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An Analysis of French Economic Aid to Kenya, 1992-2007.

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Declaration

I declare that this is my original work. I also confirm that this thesis has not been presented in this or any other university for examination or for any other purposes.

Signed: Date: 31st MARCH 2010

Lidwine Arsinoé Clerc

This dissertation has been submitted with my approval as University supervisor.

Signed: Date: 31 March 2010

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Dedication

Writing is definitely not an easy task. Hence I am thrilled to dedicate and acknowledge people who contributed to the thinking, the research and the writing of this project. Undeniably they are part and parcel of my success.

To my Maman: indeed she is simply the best.
To my Pépé and all he did for me.

Along outstanding and everlasting love and respect, I am truly proud to belong to the Clerc lineage, 'toujours de l'avant'.

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Mugani na ibwega mono to the family of my heart from Eastern Province where the magical Mount Kenya and its evergreen slopes rise out of a natural environment of exceptional beauty.

Ahsante Sana Musa for your great work.

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The completion of this Master of Arts in International Conflict Management at the University of Nairobi has been a great and highly enriching moment in the course of my studies. Indeed the happiness and kind-heartedness of all the Kenyans I met whilst in class and researching helped me to succeed.

May life allow me to be back for the last and highest level of my education: my PhD!

Abstract

This study investigates French Economic aid to Kenya. This analysis is conducted through a review of policies towards foreign aid flows in Africa and more especially in Kenya. Also European Aid in Africa is summarized to facilitate the understanding of the dynamics of French aid since France is the largest donor of the EU with 7.3 billion dollars in 2004. An appraisal of the effectiveness of the aid is provided as well as ideas on how foreign aid should be given in order for it to lead to sustainable development.

This study investigates why foreign aid exists, and why the EU is so much involved in aid flows, and finally what make France help Kenya. Those questions are at the core of this study which analyzes consequences of foreign aid and alternatives to it.

This study uses both primary and secondary data. The latter is useful in order to develop the thesis on solid background information from scholars who are experts in the area of foreign aid. Websites of international organizations for data and policies such as the OECD were consulted; also EU websites and numerous treaties, conventions and agreements.

Primary data through interviews and discussions with 15-20 persons relevant to this research are helping to make theories and policies alive with visits on the ground. Visits to funded sites confirmed that foreign aid can work if it is wisely targeted to benefit donors and recipients rather than donors only.

Theories of foreign aid have been largely studied and reviewed by scholars from various fields. They tend to conclude for the most part that foreign aid does not work as it should since poverty is rampant still.

This present study follows historical facts along aid policies and reaches similar conclusion; foreign aid has not worked well so far. But the case study of French aid to Kenya, interviews of officials and people benefiting from French aid gave some more positive results in the sense that even if the aid has not fully fulfilled peoples' needs, it has helped considerably.

Also aid funded projects need to be carefully tracked from the conception to the completion of projects to ensure the right use of the funds. Ultimately, members of the communities will work hand in hand with donor agencies towards meaningful foreign aid leading to a great and sustainable pan-Africanism where the west helps towards development but does not impose its views.

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Abbreviations

AFD: French Agency for Development *(Agence Française de Développement)*
AFSHE: Armed Forces School of Higher Education
BCF: Cooperation Bureau for French *(Bureau de Coopération pour le Français)*
CBO: Community Based Organization
CFA: African Financial Community *(Communauté Financière Africaine)*
CIRAD: French Agricultural Research Centre for International Development *(Coopération Internationale en Recherche Agronomique pour le Développement)*
CNOUS: National Centre for Social Services *(Centre National des Œuvres Universitaires et Scolaires)*
CRS: Cooperation Social Responsibility
DAC: Development Assistance Committee
DCSD: Military and Defence's Cooperation's Management *(Direction de la Coopération Militaire et de Défense)*
EU: European Union
FFP: Food For Peace
FSPF: Priority Solidarity Fund for French *(Fond de Solidarité pour le Français)*
IFRA: French Institute for Research in Africa *(Institut Français de Recherche en Afrique)*
IMF: International Monetary Fund
IPSTC: International Peace Support Training Centre
IRD : Institute for Research and Development *(Institut de Recherche et Développement)*
KATF: Kenya Association of Teachers of French KWS: Kenya Wildlife Service
KCSE: Kenya Certification of Secondary Education
MAEE: Foreign and European Affairs' Ministry *(Ministère des Affaires Etrangères et Européennes)*
MCA: Meru Conservation Area
NGO: Non-Governmental Organization
OECD: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
ODA: Official Development Assistance
OIF: International Organization for la Francophonie *(Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie)*
PSZ: Priority Solidarity Zone
SCAC: Cooperation's office for Cultural Actions *(Service de Coopération des Actions Culturelles)*
SFD: Social Fund for Development
SME: Small and Medium Enterprise
TFFL: Teaching French as a Foreign Language
UN: United Nations
WB: World Bank

CHAPTER ONE:
INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1: Introduction

Foreign aid is the 'assistance from rich, industrialized countries to poorer, developing countries'[1] which started in earnest with the Marshall Plan of 1947. The Marshall plan was a US-funded programme for the reconstruction of Europe after World War II, which 'set a precedent for helping countries combat poverty, disease and malnutrition.'[2] With the Marshall Plan, the idea of 'foreign aid' was born. Indeed the Marshall Plan was a great inspiration and 'Western leaders (thought) that a similar transfer of resources to newly independent countries in Africa ... would likewise lead to rapid development.'[3]

Foreign aid was defined in the 1970s by the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) as Official Development Assistance (ODA) which 'consists of flows to developing countries and multilateral institutions provided by official agencies, including state and local governments, or by their executive agencies.'[4] This applies under two conditions. First, foreign aid 'is administered with the promotion of the economic development and welfare of developing countries as its main objective'. Secondly foreign aid is 'concessional in character and contains a grant element of at least 25% (calculated at a rate of discount of 10%),' with greater safety and healthier development resumed under serious poverty alleviation

[1] The Canadian Encyclopedia (Foundation of Canada, 2009)
[2] US Aid Website, The Marshall Plan
[3] See The Canadian Encyclopedia
[4] OECD, The DAC in Dates, (Section 1972, 2006).

programmes, appropriate development toward more stable economies, and wellbeing of the people.

Akramov[5] explains that international relations have been tremendously modified by the American September 11, 2001 events that reshaped 'the perspectives of donor nations on foreign aid (ODA)' by putting new emphasis on global security and on development. Indeed it necessitated the re-evaluation of the relationships between donors and recipients and the study of impacts of foreign aid on receiving nations. This study in particular will investigate the impacts of French foreign aid in Kenya. The analysis in this study will target French foreign aid policies towards Kenya, with the overarching goal of tracing the underlying objectives of French aid to Kenya so as to understand the motives behind the same. In addition, the effectiveness of the aid will be briefly assessed and with the aim of developing ideas that would attempt to make foreign aid more effective and sustainable.

1.2: Statement of the Research Problem

Sixty years after the implementation of foreign aid as a tool to 'improve upon economic conditions for growth'[6] and billions of dollars sent to developing countries, poverty is still rampant and development still remains and elusive goal for many nations. This study does not aim to determine precisely the reasons why French economic aid has not had a considerable impact on Kenyans' well being. It is evident that foreign aid in general does not work as well as it could and should but that has already been verified. The main concern in this study is to understand where the money France is sending to Kenya goes to. While

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[5] K.T. Akramov, *'Governance and Foreign Aid Allocation'* (PhD Thesis, Pardee Rand Graduate School PRGS, 2006).

[6] J. De Ree & E.Nillesen, 'Aiding Violence or Peace? The Impact of Foreign Aid on the Risk of Civil Conflict in sub-Saharan Africa'. Journal of Development Economics N. 88 (2009) pp. 301-313.

retracing the path of aid French funds, this project will also try to identify and estimate, as far as possible, the impact of those financial flows to Kenya. It will explore whether selected French-funded projects have had a positive impact on Kenyans' lives and assess the long term implications of those impacts.

There is a crucial need for better foreign aid policies in which will translate into effective agents for economic development, wealth generation and improved global security. This research is in part informed by the economic development paradigm of Professor Yunus who says[7] that 'poverty in the world is an artificial creation. It does not belong to the human civilization' and that 'poor people are not asking for charity. Charity is not a solution for poverty'. There is evidence to suggest that poverty can alleviated consequently ensuring a fairer and more peaceful world. A combination of well thought foreign policies along with good indigenous policies, steps can be made towards attaining lower levels of poverty.

The body of literature on foreign aid's efficiency and analysis conducted on the impacts of development in African countries and their people is vast. Indeed foreign aid is, in most cases, at the core of developed countries' foreign policy and at the centre of African economies. Africa is undeniably the largest recepient of aid worldwide. Conversely the specific relationship between Kenyans' well beings and the inflows of French foreign aid needs to be explored. The presence of French aid in Kenya is limited since France gives most of its aid to its political allies and former colonies located in Central and Western Africa,[8] but there is evidence to suggest that France has a strategic interest further developing

[7] M. Yunus, Yunus Centre website, ideology of Prof. Yunus
[8] A. Alesina & D. Dollar, 'Who Gives Foreign Aid to Whom and Why?' *Journal of Economic Growth* (2000), pp.33-63.

its ties with Kenya.[9] In fact, the Eastern part of the African continent has not been subject to much analysis/research yet. The findings of this study could certainly apply to any other countries presenting similar criterion to Kenya such as the other four countries members of the East African Community (Tanzania, Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda).

1.3: Objectives of the Study

This project analyzes the effects of French economic aid (independent variable) on Kenya's development (dependent variable) between 1992 and 2007 and will:

- Depict the philosophy of foreign aid to Africa and more especially to Kenya from a general standpoint to the narrowed French one towards Kenya with a brief analysis of governance's impact on foreign aid flows.
- Analyze the amount of aid in order to see what France is willing to finance/develop, depicting at the same time current Franco-Kenyan bilateral relations.
- Identify the effects of French aid on Kenyans' well being and assess its efficiency.

1.4: Literature Review

In order to better comprehend the topic of this study, that is the effects of the French economic aid on Kenya, this literature review will encompass the main tenets of literature towards foreign aid and its impact on development, in order to see how the quality of aid affects the development of a country. The literature on foreign aid is preponderant but will be briefly summarized under its main tenets depicting main scholars' views on how foreign aid affects developing countries' development.

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[9] For further details, see Chapter Four of this study.

Initially, Akramov[10] mentions that it is important to state the two rationales underlying the concept of foreign aid: to ensure the satisfaction of the donors' interests and to fulfil the recipients' needs. The entire debate about foreign aid revolves around these two rationales; this often leads to controversial debate since those two conditions rarely meet. Though Akramov further explains that the motives on both sides are fair, 'neither is entirely altruistic nor completely self-serving'. Along this controversy, the OECD mentions the heterogeneity of aid:[11] that since it is targeting very different purposes, there is no way aid will have a homogenous impact on growth and development.

The definition of foreign aid adopted in this study is the one given by the OECD, which states that 'ODA consists of official grants and highly concessional loans from bilateral of multilateral donors to developing countries aiming to promote economic development and welfare.'[12] Akramov[13] further mentions that ODA has three tenets to satisfy: aid is given by the official sector of the donor country from government to government; its objective is to promote economic development and welfare in recipient countries, and loans are given with a grant element. These latter conditions undeniably follow the OECD's directions.

