materials in China, but nonetheless, most government officials believe that China is perhaps one of the most price-competitive sources whether its development aid is “tied or not (Onjala, 2008).

In respect to scholarships and technical training, decisions are made by the relevant Ministry in Kenya. China is considered to be much more flexible than the Western donors in accepting domestic constraints. The only political condition China provides for the establishment of its relations with African countries is the “one China” principle, i.e. not to give formal recognition to Taiwan (Pere, 2006).

Features of China’s Aid to Kenya
The Chinese development aid until mid-1990s was directed towards liberation movement in Africa, but later in the same decade, China changed its aid policy from liberation to debt reduction, promotion of investment and assistance in human resource development (Mohan and Power, 2008, p. 29).

Chinese aid varies from monetary and monetary aid packages which cover grants and loans for infrastructure, plant and equipment, scholarships, training opportunities and technical assistance (Mc Cormick, 2008). McCormick notes that monetary aid from China is tied to the use of Chinese goods and services. Kenya is among the beneficiary countries of Chinese aid, but the sources of information do not specify if the companies are state owned or private sector firms.

The assistance from China to Kenya is project based though in diverse ways (Onjala, 2008). Since the establishment of the diplomatic relations, the projects of aid and assistance provided by China to Kenya mainly include: Moi International Sport Center, methane- generating pit and the expansion project of Eldoret hospital, Confucius Institute at Nairobi University, Teaching Chinese and Joint Research Work on Vegetables with Egerton University, Road Construction Projects, and so on (China-Kenya Embassy website).

Beneficiary and Loser
The obvious benefit from the types of aid given to Kenya by China are in terms of infrastructural development and market development and these are the most recipient sectors (manufacturing and service) based on the analysis. In addition to direct investments, China has also offered diverse development aid to Kenya including package deals projects and humanitarian aid. Most recently, during the famine that struck the larger Horn of Africa, China donated foodstuff worth KES 2 billion to Kenya. Other areas of assistance include provision of anti-malaria drugs; construction of a malaria research center.

The impact of Chinese investment and aid to Kenya has been mixed. The low import prices of Chinese consumer and producer goods have reduced monopolistic tendencies among Kenyan enterprises, and yet employees and firms are negatively affected by the influx of cheap products. These effects in turn trickle down to the national economy with both gains and losses.

Table 5: Distribution of Aid Sources to Kenya Showing China’s Contribution: 2002-2005 (in million U.S. dollars)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sources/year</th>
<th>2002</th>
<th>2003</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2005</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Multilateral</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Bilateral</td>
<td>272.8</td>
<td>300.5</td>
<td>342.9</td>
<td>379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>545</td>
<td>536</td>
<td>616</td>
<td>677</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China’s Share (%)</td>
<td>0.08</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Kenya Development Cooperation Report 2005; Ministry of Finance, Development
While analyzing the lack of political strings policy, there is some fear that this provides a risk as presented:
1. That such policy will fortify repressive regimes/elites that are not working in the interest of poor people or development in general.
2. Such policy will weaken social and environmental standards.
3. It will weaken efforts to combat corruption and promote good governance in Kenya.

In general, Chinese aid is closely packaged with infrastructural projects, often linked to the extraction and export of minerals and oil to China -these facts indicate that the aid might hurt Kenya in the long-run.

China – Kenya Military Relations
The military exchanges between China and Kenya have been increasing in the recent past. It is a new venture and there is no much information about it. In December 1996, General Liu Jingsong, commander of Lanzhou Military Area headed the first Chinese military delegation to visit Kenya. In October 2000, General Li Jinai, political commissar of the General Equipment Department led a friendly delegation to visit Kenya and in December 2001, General Fu Quanyou, chief of the General Staff too led a delegation to visit Kenya. The Kenyan military visits to China include: Major General Nick Leshan, commander of the Kenyan air force (1997); General Doudi Tonje, chief of the General Staff (1997); Lieutenant General Daniel Opande, president of the Institute for National Defense (1998); and General Joseph Kibwana, chief of the General Staff (2002). In March 1998, Kenya sent its military attaché to its embassy in China (China-Kenya Website).

CONCLUSION
To drive the point home, the trade, investment and aid figures between Kenya and China are not that huge as compared to other trading partners of Kenya. Nevertheless, as the study hypothesis states, China’s relation with Africa aims at achieving tangible developmental results and the conditionality are suitable for African countries, this paper highlights important issues as follows:

There has been a rise in FDI through manufacturing and service sector in Kenya and the Chinese interest in Kenya have also extended to mining and mineral exploration. However there seems to be very limited joint ownership or local capital in Chinese investments and more so, the employment level in such firms for both Kenyans and China is very low.

The above trend conforms to the hypothesis that Chinese relation with African countries aims at achieving tangible developmental results and the terms are favourable. China views Kenya as a gateway to East African region and is a focal point in terms of China’s trade and economic strategy in Africa. China’s investment in a number of road construction projects attests this. More so China currently offers favourable loans to Kenya for hospital and schools construction in less developed areas.

Generally, the impact of China’s diplomatic relations, trade, FDI and Aid to Kenya is a mixed one because there are both gains and losses. This ranges from low prices of imports for both consumer and producer goods, which provides cheap products notwithstanding quality. However this creates competition where local producers become losers and this extends to local firms which collapse due to lack of means to withstand competition and so employees end up losing jobs too.

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