Pankaj[14] argues that the core principles of foreign aid are found in the study of the theory of growth and development since 'development economics does not recognize the

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[10] K.T. Akramov, Governance and Foreign Aid Allocation (PhD Thesis, Pardee Rand Graduate School PRGS, 2006).
[11] E. Asiedu & B. Nandwa, 'On the Impact of Foreign Aid in Education on Growth: How Relevant Is the Heterogeneity of Aid Flows and the Heterogeneity of Aid Recipients?' *Review of World Economics* Vo. 143, No. 4 (2007).
[12] H. Fuhrer, 'The Story of Official Development Assistantory of the Development Assistance Committee and the Development Co-operation Directorate in Dates, Names and Figures' OECD report (1996)
[13] Ibid
[14] A. Pankaj, 'Revisiting Foreign Aid Theories', *International Studies* N.42, (2005) p103.

independent existence of foreign aid theories; consequently the literature reviewed treats of aid efficiency in promoting economic development and wellbeing in recipient countries. The literature responding to whether or not foreign aid is impacting development has two main tenets: scholars who are supporters of foreign aid to developing countries on one hand and opponents to foreign aid on the other hand. Both sides are made of scholars from various backgrounds.

Scholars such as Sachs,[15] Devarajan et al[16] defend the deficiency of domestic savings to finance any investment and the access to international private capital market is limited because those countries are not trustworthy. Foreign aid acts alone as a 'filling the financing gap' allowing attainment of bottom investment level which is allegedly followed by economic growth. Despite noticeable aid failure, proponents of foreign aid argue that the situation could have been worse without it. Sachs defends ODA as the only option to get out of the poverty trap and even states that 'success in ending the poverty trap will be much easier than it appears'. To him it is just a matter of time for Africa to lift out of poverty by further stating that 'if the foreign assistance is substantial enough, and lasts long enough, the capital stock rise sufficiently to lift households above subsistence.' [17] Akramov[18]calls for more aid arguing that aid has evolved with the new millennium era: the UN-MDGs, the American 9/11 events and the International Conference on Financing for Development in 2002 where the need of more financial means for economic progress has been emphasized

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[15] J. F. Sachs, The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for Our Time (New York: The Penguin Press, 2005).
[16] S. Devarajan &M. Miller &E. Swanson, Goals for Development: History, Prospects and Costs, World Bank Policy Research Paper No. 2819, (Washington DC, 2002).
[17] Ibid [12]
[18] K.T. Akramov, *'Governance and Foreign Aid Allocation'* (PhD Thesis, Pardee Rand Graduate School PRGS, 2006).

also pushing for developed countries to rise up their ODA from 0.56% of GNP by 2010 to 0.7% by 2015.[19]

On the other hand, opponents of foreign aid strongly argue that foreign aid represents a hindrance to development; indeed it leaves developing countries in a dependent cycle of poverty and therefore for developed countries it is a waste of money. Scholars such as Easterly,[20] Friedman,[21] Stiglitz,[22] Moyo,[23] Sen,[24] Collier,[25] and Yunus[26] demonstrate how foreign aid is failing to work because it does not reach the right place/person; instead it only enriches the elites within corrupted government bureaucracies and for that reason is not little help. They call for a halt or at least no increase in aid flows and are now constitute a vehement opposition to the international multilateral organizations such as the UN, the IMF and the World Bank.

In the same vein, one can argue that foreign aid increases the government's access to financial resources 'thereby inducing rent-seeking behaviour by rebel groups; the extended budget increases the rebels' incentives to try and appropriate these resources by reallocating

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[19] J. M. D. Barroso, 'Can Europe lead the world on Climate and Aid Policies?' (The Friends of Europe VIP Policy Summit, 2008).
[20] W. Easterly, *'The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good'* (Penguin Press, 2005).
[21] T. L. Friedman, *'The World is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-First Century'* (Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2005).
[22] J. E. Stiglitz, Making Globalization Work (W.W. Norton & Co., 2006).
[23] D. Moyo, *Dead Aid: Why Aid is not Working and how there is another way for Africa* (Penguin, 2009).
[24] A. Sen, *Development As Freedom* (Anchor, Reprint edition, 2000)
[25] P. Collier, The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries are Failing and What Can Be Done About It (Oxford University Press, USA, 2008).
[26] M. Yunus, *'Banker to the Poor: Micro-Lending and the Battle against World Poverty'* (Public Affairs, 1999). And *'Creating a World Without Poverty: Social Business and the Future of Capitalism'* (Public Affairs, 2008).

time from production to insurrection.'[27] Also economic aid 'relax the government budget constraint, such that military expenditure as a normal good increases'. Collier and Hoeffler[28] found empirical support for this relationship and estimated that about 40% of foreign aid transfers into military expenditures and not in development affecting human beings' welfare. Van de Walle[29] notes that 'African regimes are surprisingly durable (less leadership turnover than in any other continent) despite economic stagnation and other problems that are associated with the continent'; Kenyan President Moi stayed in power during 24 years from 1978 until 2002. One of his explanations for this phenomenon relates to the large amounts of aid that flow into many of these countries. He argues that the political elites use foreign aid to 'maintain themselves in power' by 'just doing enough reform to satisfy donors'; the remaining aid is used towards personal ends. As Shikwati[30] states, 'huge bureaucracies are financed (with the aid money), corruption and complacency are promoted; Africans are taught to be beggars and not to be independent. In addition, development aid weakens the local markets everywhere and dampens the spirit of entrepreneurship that we so desperately need. As absurd as it may sound, development aid is one of the reasons for Africa's problems'. Furthermore, economic aid is disbursed with strings attached in favour of the

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[27] J. De Ree & E.Nillesen, 'Aiding Violence or Peace? The Impact of Foreign Aid on the Risk of Civil Conflict in sub-Saharan Africa, *Journal of Development Economics* N. 88 (2009) pp. 301-313.

[28] P. Collier & A. Hoeffler, 'Unintended Consequences: Does Aid Fuel Arms Races?' *Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics (2007).*

[29] N. Van de Walle, *'African Economies and the Politics of Permanent Crisis: 1979-1999'*(Cambridge University Press, New York, 2001).

[30] Spiegel interview with African economics expert: 'For God's Sake, Please Stop the Aid! *Spiegel International* (2005).

donor's economy, whose interests often do not match the recipients. Pankaj[31] rightly states that 'it is these interests that govern the nature, content and flow of aid'.

Pankaj further argues for an in-between situation. On the one hand, he views aid as 'helpful for the economic development of the underdeveloped and developing countries during the early stages of their growth' while it is also limited to short term positive effects. On the other hand, he calls for development 'through indigenous efforts and not through import of capital'. Moreover foreign aid should never be used as a pretext not to move on alone; 'a country should avoid dependence on foreign aid as far as possible' and should be as independent as possible so as to lead into home grown development.

Major empirical studies have been done; Boone[32] did not find any effect of aid on investment and growth while Burnside and Dollar[33] found aid was impacting on growth only if the policy environment (governance) was good. Though not convinced, Easterly et al[34] demonstrated that the relationship does not work when making small modifications in the analysis.

As Easterly said the last widely used model is CRB: Clemens, Radelet and Bhavani[35]which revealed a positive effect of aid on growth which was later dismantled by

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[31] A. Pankaj, 'Revisiting Foreign Aid Theories', *International Studies* N.42, (2005) p103.
[32] P. Boone, *'Politics and the Effectiveness of Foreign Aid'* (Centre for Economic Performance, discussion paper no. 272, 1995).
[33] C. Burnside & D. Dollar, 'Aid, Policies and Growth' *American Economic Review*, (2000), pp.847-68.
[34] W. Easterly & R. Levine & D. Roodman, 'New Data, New Doubts: A Comment on Burnside and Dollar's Aid, Policies, and Growth' *The American Economic Review* (2004).
[35] M. Clemens & S. Radelet & R. Bhavnani, 'Counting Chickens When They Hatch: The Short Term Effect of Aid on Growth' *Center For Global Development, Working Paper No. 44,* (Washington, D.C., 2004).

Rajan and Subramanian[36] who found no relation at all. CRB is a model that has often been used as an argument to increase aid by the western world as recently happened with the launch of the UN-MDGs.

Easterly[37] further argues that in any case (empirically verifiable or not) 'CRB's findings would actually imply there should NOT be the big push recommended by the Blair Commission and the UN Millennium Project. Such disjunctions between the use of research to support a proposal and the actual implications of the research are distressingly common in the literature on aid to Africa. He therefore defends a misuse and misunderstanding of the CRB model. Also the concept of aid better effectiveness depending on the quality of governance has not yet been empirically proved nevertheless most of donor countries have already taken into consideration the quality of governance the recipient's countries have while transferring funds through ODA channels. In fact, the dissatisfaction of western donors toward foreign aid is nowadays accountable for 'the next escalation in western assistance.' As Easterly[38] puts it, developed countries become Africa's saviour, though so far foreign aid and Africa in general has more or less been seen as 'the White man's burden.'[39] Easterly also mentions that foreign aid's results are hard to evaluate/quantify since there are no regulations entities to check on the results/effects impacting in policies' modifications if necessary. That alone can be a justifiable explanation of why $568 billion has been spent on

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[36] R. G. Raghuram & A. Subramanian, 'What Undermines Aid's Impact on Growth?' *IMF Working Paper 05/126*, (Washington, D.C., 2005).
[37] W. Easterly, 'Can Foreign Aid Save Africa?' *Clemens Lecture Series* (2005).
[38] Ibid
[39] W. Easterly, *'The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good'* (Penguin Press, 2005).

Africa in 40 years but yet none of the major development issues encountered in Africa is on any clear and serious way of improvement.

Governance became important in the early 90s. Akramov[40] mentions that its role within development has been seen though not yet clearly identified. The recognition of good or bad governance marks the launch of the 'reward/withdraw' of aid depending on the improvement made toward governance in the recipient country. Since the concept is fairly new, scholars' interests in the effects of aid on governance are truly recent. Despite its multiple faces, the state's governance is considered in this study. This term has several definitions. In this study the UNDP designation[41] is the most appropriate since UNDP is the development body of the United Nations. Governance is defined as 'the exercise of economic, political, and administrative authority to manage a country's affairs at all levels'.

Akramov[42] identifies three dimensions of governance: political, economic and administrative. He defines 'political' as being the 'policy formulation'; 'economic' as the decision-making process affecting simultaneously a 'country's domestic economic activities' and its relationship with the environment regionally and internationally. The administrative dimension encompasses all the structures around the implementation of policies. But as he says the most influential trend around the definition of governance is Kaufmann et al[43] study where they define governance as a mix of three variables: the way governments are selected, monitored and replaced, secondly the capacity of the government to effectively formulate

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[40] K.T. Akramov, Governance and Foreign Aid Allocation (PhD Thesis, Pardee Rand Graduate School PRGS, 2006).
[41] UNDP, Reconceptualizing Governance (New York, 1997), pp.2-3.
[42] See Akramov 'Governance and Foreign Aid Allocation.'
[43] D. Kaufmann & A. Kray & P. Zoido-Lobaton, 'Governance Matters III' Policy Research Working Paper (The World Bank, 2003).

and implement policies, and thirdly the respect of citizens and the state for the rules and institutions that govern political, social, and economic interactions among them. Multilateral organizations such as the World Bank and the IMF are now using this definition.

Johnston et al[44] mention that manufacturing, which to them is linked to development, is more likely to be dependent on a good governance environment able to foster multiple transactions. Foreign aid will be a problem as it does not help manufacturing to develop as Rajan, Subramanian and Easterly[45] found out; an increase by 1% ratio of aid-to-GDP diminishes the share of manufacturing by 0.2 to 0.3%. Also Brautigam and Knack[46] realized that with more government resources through aid, government had a smaller need to explain its actions to its citizens since the money does not come from their labour; that lack of transparency and accountability may be linked to a decrease in good governance. They define good governance as a serious implementation of the rule of law and a predictable judiciary with enforcement of contracts and limited/controlled corruption. Foreign aid constrains the growth of the manufacturing sector-indeed development-by adversely affecting governance and contracting. Aid does not seem to be panacea to development and acknowledging this fact would help to act on development instead. To Brautigam and Knack,[47] only humanitarian aid is worth it. The other aid has too small a role to play, but both humanitarian and food reliefs have been subject to strong controversies. In fact, amounts spent toward this particular aid are extremely large and also been fuelling corruption

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[44] In R. Rajan & A. Subramanian '*Does Aid Affect Governance? Session: Is Foreign Aid Helping?*' (Chair: William Easterly, 2002):
[45] Ibid
[46] D. Brautigam & S. Knack, *Foreign Aid, Institutions and Governance in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Economic Development and Cultural Change, 2004) pp 255-86.
[47] Ibid

as well.[48] Foreign aid has a role to play towards development but both biases on the donor side and misuse on the recipient sides are hindrance to foreign aid's proper role of actions.

1.5: Theoretical Framework

The brief overview of the literature on foreign aid and its impacts on development established the framework of this research project. Towards the completion of this study, approach to foreign aid will follow Pankaj's[49] in-between standpoint and some of the opposing views will be considered as well. Anecdotal evidence from the ground as well as scholarly research seem to suggest that foreign aid has been and still is leaving Africa in an intractable vicious cycle of poverty.

As Easterly,[50] Stiglitz[51] and Yunus[52] argue there is an urgent need to stop the west's supremacy over Africa. This study will pursue their main arguments to the extent that this research project believes the funding process should and could not be withdrawn completely but it has to be targeted and controlled in an efficient way.[53] Indeed, these scholars are eminent development economists who have conducted the econometric analyses that explain foreign aid's effects making them able to develop models and theories this study will use. Scholars have broad knowledge and expertise on both economics of foreign aid and the reality on the ground. Many of them have travelled extensively and worked on poverty

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[48] J. Majewski, 'Third World Development: Foreign Aid or Free Trade?' Foundation for Economic Education, Vo. 37, No. 7 (1987).
[49] A. Pankaj, 'Revisiting Foreign Aid Theories', *International Studies* N.42, (2005) p103.
[50] W. Easterly, *The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good* (Penguin Press, 2005) and 'Can Foreign Aid Save Africa?' *Clemens Lecture Series* (2005).
[51] J. E. Stiglitz, *Making Globalization Work* (W.W. Norton & Co., 2006).
[52] M. Yunus, '*Banker to the Poor: Micro-Lending and the Battle against World Poverty*' (Public Affairs, 1999). *Creating a World without Poverty: Social Business and the Future of Capitalism* (Public Affairs, 2008).
[53] See Chapter Four for more details

alleviation missions. Professor Yunus,[54] Nobel Peace laureate in 2006,[55] is the founder of Grameen Bank which launched the concept of microloans in Bangladesh; these are now all over the globe in both advanced and developing economies. Dr. Easterly[56] is professor of Economics at New York University and works with Africa House along the Centre for Global Development in Washington DC. He is a specialist of foreign aid and related issues and keeps updated a website 'Aid Watch' tracking on how and what to do with aid. Dr. J. Stiglitz,[57] Nobel Economic laureate in 2001[58] is the former Senior Vice President and Chief Economist of the World Bank; he is an excellent critique of international organizations such as his previous employer and the IMF. Indeed he defends along Pr. Yunus' lines a world where the rich will stop exploiting the poor arguing for a fairer way of giving aid. That said their academic development, knowledge and wisdom should be of great help to this study leading the research throughout the chapters.

1.6: Hypotheses

This section will present the main hypotheses of this study which overall aim is to analyze the French economic aid (independent variable) on Kenya's development (dependent variable):

- A change in philosophy of foreign aid impacts aid flows and good governance increases the amount of aid.
- A rise in economic aid to Kenya strengthens Franco-Kenyan bilateral relations.

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[54] M. Yunus, Yunus Centre website.
[55] See Nobel Prize website
[56] W. Easterly, Academic website, NYU.
[57] J. Stiglitz, Academic Website, Columbia University.
[58] See Nobel Prize website

- The well beings of Kenyans and Kenya's development augment when the French economic aid goes up.

1.7: Methodology

This study will utilise both primary and secondary data in an attempt to understand the reality on the ground while at the same time relying on background information from scholars who have worked in and are experts in this area.

1.7.1: Primary Data

The primary data will consist of interviews (and discussions) with 15-20 persons who are relevant to this research paper:

An important point to be mentioned is that within the European Union, France is the largest donor: France[59] ($7.3 billion in 2004), followed by Germany ($6.7 billion) and the United Kingdom ($6.2 billion) and that is the reason why interviews of the personnel and the elite working in the French embassy to Kenya with foreign aid policies and flows are needed.

On the Kenyan side, interviews of members of the government and communities on the grounds will be conducted in order to get the official and the non-official points of view of people treating aid's flows and the ones receiving it. Indeed their knowledge and experience will be much helpful.

Also talking to both sides, France and Kenya, on two different levels, at the grassroots and with the Elite, shall direct this research towards concluding and convincing ends.

Interviews will be supportive in the clarification of foreign aid's objectives and results viewed by the Kenyan and the French. Interviews will be made of a mix of standard and

[59] G.R. Olsen, 'European Public Opinion and Aid to Africa: Is There a Link?' The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 39, No. 4 (Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 645-674.

open questions.[60] In the first part of the interviews and as an introduction, simple questions on the person and its responsibilities towards the funding will be asked. Then the discussion will lead towards an explanation of French funds, the motives, budget and main conclusions. Open questions shall arise independently depending on the ongoing discussion. As concluding remarks the research needs to ask about the overall satisfaction of the funding and suggestions towards the future.

1.7.2 Secondary Data

Those will build the largest part of this study. Foreign aid is widely present in journals' databases such as JSTOR, EBSCO host and some African others; also internet is a great source for newspapers' facts and updated information.

Also the websites of all international organizations such as the UN and its branches, the World Bank, The International Monetary Fund, The European Union online library to get economic and foreign policies and the OECD to gather numeric data and tables.

Certain information will be collected from official governments' documents and policies' journals and research papers. But a strong limitation is that France is a country with no Freedom of Information Act which explains why government's resources are ultra limited; that reinforcing the role of interviews aforementioned. Kenya does have the right to freedom of information[61] (section 79 of the Kenyan Constitution) but both the Official Secrets Act and the Public Order Act weaken this access leaving information not so available to citizens.

Main journals and books treating the issue of foreign aids' effects on development will also be reviewed and analyzed to enrich this project. Major scholars who wrote on foreign

[60] For further details, see sample questionnaires, appendices.
[61] Transparency International Kenya

aid and proposed an alternative to it. Indeed all have written on these development issues linked to foreign aid and will constitute a great contribution to the understanding and clarity of this paper.

Secondary data will be of great help; they are many and well developed. This is data for the most part gathered on line through the University of Nairobi's library system and also for some others on official websites.

1.8: Chapter Outline

This chapter introduces the research problem, along the objectives and hypotheses of the study; also it reviews the literature and defines the theoretical framework. Finally it gives the methodology on how this research will be conducted and the chapter outline.

Chapter Two will contain a brief investigation of foreign aid in Africa depicting the general trends of the American and European Union policies toward foreign aid; how aid is shared out in Africa to 'map' African repartition of Foreign Aid.

Chapter Three will review the Economic European Aid to Africa and to Kenya in more details; indeed France is a founder member of the EU and that definitely influence the way foreign aid is given to Africa.

Chapter Four will analyze the French economic aid in Kenya. It shall depict the philosophy of French aid to Africa and to Kenya and provide a brief description of the various funds France gives. Finally it will assess the current situation and present the conclusion of this study.

Chapter Five will contain the conclusions.

CHAPTER TWO:
FOREIGN AID IN AFRICA

2.1: Introduction

Foreign aid was born out of the idea that developing nations were in need of relief from the developed world. Griffin and Enos[1] state that development entails many changes that have to happen for a developing country to develop; groups and nations from inside and outside the country can support while undergoing changes. In case of the latter, aid from outside is universally called foreign aid. However developing countries are still struggling to get onto the path of development regardless of more than forty years of foreign aid towards Africa.

In fact as De Waal says 'the record of aid to Africa, in actual achievements in the improved well-being of its recipients, is not a good one.'[2] But as he further argues 'aid should not be abandoned, but reform is necessary in the way it is given and managed'. This study will be developed following this trend of thought where foreign aid is criticized and challenged but not completely abandoned and denied.

This chapter examines the definition of foreign aid according to several scholars and it then states the major trends in foreign aid flows from its birth at the Marshall Plan in 1947 to the current days of the 21st century. Easterly's[3] models of poverty which encompass both theories and policies are going to be briefly analyzed. The consequences of foreign aid flows

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[1] K. B. Griffin and J. L. Enos, 'Foreign Assistance: Objectives and Consequences' *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (The University of Chicago Press, 1970), pp. 313-327.

[2] A. De Waal, 'Democratizing the Aid Encounter in Africa' *International Affairs Vol. 73, No. 4* (Royal Institute of International Affairs, 2997) pp. 623-639.

[3] W. Easterly, Can Foreign Aid Save Africa? Clemens Lecture Series (Saint John's University, 2005).

will be described in a few words along the case studies of Botswana, Zimbabwe and Somalia as illustrations of outcome on the ground. All in all, a good bird's eye view on foreign aid in Africa will have been provided in this chapter serving the overall understanding of the thesis developed in this study.[4]

2.2: Definition of Foreign Aid

The definition of foreign aid considered in this study, as previously defined in the first chapter, is the one mainly used by aid givers at present. It is prevalent since the 1970s and was developed by the DAC (Development Assistance Committee) that 'is one of the key forums in which the major bilateral donors work together to increase the effectiveness of their common efforts to support sustainable development.'[5] DAC belongs to OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) which is a 30-member countries' group committed to 'democratic government and the market economy'.

DAC provide aid under the official ODA[6] (Official Development Assistance) which gives foreign aid to developing nations and multilateral institutions through the official channel of states (government to government) and local governments.[7]

This applies under two conditions: firstly foreign aid's aim is to promote economic development and welfare in the recipient country and secondly foreign aid is concessional in

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[4] See Chapter Four
[5] OECD Glossary of Statistical Terms on OECD website
[6] OECD, The DAC in Dates, (Section 1972, 2006).
[7] D.C. Ross & R. T. Harmsen, *'Official financing for developing countries'* IMF Policy Development and Review Dept (2001).

character and contains a grant element of at least 25% (calculated at a discount rate of 10%).'[8]

Foreign aid and whether it should be stopped or not is subject to heated debates. Developed countries have adapted their flows to international relations' situation but developing nations are still not well off. The brief history that follows depict briefly trends in aid.

2.3: Brief History of Foreign Aid and Current Trends

2.3.1: Pre Cold-War

Peter Hjertholm and Howard White[9] argue that foreign aid flows have modest origins from the 19th century but that they were securely established after WWII. Foreign aid flows can be either bilateral between two countries or multilateral when coming from the European Union or international organization such as the United Nations. Bilateral foreign aid usually occurs from one government to another, while multilateral aid involves usually an agency of the UN and a government or a group of governments.[10]

Foreign aid can really be traced back from the 1940s. Indeed this period is marked by the end of WWII and the success of the US-aid reconstruction Marshall Plan in Europe while in Africa, the first wave of independence occurred and on the international stage, it was the beginning of international and multilateral organizations such as the UN which replaced the

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[8] H. Fuhrer, 'The Story of Official Development Assistance; A History of the Development Assistance Committee and the Development Co-operation Directorate in Dates, Names and Figures' OECD report (1996).

[9] P. Hjertholm & H. White, 'History, Trends and Allocation', revised version of *Foreign Aid and Development: Lessons of Experience and Directions for the Future*, (Development Economics Research Group (DERG), Copenhagen, 1998).

[10] H. W. Singer & J. A. Ansari, *Rich and Poor Countries: Consequences of International Disorder* (Routledge, 1988).

League of Nations in 1946 from which it got its main characteristics.[11] The ideology of aid at the time was to conduct the planning of post-war reconstruction especially in Europe. This is why only programme aid was given. Programme aid does not finance a particular project.[12]

WWII left a world tense and divided in two blocs: the Soviet Union on one side and the USA on the other side. The Second World War, The Yalta and Postdam Conferences 'were to modify the structure and dynamics of international relations in a very significant way.'[13] For more than forty years, those two states were hostile leading to tense international relations and proxy wars. Although the tensions never climaxed in a real open armed conflict. That explained the name 'Cold War' given to this period. In fact, international relations have tremendously changed with time and the Cold War is a cornerstone in the relations states have toward each other within the international arena. The two superpowers-the USSR and the United States-at the time were ruling a bipolar world while at the same time establishing an East-West system of international relations.

In the 1950s, America was accountable for 2/3 of total aid. It developed the concept of food aid which consists on 'providing food and related assistance to tackle hunger' in emergency situations as in long term starvation alleviation towards the achievement of food security[14] and financed projects. The US sought to become the lonely superpower[15] and

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[11] L.M. Goodrich, 'From League of Nations to United Nations' *International Organization*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1947), pp. 3-21.
[12] H. White & A. G. Dijkstra, *Programme Aid and Development: Beyond Conditionality* (Routledge, 2003)
[13] J. F. Gagné 'Geopolitics in a Post-Cold War Context: From Geo-Strategic to Geo-Economic
Considerations?' *Strategic and Diplomatic Studies*, Occasional Paper No. 15 (2007).
[14] A. Shah, 'Food Aid' Global Issues website.

undoubtedly wanted to eliminate communism and was financing government's projects following this idea. President Truman's Point Four Inaugural Speech and its saying 'That false philosophy is communism.'[16] But eminent economist Friedman argued that giving aid to government would promote rather than impeach communism.[17] European economies were slowly reconstructing and America started to call for burden sharing towards foreign aid, asking other nations to join the anti-communism race. And that same need from the US of being supported by other developed nations is the rationale behind the creation of the Development Assistance Committee in 1961. DAC should monitor aid performance and be at 0.7 % in volume target[18] by 1985.

The 1960s marked the establishment of bilateral programmes from government to government with the same idea of anti-communism led by American interests. From programme aid as mentioned earlier, now productive and infrastructure sectors were financed. The idea is to provide Technical Assistance (TA), development aid and budget support. This decade was also marked by the second wave of countries' independence in Africa. Financial issues increased in those newly independent countries, new donors

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[15] S.P. Huntington, 'The Lonely Superpower' *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 78, No. 2 (Council on Foreign Relations, 1999), pp. 35-49.
[16] H. S. Truman, Inaugural Address, Thursday, January 20, 1949, The Truman Library website
[17] M. Friedman, Foreign Economic Aid: Means and Objectives (Hoover Institution Press, 1995).
[18] S. Schultz, 'Western Aid and Trade Policy Trends' *Intereconomics* Vo.20, No.2 (Springer Berlin/ Heidelberg, 1985), pp.65-72.

emerged, such as Japan, the EU members[19] and foreign aid developed at 3% a year up to the 1980s.[20]

Then in the 1970s, the international situation was not good with the two oil shocks, falling of commodity prices, Quick Disbursing Assistance (QDA) which 'do not involve adherence to performance criteria'[21] was implemented by the IMF to respond fast to urgent needs. This period saw the expansion of multilateral organization such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and other Arab funded agencies. The focus of foreign aid flows turned on poverty and meeting people's basic needs supporting growth and therefore the poor.[22]

The 1980s took a different path with the development of market-based adjustment and decreasing flows of funds to government rather going to NGOs whose number increased tremendously in the mid-1980s. Reforms were macroeconomic emphasising multilateral organizations such as the WB and the IMF under the so-called 'Washington Consensus' preaching 'neo-liberalism' with revocation of interventionism. Deregulation, privatization, trade and finance liberalization were measures taken under this consensus.[23] The debt relief started and programme aid continued; also the IMF and the WB developed the SALs (Structural Adjustment Loans) trying to restructure those economies in difficulty by

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[19] See Chapter Three for a history of the EU
[20] S. Gupta, C. Pattillo & S. Wagh, 'Are Donor Countries Giving More or Less Aid? IMF Working paper (2006).
[21] IMF Emergency Assistance, IMF website
[22] C. Gwin & I. Nelson, 'Perspectives on Aid and Development' *Overseas Development Council Policy Essay 22*, (1997).
[23] W. Turley, 'International Political Economy' Political Science lecture (South Illinois University Carbondale, 2008).

financing projects that promote economic growth in long term with requirement from the borrower to make necessary modifications to its policies to ensure development.[24]

2.3.2: Post Cold-War

After the collapse of the USSR and the fall of the Berlin Wall in the early 1990s, a multilateral and globalized with world porous borders occurred. As a matter of fact, the Eastern European bloc jumped from the state of a superpower and consequently aid donor to a dismantled and jagged bloc, now a recipient of aid. The 1990s also informed the return of foreign aid from government to government.

The World Development Report launched its 'New Poverty Agenda' in 1990 which is inclusive of a reward/withdraw policy depending on the recipient country's performance in governance (while before any regime friendly to the west would have been given foreign assistance). The main approaches adopted by most donors are threefold: labour intensive growth, an adequate provision of social services; and, to a lesser extent, insurance of safety nets and transfers.[25]

Since the early 1990s, 'there was widespread enthusiasm that...aid institutions... would play their wonted role, as agents of 'real' development or humanitarianism.'[26] The World Bank called for doubling aid. The US and the European Economic Community (not yet a union at the time) had defined two major tenets of foreign policy that were 'promoting

[24] See IMF and WB websites for definition
[25] See World Development Report, IMF website
[26] P. Hjertholm & H. White, 'History, Trends and Allocation', revised version of Foreign Aid and Development: Lessons of Experience and Directions for the Future, (Development Economics Research Group (DERG), Copenhagen, 1998).

democratization' and 'overcoming poverty'. Lord Bauer[27] states 'Economic achievement depends on personal, cultural, social and political factors that are people's own faculties, motivations and mores, their institutions and the policies of their rulers'. Bauer suggests that economic growth comes from the people and not the states alone. That is in the line with the IMF which imposed strong conditions along aid flows to avoid 'subsidizing bad economic policy making' and 'inept central planners', in other words to escape the corrupted path.

2.3.3: Foreign aid in the 2000s and the situation in Africa

Trends in foreign aid have not changed since the 1990s[28] though the global amount toward Africa never ceased increasing. Aid was doubled in 2001, marking the opening of war against terrorism led by the United States under the World Bank President Wolfensohn's call. Later British Prime Minister Tony Blair at the World Economic forum in Davos in January 2005, and in summer 2005 during the G-8 Summit, called for doubling the aid, from $25 billion to $50 billion hoping that would constitute the 'big-push' to 'make poverty history'[29] along the accomplishment of the UN-MDGs programme and its 0.7% of GDP per country. As Easterly[30] argues, 'Aid to Africa did indeed rise steadily throughout this period (tripling as a percentage of African GDP from 1970s to 1990s), but African growth remained stuck at zero per cent per capita'. Easterly talks about the two tragedies of Africa. The first one is the conditions under which the continent has been living for years: what westerners 'know' about Africa through the media. That is rampant poverty, considering the average

[27] P. T. Bauer, Reality and Rhetoric: Studies in the Economics of Development (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), pp. 43-44.
[28] W. Easterly, Can Foreign Aid Save Africa? Clemens Lecture Series (Saint John's University, 2005).
[29] African Progress Panel Annual Report 2009, An agenda for Progress at a time of global crisis, A call for African leadership, African Progress Panel website.
[30] See W. Easterly, Can Foreign Aid Save Africa?

African state, 43% of the population lives on less than a dollar per day; according to the World Food Programme[31], 17 out of 23 countries with over 35% of its population malnourished are in Africa, pandemic such as HIV-AIDS affects African from far the most, same with malaria, most severe civil wars and genocide happened in Africa (for example the Rwandan Genocide in 1994). In the same vein, Rotberg[32] notes that 7 out of the 8 recent cases of state failure worldwide are on the continent (Angola, Burundi, Liberia, Sudan, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Congo) and the development indicator UNDP-HDI (Human Development Index: 'index measuring development by combining indicators of life expectancy, educational attainment and income into a composite human development'[33] also shows that no African countries rank well consequently that the continent is not developing as it should. The western media portrays a dark image of a dark continent therefore the list of problems Africa has is never ending and are not of the concern of this study.

The second tragedy of Africa, Easterly[34] mentions the western expenditures on foreign aid and how it has so far failed to even provide the basics to the people. Things as simple as mosquito nets that do not cost so much but which are not provided. As he says 'the key problem behind the second tragedy is that aid agencies and rich country politicians are not accountable to the poor for the results of their aid efforts (if any)... Foreign aid agencies satisfy the demands of the rich public for feel-good moments, the feeling that 'something is being done' about the first tragedy. The emphasis on aid quality lets aid agencies off the

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[31] See WFP website
[32] R. Rotberg, 'The New Nature of State Failure' *Washington Quarterly* (2002).
[33] Human Development Reports, the Human Development Index (HDI), UNDP website.
[34] W. Easterly & R. Levine, '*Africa's Growth Tragedy: Policies and Ethnic Divisions*' (NYU,1997)

hook for actually delivering results.'[35] Africa's first tragedy is worsened by climatic conditions and climate change; foreign aid alone cannot be a panacea to this misfortune but still the amount of money that has flown into Africa should have had a larger and better impact on the people. The concern is where the funding is allocated and who is in charge of its implementation.

Also the ties attached 'tied aid' impeach foreign aid to function properly, favouring both donors and recipients and not donors only as it was created for in the 1940s.[36] Tied Aid is defined by the U.S. Export-Import Bank as 'a government-to-government concessional financing of public sector capital projects in developing countries that require the recipient government to purchase goods and services from the donor government.'[37] Tied aids can occur through four ways known as the 'four Ps:'[38] payment, procurement, projects and policies. First, payment that is ODA loans where as every normal loans, the recipient country returns the money with interest according to financial terms and agreements. Then it can also be procurement tied. Both Ps cause problems. In fact the financial terms and balance of payment increase debts in countries where already the economic situation is not satisfying. Also aid can be tied to projects in case where ODA grants and loans' funds are directed to specific development projects under donors' supervision. The last P, policies in which both programme aid and money are given in accordance with recipient country's

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[35] W. Easterly, 'Can Foreign Aid Save Africa?' Clemens Lecture Series (Saint John's University, 2005).
[36] See definition of foreign aid, OECD website
[37] Department of Commerce, Tied Aid definition, the U.S. Export-Import Bank, International trade Administration, , USA government website.
[38] P. Hjertholm & H. White, 'History, Trends and Allocation', revised version of Foreign Aid and Development: Lessons of Experience and Directions for the Future, (Development Economics Research Group (DERG), Copenhagen, 1998).

compliance following an agreed upon set of policies to properly develop the domestic economy.

Tied aid is justified by that money going through foreign aid flows out of donors' national budget, therefore challenges the fulfilment of other public resources. Recipient countries are consequently required to buy aid-financed goods from donor countries.[39] Tied aid has been vividly criticized as protectionism and as a source of economic distortions forcing recipients to buy donors' goods but untying the aid has to be under a global consensus that one donor does not end up having its own interests threaten (donor dilemma).

All in all, poverty is still rampant. Ravaillon and Chen[40] who conducted a study on poverty data for the World Bank conclude that since 1981, Sub-Saharan Africa '$1.25 a day poverty rate has shown no sustained decline, starting and ending at 50 percent'. In fact, people that are poor have doubled reaching 390 million in 2005 while they were 200 million in 1981. Lin suggests that more efforts to be produced towards Africa since poverty declines too slowly and not sustainably. The poverty rate only decreased from 58% in 1996 to 50% in 2005.[41]

2.4: Rationale for Foreign Aid

2.4.1: The 'Big Push' Theory and the Case of Zimbabwe

Foreign aid flows have been justified for various reasons; the 'big push' is the rationale international organizations are following currently. The main argument is that Africa is entrapped in poverty and that a sudden large flow of aid will 'push' the continent out of this

[39] See FFP later in this chapter
[40] M Ravaillon & S. Chen, '*The DevelopingWorld is Poorer than we thought, but no less Successful in the Fight against Poverty.*' World Bank Updates Poverty Estimates for the Developing World, World Bank website (2008)
[41] See World Bank website, Poverty Estimates for the Developing World

trap. Indeed this brings back the debate on whether foreign aid has effects on development and growth or not. The main findings under this question are attributed to Burnside and Dollar[42] who found a positive impact of aid on growth in a country presenting a good policy environment in 2000. This has been dismantled since but CRB in 2004[43] reinforces those findings and remain nowadays the reference in term of aid flows' justification from international organizations despite the latest results of Subramanian and Rajan[44] in 2005 which prove that more aid is not surely beneficial to economic growth.

Currently, foreign aid is trendy and developed countries are determined, following the international organizations' will, to increase aid flows. But as different scholars have proved from the western world and Africa, aid does not seem to be a solution to poverty. Walter[45] wonders if 'it's foreign aid that Africa needs most for economic development?' He broke the idea of 'vicious cycle of poverty' by dismantling the poverty trap model; 'poor countries are poor because income is so low that savings cannot be generated to provide the kind of capital accumulation necessary for economic growth' justifying the recourse to foreign aid as the only getaway of the poverty cycle. He takes examples of now rich countries which also were poor before (US, France...) 'vastly poorer than contemporary Africa'. 'Africa is rich; it just requires better policies and leadership.'[46] Moyo, a Zambian economist in her book titled 'Dead Aid: Why aid is not working and how there is another way for Africa', vividly argues

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[42] A. C. Burnside & D. Dollar 'Aid, Policies and Growth' *American Economic Review* vol. 90, no. 4 (2000) pp. 847-68.
[43] M. Clemens & S. Radelet & R. Bhavnani, 'Counting Chickens When They Hatch: The Short Term Effect of Aid on Growth' Center For Global Development, Working Paper No. 44, (Washington, D.C., 2004).
[44] R. G. Rajan & A. Subramanian 'Aid and Growth: What Does the Cross-Country Evidence Really Show?' (IMF Working Paper, 2005).
[45] W. Walter, 'Freedom, Not Foreign Aid, For Africa' Capitalism Magazine (2005).
[46] Daily Nation (Nairobi) website, 'Africa is rich' (Friday June 12th 2009).

that Africa needs trade and not more aid.[47] She makes up a case study of a non-existing Republic ('Republic of Dongo') which characteristics are similar to African nations' main features and shows how aid fuels corruption and therefore does not help the people, even worsening their conditions by empowering their oppressive leaders as Walter says 'the worst thing that can be done is to give more foreign aid to African nations. Foreign aid goes from government to government...allows Africa's corrupt regimes to buy military equipment...and...oppress their people.' Richardson[48] studied the particular case of Zimbabwe which was flourishing atypically and that has 'failed...spectacularly...tragically...over the past half decade; the country is now in 'an economic and humanitarian disaster'; data are shocking and reach some extreme 'it has the world's highest rate of inflation, currently over 1,000 percent...financial institutions are collapsing. The spectre of mass starvation hangs over a country that once exported food'. Of course, President Mugabe is blaming the west intervention especially the British and the American ones as well as drought and AIDS but meanwhile its neighbouring country that is Botswana has 'one of the world's highest per capita GDP growth rates' and is able to compete with the developed world in banking world because of its low corruption indicator among other factors.[49] Undeniably the problem lies elsewhere. As a matter of fact, Zimbabwe and Botswana were British colonies therefore the colonial heritage cannot really be blamed either. The remaining point is Botswana's success toward 'the rule of law,

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[47] D. Moyo, *'Dead Aid: Why Aid is not working and how there is another way for Africa'* (Penguin, 2009)
[48] C. Richardson, 'Learning from Failure: Property Rights, Land Reforms, and the Hidden Architecture of Capitalism' *The American Enterprise Institute's Development Policy Outlook Series* (Salem University, 2006)
[49] See case study of Botswana later in this chapter

minimal corruption and, most of all, respect for private property rights'. In the case of Zimbabwe, foreign aid allows President Mugabe[50] 'to remain in power...to buy the allegiance of cronies and the military equipment to oppress its own people'; this is a very good case of how foreign aid fuels bad politicians and therefore how it fails to help toward an improvement in peoples' well being. Another alternative to fight poverty and also avoid corrupted governments is the recourse of micro loans as Muhammad Yunus implemented in Bangladesh[51] with a community based loans reimbursement where groups of people loan money towards the funding of a particular project they can make money out of. The overall idea of Prof. Yunus is to lift people, especially women, out of poverty that they get their dignity and hope back towards worldwide economic equilibrium, social capitalism with fair trade and sustainable development. Moyo opposes the idea of Africa being dependent on aid and consequently entrapped in a vicious cycle of dependency as she concludes her book: 'and one thing is for sure, depending on aid has not worked. Make the cycle stop.'[52]

2.4.2: Targeted-financed Programmes and SALs

Along the 'big push' theory, Easterly mentions the link between poverty in Africa and low human capital.[53] Sectors such as education, health and infrastructures are reviewed and analyzed to see if project interventions foreign-aid financed, worked or if they do not. Those

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[50] W. E. Williams, Foreign Aid to Africa: A Minority View (George Mason University, 2006).
[51] M. Yunus, 'Banker to the Poor: Micro-Lending and the Battle against World Poverty' (Public Affairs, 1999).
[52] D. Moyo, *'Dead Aid: Why Aid is not working and how there is another way for Africa'* (Penguin, 2009)
[53] W. Easterly, 'Can Foreign Aid Save Africa?' *Clemens Lecture Series* (Saint John's University, 2005).

targeted-financed programmes[54] have overall positive conclusions and with some good will could lead to great human development. The satisfaction of donors is not high since human development takes time to transform into economic growth and any indicators will be considering the latter as explanatory to a country's condition.

Another rationale was the creation of Structural Adjustment Loans (SALs) by the IMF and the WB in response to a call for change in policy where good policies are rewarded as mentioned earlier. The idea was to 'induce changes in policy by making aid conditional on such changes', to create 'adjustment with growth.'[55] But as Burnside and Dollar[56] and Subramanian and Rajan[57] proved, growth is not only promoted by good policies; therefore those programmes failed. Data extracted from the World Bank and current discourses on foreign aid, ever increasing flows of foreign aid have certainly not transformed in significant and sustained economic growth in any Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) countries so far.

2.4.3: Africa's Institutions and Democracy

The fourth rationale for foreign aid blames Africa's poor institutions as a central justification of the continent's poverty. Indeed poor institutions cannot help development.[58] Alesina et al[59] mention the colonial past as main argument explaining the condition of

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[54] See Chapter Four

[55] E. A. Calamitsis, B. Anupam & G. Dhaneshwar, 'Adjustment and Growth in Sub-Saharan Africa' IMF Working Paper (1999).

[56] A. C. Burnside & D. Dollar 'Aid, Policies and Growth' *American Economic Review* vol. 90, no. 4 (2000) pp. 847-68.

[57] R. G. Rajan & A. Subramanian. 'Aid and Growth: What Does the Cross-Country Evidence Really Show?' (IMF Working Paper, 2005).

[58] W. Easterly, 'Can Foreign Aid Save Africa?' *Clemens Lecture Series* (Saint John's University, 2005).

[59] A. Alesina & D. Dollar, 'Who Gives Foreign Aid to Whom and Why?'*Journal of Economic Growth* (2000), pp.33-63.

Africa's institutions, though Walter[60] argues that 'attributing Africa's troubles to its history of colonialism...is nonsense, because some of the world's richest countries are former colonies (such as the USA for example)'. He further justifies that 'many of Africa's sub-Saharan countries are poorer now than when they were colonies and their people suffer greater human rights degradations, such as the mass genocide the continent has witnessed.' As a matter of fact, both arguments are valid; undeniably the colonial past has its role to play in Africa's poor institutions but it is no universal excuse since countries have been independent for more than thirty years (Djibouti got its independence in 1973 and was the last colony in Africa) and therefore had time to work on their institutions.

But foreign aid is not given to countries in which democracy is well implemented as Alesina and Dollar[61] found out in their study whereas Knack[62] links more aid to more corruption; corruption being the central element of poor institutions. The problem with non-formal institutions is that no rule can be implemented and enforced which leads to uncontrollable opportunistic behaviour and actions. But institutions as democracy in general have to be implemented by the people themselves and not imposed by the west; so far any western attempt failed to do so anyway. Easterly states 'the failure of previous western interventions in Africa is used as the rationale for even more intensive intervention.'[63] As De Waal concludes 'Many African institutions officially responsible for planning and implementing development are saturated with development assistance, paralyzed by

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[60] W. Walter, 'Freedom, Not Foreign Aid, For Africa' *Capitalism Magazine* (2005).
[61] A. Alesina & D. Dollar 'Who Gives Foreign Aid to Whom and Why?' *Journal of Economic Growth* (2000), pp.33-63.
[62] S. Knack 'Aid Dependence and the Quality of Governance: Cross-Country Empirical Tests' *Southern Economic Journal* (2004).
[63] See Easterly in 'Can Foreign Aid Save Africa?'

administrative inefficiency, staggering beneath a burden of complex and differing donor requirements, and are themselves in danger of becoming obstacles to development.'[64]

2.4.4: Dysfunctional Donors, Dependency and Humanitarian Aid in Somalia

Lastly, the fifth model brings up 'dysfunctional donors' and Easterly claims that there has never been a clear debate over what the west has achieved. In the same vein, Lancaster and Wangwe say that 'the behaviour of aid donor is a factor in the aid effectiveness equation in Africa.'[65] Also they further state that 'donor driven aid—where aid agencies rather than recipient governments identify projects and programmes, design, implement and evaluate them—has been a problem in Africa.'[66] Easterly further argues that the focus is always put on Africa's problems and failure to resolve their issues but that the west is never questioned about the failure to help despite billions of dollars sent to Africa stating 'Even by bureaucratic standards, foreign aid bureaucracy is worse...the lack of visibility on results makes aid bureaucracies unaccountable...aid agencies do not face a 'market test' or a 'voter test'. Africa's poor are political orphans: they face no voice or feedback on whether aid is helping them, and nobody is accountable to them'. Indeed the west supremacy has not been of great help so far and concerns nowadays are to develop partnerships towards problem resolution 'addressing the problems of coordination, ownership and dependence.'[67] In fact, development strategies have to be developed from the ground in communication with donors;

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[64] A. De Waal, 'Democratizing the Aid Encounter in Africa' *International Affairs Vol. 73, No. 4* (Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1997) pp. 623-639.
[65] C. Lancaster & S. Wangwe, 'Managing a Smooth Transition from Aid Dependence in Africa' Policy Essay No. 28, (Overseas Development Council, 2000).
[66] S. M. Wandwe, *Aid Reform in Africa- The Conceptual Framework* Economic and Social Research Foundation, (2002).
[67] R. Kanbur & L. Squire, 'The Evolution of Thinking About Poverty: Exploring the Interactions' UN website (1999).

there is a need from the west to become responsible for its actions and therefore less intrusive and pervasive.

De Waal argues along the same lines: 'aid programmes founded on a strong local base and pursued through local agencies have a much better success rate than those imposed from outside.'[68] He criticizes the donors' trends 'to avoid proper engagement with the question of political power and argues for a democratization of the aid encounter which would put decisions on the use of aid in the hands of the recipients and ensure the accountability of those administering it'. The case study of Somalia[69] is a good example of De Waal's argument. Somalia is nowadays an open scene for international interventions which make the situation worse days after days. Menkhaus[70] analyzed US aid to Somalia and said that Israel aside, Somalia 'has received such high levels of military and economic aid per capita; certainly no country has less to show for it. Even before its collapse into protracted civil war and anarchy in 1990, Somalia has earned a reputation as a graveyard of foreign aid...aid projects were notoriously unsuccessful...high levels of foreign assistance helped to create an entirely unsustainable, corrupt and repressive state'. Undeniably, the humanitarian intervention that occurred in the early 1990s with bilateral donors and the UN was a failure since intentions of the international intervention differed from the Somali people. Actually, foreign aid is clearly fuelling the protracted conflict but is still flowing towards Mogadishu from all over the world. No offices are present on the grounds, the situation is too dangerous

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[68] A. De Waal, 'Democratizing the Aid Encounter in Africa' *International Affairs Vol. 73, No. 4* (Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1997) pp. 623-639.
[69] T. Harford & M. Klein, 'Aid and the Resource Curse' *World Bank Public Policy Journal*, No. 291 (World Bank Publications, 2005)
[70] K. Menkhaus, 'U.S. Foreign Assistance Somalia: Phoenix from the Ashes?' *Middle East Policy*, Vol. 5 (1997).

but from mainly Kenya flows of material and money arrive.[71] Menkhaus concludes that 'Somalia's history of foreign aid yields an almost exclusively negative set of lessons learned'.

Down the line, as Bovard says countries such as Somalia and Zimbabwe become dependent 'on the west for their very existence'[72] which is obviously not an indication of sustainable development.

Van de Walle[73] agrees in saying that 'the real impulse for reform must come from Africa. African governments need to take the lead in imposing greater rationality on the aid system'. He illustrates his statements by taking the example of Botswana where aid has been properly managed since independence (1966) because the government took the lead to 'force donors to provide their aid within parameters set by local officials in the context of an overall planning'. Carlsson et al[74] argue that 'Botswana is unique among African countries in the extent to which aid resources have been centrally managed and fully integrated into a national development planning and budgeting process...Botswana's success has been due mostly to good management...sound economic planning and policy...creating conditions for growth, attracting investment and donor resources and facilitating the effective use of mineral wealth'. Botswana is an example of successfully employed flows of aid as Europe did towards its reconstruction in 1947 with the Marshall Plan.

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[71] See Chapter Four

[72] J. Bovard, 'The Continuing Failure of Foreign Aid' Cato Policy Analysis (1986).

[73] N. Van de Walle, 'Aid's Crisis of Legitimacy: Current Proposals and Future Prospects' *African Affairs*, Vol. 98, No. 392 (Oxford University Press on behalf of The Royal African Society, 1999), pp. 337-352.

[74] J. Carlsson & G. Somolekae & N. Van de Walle, 'Foreign aid in Africa: Learning from Country Experiences'(Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala, 1997), pp16-18.

Another example of the serious social impact aid has is that the humanitarian aid is 'designed to avert immediate disaster'[75] is mostly known under food aid programmes especially the Food for Peace (FFP) programme which have existed since 1954. Bandow explains 'FFP is a tool to reduce American farms' surpluses' and to 'increase hunger abroad in the long run.'[76] Free food aid flows have a serious impact on domestic production since it decreases the prices of local products for farmers; it also discourages any increase in production since food is freely coming and prices of goods are becoming too low for people to get an incentive to produce and compete. Foreign aid has therefore negative impacts on both the economy and the people.

2.5: Conclusion

Since foreign aid started to flow on Africa at the end of the Second World War following the concept of the Marshall Plan, Hjertholm and White[77] note that there has been a remarkable continuity in aid programmes just their effectiveness is questionable. In fact, the domination of the aid scene by donor countries, such as for example, the Special Programme for Africa which has no African representative, the UN where power is given in accordance to countries' GDP and which is leaving the entire developing world far behind without a real voice to talk and be heard, is problematic. Donors' non-accountability along non-equal multilateral organizations are among responsibilities for aid failure to lift Africa out of poverty. Also this constitutes the major difference with the Marshall Plan where both donors

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[75] US Aid Disaster Assistance website

[76] D. Bandow, Rethinking U.S. Foreign Aid (The Heritage Foundation website, 1988)

[77] P. Hjertholm & H. White, 'History, Trends and Allocation', revised version of Foreign Aid and Development: Lessons of Experience and Directions for the Future, (Development Economics Research Group (DERG), Copenhagen, 1998).

and recipients were involved equally increasing the efficiency of talks and actions taken towards the European reconstruction.

Majewski notes that 'while foreign aid is a political success, it is an economic and social failure;'[78] indeed political leaders in corrupt regimes have been enriched by foreign aid whereas for most people on the ground, life has not evolved and the poor are struggling still. Plus the idea of governance and democracy perpetuated by the west with the idea of a 'one-size-fits-all' democracy western style that cannot match with developing countries' needs. Indeed 'Africa's (only) true saviours are the peoples of Africa and those who would help them in their task must also be accountable to them.'[79]

Along a more responsible way of giving foreign aid, Africa needs a systemic overhaul of institutions to allow for more transparency and accountability; public officials and donors must be held to account towards their people for any action taken. That entails a separation of powers (an independent judiciary, legislature and executive): 'another world is possible, necessary and inevitable;'[80] indeed the errors of big men in Africa and western hegemony have to come to an end.

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[78] J., Majewski, 'Third World Development: Foreign Aid or Free Trade? Foundation for Economic Education, Vo. 37, No. 7 (1987).
[79] W. Easterly, *'The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good'* (Penguin Press, 2005).
[80] J. E. Stiglitz, Making Globalization Work (W.W. Norton & Co., 2006).

CHAPTER THREE:
EUROPEAN AID IN AFRICA

3.1: Introduction

This chapter focuses on the European Union (hereinafter EU) Aid in Africa from the birth of the EU to current times. In the course of this study and after an overall review of foreign aid in Africa, dynamics and motives of the EU aid flows have to be briefly described. France belongs to the founding members of the EU and is the largest donor with 7.3 billion dollars in 2004.[1] Therefore a brief study of the EU multilateral aid is useful to the understanding of Chapter Four examining the case of French aid to Kenya.

This chapter has a brief review of the EU history to explain how it became a union of 27 member states and how EU aid flows started. Also EU aid's policies and rationales towards Africa will be explained in order to get a good overall idea of EU aid functions since the earliest aid agreement/convention up to nowadays. That will help to better comprehend changes and reasons why flows have remained extremely large despite meagre progress on the grounds. Finally an assessment of what has been done and what is planned shall conclude the chapter.

3.2: Brief History of the European Union towards the Beginning of EU aid to Africa

In April 1951, the European Community (EC), which later became the European Union, was formed by six countries namely The Netherlands, Luxemburg, Italy, Belgium, France and West Germany, under the Treaty of Paris establishing the European Coal and Steal

[1] G.R. Olsen, 'European Public Opinion and Aid to Africa: Is There a Link?' The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 39, No. 4 (Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 645-674.

Community (ECSC).[2] This treaty ensured the free movement of coal and steel with free access to sources of production; movements in the market were controlled by a common High Authority to ensure respect for competition rules and price transparency. Also the ECSC Treaty is the foundation of contemporary EU institutions. Aid towards Africa only began after the ratification of the Treaty of Rome in March 1957[3] when the six founding states became members of the European Economic Community (EEC) establishing a larger common market named European Common Market. The Treaty entered into force on January 1st 1959 and was not 'as much economic as it was political.'[4] Indeed this is when EU aid started.

According to articles 131 and 136 of the Treaty of Rome, European countries 'provide for the association of non-European countries and territories with which EEC member States have particular relations.'[5] The funds flowed 'with a view of granting technical and financial assistance to African countries that were still under colonial regime at that time and with which certain EU countries had historical links.'[6] In other words, EU aid was simply financing French-tied African countries (West and Central parts of the African continent) since among the six original founder members of the EU, France and Belgium (both French

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[2] Summaries of EU Legislation website, ECSC Treaty.
[3] The Treaty of Rome website
[4] K. Beltchev, 'The European Common Market', *The Analysts Journal*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (CFA Institute, 1959), pp. 7-10.
[5] The European Commission website–Development: Cooperation before Lomé and the Lomé Conventions.
[6] The African Caribbean Pacific Local Government Platform ACP LGP website (European Development Fund (EDF), 2006.

speaking) had several African countries under control while Italy had Eritrea and Somaliland; both small compare to the French speaking empire largely dominated by France.[7]

Since the European Union foundation in 1957, funds flow to Africa[8] have been through the European Development Fund (EDF)[9] which is the main financial instrument used for cooperation between the European Union, the Overseas Countries and Territories (OCTs) and the African, Caribbean and Pacific group of states (ACP).

Article 190 of the World Development Law defines EDF as 'attached to the different EC-ACP Conventions but does not however form part of the community budget, but is funded by special contributions from the member states.'[10] The EDF was set up as an 'Internal Agreement' by the member states, formally outside the Community context, specifying the contribution of each member state, and providing for the adoption by the council (under a unique decision making procedure of weighted voting reflecting the contribution of each member state) of a *sui generis* financial regulation containing implementing measures. The parliament failed to get control over the EDF (with the usual community budget procedures, Article 272, European Community Treaty[11]) before the European Court of Justice (ECJ). Consequently, EDF funding escapes budgetary control by the European parliament. This latter has been created by the EU members 'to enhance the

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[7] P.J. J. Welfens, C. Ryan, S. Chirathivat & F. Knipping, 'The Trade and Aid Policy of the European Union: A Historical Perspective' EU- Asean (Springer Berlin Heidelberg, 2009), pp.57-71.

[8] The Secretariat of the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States, The ACP Group website.

[9] The European Development Fund in a few words, European Commission, DE 112, (2002), p 6.

[10] K. Feyter, World Development Law (Intersentia, 2001), p126.

[11] 'Consolidated Version of the Treaty of the European Union' *Official Journal of the European Union.*

democratic legitimacy of the Community'[12]and is responsible for the control of the Community's actions especially its budget. While the member states have resisted bringing the EDF under the control of the community budget only, they argue that the setting up of a separate fund enables the coordination of EC-ACP aid and individual member state aid to ACP countries; Koulaimah-Gabriel describes the different budget procedures applying to EDF funds and the EC community development aid funds as 'another manifestation of incoherence.'[13]

3.3: The Evolution of EDF along EU-ACP Agreements and Conventions

The first EDF was given in 1959 and ended in 1964 though what it has financed is not very clear. Ferrandi talks of 800 Million accounting units (for example: USD) to promote economic development of these states and territories aforementioned.[14] EDF is reloaded each period of 5 years by EU Member States which follow an agreed financing quota.[15] Since the end of the first EDF, in 1964, the European aid took shape of conventions/agreements; successively Yaoundé Convention, Lomé Convention and the latest the Cotonou Agreements along the EPAs (European Partnership Agreement), all taking the name of the place they have been ratified. Yaoundé is the capital city of Cameroon, Lomé of Togo and Cotonou of Benin, all former African French colonies.

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[12] D. Dinan, 'Ever Closer union: An Introduction to European Integration' (Lynne Rienner, 2005).
[13] A. Koulaimah-Gabriel, 'The EU and the Developing World: Coherence Between the Common Foreign Security Policy and Development Co-operation' *Policy Coherence in Development Cooperation*, (Forster, Jacques and Olav Stokke, 1999), pp. 346-373.
[14] J. Ferrandi, The Investment Policy of the European Development Fund, Intereconomics, No. 11 (1966).
[15] 10th European Development Fund: the Partnership under Threat CONCORD Cotonou Working group, briefing paper, ACP-EU Joint Parliamentary Assembly (Ljubljana, 2008).

The First Yaoundé Convention[16] also the first Association Agreement signed between the EEC (European Economic Community) and the 18 Associated African States (Benin, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Kinshasa), Ivory Coast, Gabon, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, Somalia and Togo) with Madagascar (AASM) in 1964 that provided commercial advantages and financial aid to African ex-colonies and was covered by the second EDF (1964-1970) representing 580 Million accounting units.[17] After heated discussions on how to improve the previous convention into a new one, Yaoundé II simply revised the previous convention and was signed in 1970, with three more African countries (Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya) and led to the third EDF (1970-1975) with a $1000 million budget.[18] Yaoundé has been vividly criticized of being 'collective colonialism' where nothing has changed since colonial times except that now European countries work as a union therefore multilaterally and not alone bilaterally.[19] But Nkrumah further extends his thoughts to the latter convention arguing that main trends towards aid have not changed much even with Lomé Conventions and it is still favouring the EU countries.

The entry of the United Kingdom in the EEC (along Denmark and Ireland) in 1973 brought some significant changes in the allocation of aid funds; besides backing former

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[16] European Navigator: The history of a united Europe (Virtual Resource Centre for knowledge about Europe-CVCE).
[17] Ibid [14]
[18] E. C. Djamson, 'The dynamics of Euro-African co-operation: being an analysis and exposition of institutional, legal and socio-economic aspects of association/co-operation with the European Economic Community' (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1976).
[19] K. Nkrumah, '*Neo-Colonialism, The Last Stage of Imperialism*' (Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1965).

French/Belgium colonies, now the former British colonies (Commonwealth countries) had to be taken into account.[20]

EU economic aid has always targeted the ACP group and does not aim only at Africa;[21] the ACP-group has been legally created by the signature of the Georgetown Agreement in 1975 by all the Sub-Saharan African countries along Caribbean, Pacific States. Despite the European choice of combining countries from different continents into one same group (ACP) for providing its aid, only African countries will be mentioned in this study since it is its main target.

In 1975, the First Lomé Convention was signed[22] between 46 ACP countries (Botswana, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Lesotho, Liberia, Malawi, Mauritius, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Swaziland and Zambia) and 9 European (the founding 'six' plus the three which joined in 1973) financed by the 4-billion euro-budget fourth EDF. Parfitt says the 1st Lomé convention 'which extended association to various Anglo-Saxon ex-colonies...was hailed as a breakthrough in N/S relations due to the wide variety of development facilities it made available'[23]especially towards trade. Zartman welcomes the Lomé Convention as the latest step in a slow historical process from colonial domination towards mutual cooperation and equality.[24] Similar to the Yaoundé conventions, the lasting time of any Lomé convention was 5 years. In 1980, Lomé II was signed by 58

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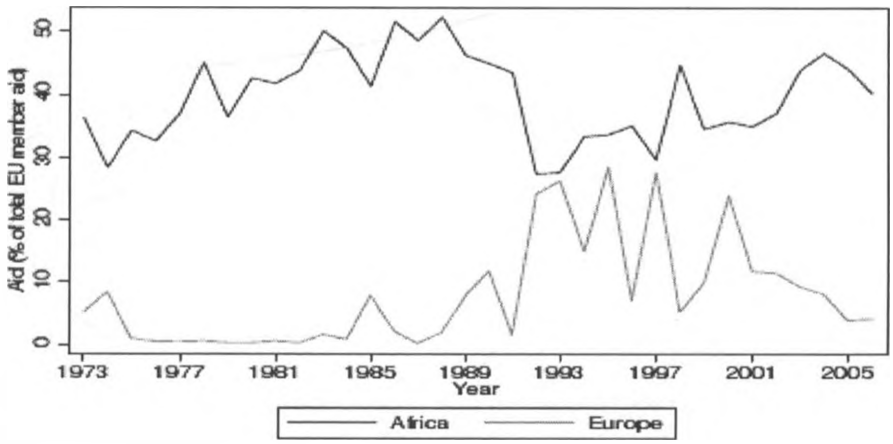
[20] EUROPA – The EU at a glance – European treaties website
[21] The Secretariat of the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States, The ACP Group.
[22] European Commission –Development: Cooperation before Lomé and the Lomé Conventions
[23] T. W. Parfitt, 'Partnership or Dependency? The Politics of Lomé', Politics Vo. 2, No. 2 (1982), pp. 18-23.
[24] I. W. Zartman, 'Europe and Africa: Decolonisation or Dependency?' Foreign Affairs Vo. 54, No. 2 (1976).

ACP countries (Cape Verde, Comoros, Sao Tome and Principe and the Seychelles) and 10 European (Greece added in 1981) under the fifth EDF. Later, in 1985, signatories of Lomé III were 65 ACP countries (Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe) and the same 10 European countries under the sixth EDF amounted for 30 million Euros with transfers from EDF 4 and 5. Then Portugal and Spain joined the EU in 1986 in the context of the third enlargement.

Around 1990 and for the signature of Lomé IV, Europe was seriously troubled by the end of the Cold War with the fall of the Berlin War and the collapse of the European Eastern bloc. Europe did not interrupt foreign aid flows but reduce them considerably[25] and re-oriented them toward the reconstruction of the Eastern part of Europe after the dismantlement of the Soviet Union. Trends show increases from 1970s up to 1990; after 2-3 years, around 1992-1993, EU aid climb up drastically and has been fluctuating until 2001 where now it decreases up to 2005 and Blair's call for more aid towards Africa.

Figure 1: EU Aid to Africa from 1973 to 2005



Source: Schneider, C. J. & Tobin, J. L. 'Interest Coalitions and Multilateral Aid: Is EU Integration Bad for Africa?' (Princeton & Georgetown Universities, 2009).

[25] C. J. Schneider, & J. L. Tobin, '*Interest Coalitions and Multilateral Aid: Is EU Integration Bad for Africa?*' (Princeton & Georgetown Universities, 2009).

For the 71 African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) member states, the Lomé Convention's most important attribute is its non-reciprocity, allowing ACP exports duty free access to the European market while enabling the ACP states to maintain tariff barriers against European goods.[26]

Lomé IV, which was renewed once, lasted 10 years. The revision of the Lomé Convention happened in 1995 and the second Lomé IV included more African countries with Namibia, Ethiopia and South Africa. Galtung[27] says Lomé Conventions were created in order to maintain privileged access to third word commodities via former colonial link and he criticizes the principle of non-reciprocity. In fact, commodity prices for third world producers are stabilized and that lock them into servicing the European market which is as Nkrumah[28] also says neo-imperialism from the EU promoting collective exploitation of developing countries.

The European Union, in its actual form and under its current name, was founded on November 1st 1993 after the ratification of the Treaty on European Union also known as the Maastricht Treaty signed on February 7th 1992.[29] This treaty appeared after the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the German reunification as a 'commitment to reinforce the Community's international position'. 'The creation of the EU 'marked with a transition

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[26] R. Gibb, 'Post-Lomé: The European Union and the South' *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (Taylor & Francis, Ltd., 2000), pp. 457-48.

[27] J. Galtung, 'The Lomé Convention and Neo-Capitalism', *The African Review,* Vol. 6, No.1 (1976), p. 33.

[28] K. Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism, The Last Stage of Imperialism* (Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1965).

[29] EUROPA – The EU at a glance – European treaties website

from an economic community to a political union with shared values.'[30] Also, the member states wanted new reforms and a solid framework to start playing a serious and accountable role within the international arena. The Maastricht Treaty has three pillars namely the European Communities, secondly, a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and thirdly police and judicial cooperation in criminal matters (JHA). [31] After 1986 and the addition of Portugal and Spain, the fourth European enlargement occurred in 1995 with the entry of Austria, Finland and Sweden. Two treaties, the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1997 and the Treaty of Nice in 2001were ratified. Both treaties were ratified mainly in view of the upcoming enlargements; while the first one was a revision of the Treaty of Maastricht to prepare for enlargement,[32] the Nice Treaty's aim was 'to overhaul the institutions of the EU in preparation for a union of 27 member states.'[33] The European Commission acknowledged the poor results of Lomé Conventions in a series of documents.[34]

Following the second Lomé IV the Cotonou Agreement[35] also called ACP-EC Partnership Agreement that was signed in 2000 by both the 77 ACP countries and the 15 members of the EU (for 20 years therefore up to 2020). It entered into force in April 2003 This mainly aimed at reducing poverty through five mainstays: enhancing political dimension, increasing participation, a more strategic approach to cooperation, new economic

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[30] EU2007: Germany 2007, Presidency of the European Union. 50th anniversary of Treaties of Rome, Together Since 1957.
[31] Europa: EU Legislation.
[32] BBC News website, 'Amsterdam Treaty' (Monday, 30 April, 2001).
[33] BBC News website, 'Nice Treaty' (Tuesday, 12 June 2001).
[34] K.Von Moltke, 'Implications of the Cotonou Agreement for Sustainable Development in the ACP Countries and Beyond', *International Institute for Sustainable Development* (2004).
[35] European Commission – Development- The Cotonou Agreement

and trade partnerships and lastly improved financial cooperation.[36] The first version of the Cotonou Agreement happened under the ninth EDF which allocated 13.5 billion Euros from 2000 to2007 along the balance from previous EDF for 9.9 billion Euros.[37]

The two last enlargements were towards the Eastern part of Europe and former Soviet Union's countries. In 2004, the largest enlargement in EU history, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia (along Cyprus and Malta) joined the EU with Bulgaria and Romania in 2007. This enlargement is very important because the periodical shift (in the 1990s) of foreign aid flows towards the countries that were formerly part of the Soviet Union is no longer useful since most former USSR's countries are now member states of the EU and therefore benefit from the intra-EU policies. The second part of the Cotonou Agreement started in 2008 and going until 2013 is financed by the tenth EDF whose budget is over 22 billion Euros.

Though the situation is slowly evolving and the common certainty is that 'an African renaissance is believed to be under way.'[38] Schepers mentions that the change is African rooted and African made with the creation of NEPAD (New Partnership for Africa's Development) and APRM (African Peer Review Mechanism). Africa is now aiming at 'political stabilization, economic progress and respect for the rule of law'. Following this idea of a renaissance of the African continent, the EU created the Economic Partnership

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[36] R. Guraziu, 'The EU's Rationale, Role and Significance in Responding to the Issues of Global Governance: An Evaluation' *Globalisation: International Political Economy Political & International Studies* (Middlesex University, School of Health and Social Sciences, MA International Relations, 2008).
[37] The Independent European Portal website
[38] S. Schepers, The Forum of the European Institute of Public Administration (European Policy Centre, 2006).

Agreements (EPAs) which supposedly cooperates with African projects toward a common goal: the development of African States. Cooperation is also made through the EPCs Africa fora where exchanges are made to better understand the evolution of EU-Africa relations. As Schepers mentions the idea behind these forums is to change and improve Europeans' views/beliefs on Africa, to then help towards a reconstruction of a healthier Africa. This bilateral collaboration should also supposedly encourage 'better governance and sustainable economic development…to implement at the same time 'greater respect of social and human rights in Africa.' Those forums aim to develop 'fair economic relations' toward trade policies in order to stimulate African trade instead of continuing the system of foreign aid.

Von Moltke[39] notes three reasons why EPAs are not likely to be working better: firstly institutional inertia defined as 'the continuation of the previous practices in a new framework' where he explains that the transition between Lomé IV and CPA has not been felt, nothing has changed. Secondly, the control of resources is largely made by the EU givers who have the decision of where to allocate funds in their hands; the idea will have to get to joint control but the lack of transparency makes it difficult to implement. Thirdly, the lack of focus as sides diverge: the EU is looking for a 'dispersal of functions' while governments of ACP-countries are 'sharply focused on the funds associated with the CPA'.

Kohnert[40] argues that so far 'the EU's selfish foreign trade policy still contributes to poverty and unsatisfactory development. The political and economic dominations of African

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[39] K.von Moltke, 'Implications of the Cotonou Agreement for Sustainable Development in the ACP Countries and Beyond', *International Institute for Sustainable Development* (2004).
[40] D. Kohnert, 'EU-African Economic Relations: Continuing Dominance, Traded for Aid?' (GIGA - German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Institute of African Affairs, 2008).

states by the EU and Africa's former colonial powers perpetuate asymmetrical power relations in the new EPAs.

3.4: Assessment of the Situation

The EU is the largest single market and aid donor worldwide responsible for more than half (56%)[41] of total foreign aid flows, though ODA (Official Development Assistance) has been seriously decreasing since the late 1990s,[42] Generally, the EU member states and the European Commission follow the global trend and are now on the path of increasing those flows again in 2005[43] by ten billion dollars to thirty billion dollars in the next five years[44] though they remain below the level of the 1990s reaching 635 million USD in 2004. Practical Action founds out that as a union, the EU is the 5th largest donor worldwide and its foreign aid policies are very influential to its constituent states.[45]

3.4.1: Within the EU

Lennon argues that the European Commission is criticized for 'its poor performance as a provider of humanitarian and development aid (...) slowness in disbursing aid, and a tendency to target the better-off while reducing aid to the poorest.'[46] In the same vein, Guraziu says that the European Union talks a lot and meet often but that results on African

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[41] Practical Action website
[42] AWEPA (Association of European Parliamentarians for Africa), 'Tracking European Aid, Debt, and Trade Commitments to Africa', Occasional Papers Series No.14 (AWEPA, 2007).
[43] See Chapter Two
[44] BBC News website, 'EU boosts aid to Africa by $ 10 bn' (Wednesday, 12 October 2005).
[45] Practical Action website
[46] D. Lennon, 'The European Union' in R. Guraziu, 'The EU's Rationale, Role and Dignificance in Responding to the Issues of Global Governance: An Evaluation' *Globalisation: International Political Economy Political & International Studies* (Middlesex University, School of Health and Social Sciences, MA International Relations, 2008).

grounds are slow to come: he says 'the high rhetoric on reducing poverty and debt cancellation remains nothing more than 'empty rhetoric' that usually lasts only as long as the conferences do (be it G-8 summits or EU summits) and millions still die to the lack of the political will in most of the EU countries.'[47] To Lennon, foreign aid does not replace any kind of direct EU investments from in Africa for export-oriented manufactured or agricultural products. Though he mentions that products going towards the EU were accessing fairly freely which is a great move toward a fairer trade.[48]

Schneider and Tobin partially explain the inefficiency of the European aid by looking back in the history of the EU foreign aid flows and how member states differ in their funds' allocations preferences. Indeed there is a clear lack of coordination among donor countries even within a union such as the European Union. They say: 'France and Belgium hoped to focus development policy on their former African colonies. Germany and the Netherlands, on the other hand, wanted to pursue a more global and humanitarian approach to EU development policy...the United Kingdom wanted to expand the group of associated countries to include its former colonies in Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean...the Mediterranean countries, on the other hand, favoured the development of Latin America,'[49] explaining also that the more member states the union will incorporate, the more heterogeneous policies will become, making all even more complex and indeed inefficient,

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[47] See R. Guraziu in 'The EU's rationale, role and significance in responding to the issues of global Governance: an evaluation' .
[48] Ibid
[49] C. J. Schneider & J. L. Tobin, 'Interest Coalitions and Multilateral Aid: Is EU Integration Bad for Africa?' (Princeton & Georgetown Universities, 2009).

since the EU is lacking coordination. Cox and Koning[50] say 'only some programmes go through the EU budget and undergo the parliament verification which can either accept or deny the budget allocation; but the EU Council only override these decisions unanimously'. If ACP programmes were to be part and parcel of the EU budget, incentives to use aid money to better ends will be likely to increase. More cooperation is clearly needed in order to have better aid flows' repartition and use.

The EU has been giving and still gives most of its aid to the Sub-Saharan countries, that are former colonies and among the poorest countries worldwide; early 1970s, around 80% of EU aid was going to Africa. It changed dramatically with the 1990s and the end of the Cold War which shift part of the funding to Eastern Europe to ensure the stability of the European continent up to 2004 when most of the ex-soviet union countries joined the EU. Despite this fact, the funds toward Africa have always been the largest. During the 1990s, however, the Commission has increased the conditions in its grant-making under pressure from member governments to improve the impact of its aid.[51]

Carbone[52] mentions that the EU aid agency never changed its initial motto, supporting the neediest countries, even at the end of the Cold War and says that 'the EU Commission argued against shifting the focus away from the African countries after the Cold

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[50] A. Cox & A. Koning et al, 'Understanding European Community Aid-Aid Policies, Management and Distribution Explained', (ODI-European Commission, 1997).
[51] N. van de Walle, 'Aid's Crisis of Legitimacy: Current Proposals and Future Prospects' *African Affairs,* Vo. 98, No. 392 (1999), pp. 337-352.
[52] M. Carbone, 'Better Aid, Less Ownership: Multi-Annual Programming and the EU's Development Strategies in Africa' *Journal of International Development* No. 20, (2008), pp. 218-229.

War'. Schneider and Tobin[53] argue that 'Africa lost its position as the most important recipient of EU multilateral aid'; their argument of increasing delegation to the European supranational institutions is indeed a good idea that will ensure more enforcement of aid allocation to initial goals, including EU multilateral aid to the ACP countries into the EU budget and therefore reduce the overlapping of various governments' conventions. Bossuyt argues that 'In Europe, there has always been stronger popular support for aid, but there, too, strong elite commitment to increasing aid budgets has probably been determinant' and that generally speaking the EU is not so successful in its Aid implantation because 'most donors have not realized the managerial implications of decentralizing aid programmes successfully.[54]

The Association of European Parliamentarians for Africa[55] defends trade as the main motor for development and look for more trade and financial flows between Africa and the EU to make sure the MDGs are attained in a timely manner. European parliamentarians call upon their African counterparts to help ODA flows reaching their intended initial goals by reducing corruption and improving governance while they make sure their own European governments commit funds to right programmes/projects and complete promises. Parliamentarians from both sides must take on discussion in order to allocate funds properly.

3.4.2: Between Africa and the EU

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[53] See C. J. Schneider & J. L. Tobin, 'Interest *Coalitions and Multilateral Aid: Is EU Integration Bad for Africa'*.

[54] J. Bossuyt, 'Decentralized Cooperation: Lessons from EU Experiences under the Lomé Convention' (EDCPM, Maastricht, 1995).

[55] AWEPA (Association of European Parliamentarians for Africa), 'Tracking European Aid, Debt, and Trade Commitments to Africa', Occasional Papers Series No.14 (AWEPA, 2007).

The problem with talks as mentioned above is that talks are not conducted on a fair basis; Gavin[56] explains how the EU commission threatened Africa during the EU-Africa Lisbon summit late 2007 by raising tariffs on imports to Europe as a means to force African leaders to sign deals urgently, the EU and the ACP countries clashing on various free trade agreements.[57] African leaders such as President Konare, former president of the Republic of Mali and former head of the African Union claimed that Europe 'plays certain African regions off against each other'. On the hand, President Wade, current president of the Republic of Senegal, called for better treatment from the EU toward Africa to avoid a 'seismic' rupture between the two.[58] Critiques flow because the developing countries are coming to realize that multilateral organizations starting from the UN and all the others are not in any cases trying to sort their problems out but rather developing few rich nations' interests.

Relations between the EU and Africa are deep rooted in history;[59] a history that is neither pleasant nor satisfying, development wise, when thinking of slave trade, colonial times and racism heritage.

Bräutigam and Goldsmith[60] argue that the relationship between Europe and Africa has never been healthy; indeed the EU-Africa bond is heavily marked by a historic,

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[56] B. Gavin, 'The Role of the European Union in Global Financial Governance' United Nations University website (2001).
[57] Barbara Stocking, 'Africa-European union Trade; Seismic Rupture', The World Today , Vol. 64: No. 1, January 2008. p. 21.
[58] Reuters UK website, 'AU rejects 'divisive' EU strategy on trade deals' (December 8, 2007).
[59] See Communication de la commission au conseil.
[60] A. A. Goldsmith, 'Foreign Aid and Statehood in Africa' International Organization, Vol. 55, No. 1 (The MIT Press, 2001), pp. 123-148.

geographic and social colonialism; as well as bad and unfair economic policies and terrible political interactions. They call Africa 'aid dependent in the sense that few of its states can carry on routine functions or deliver basic public services without external funding and expertise'.

Currently there is no trust in the political arena and the economic conditions are still extremely unfair. Currently the EU and Africa have signed and ratified several agreements and conventions with the underlying idea of better north/ south relations. From the starting point with Lomé I in 1975 which established a partnership and long term founding, all the way to the Cotonou Agreement, signed in 2000 for 20 years between all SSA-48-countries and the then 15 members of the EU show efforts of cooperation from both sides but again the grounds' results are not satisfying in terms of development. The Cotonou Agreement was revised in 2005 to involve politics, trade and development within a unique framework. South Africa has, besides the Cotonou Accord, its own trade, development and cooperation agreement (TDCA) signed with the EU.

Barroso[61] the current President of the European Commission explains development aid from the EU will be doubled in the coming years, reaching a 'support to education by €4 billion and to health by €8 billion.' He further develops targeted projects such as financing school, hiring teachers, giving mosquito nets to people to 'eradicate' malaria. He then mentions the EU is now talking 'about more effective aid' and his underlying reasons are the following; 'more direct budget support' financing clear project with fair aims; along a 'better division of labour amongst donors' where he refers to the a better effectiveness in

[61] J. M. D. Barroso '*Can Europe lead the World on Climate and Aid Policies?*' (the Friends of Europe VIP Policy Summit, 2008).

interactions between donors/recipients' countries' partners. Finally he calls for 'a better alignment to national priorities and rules...more output and less bureaucracy' concluding his speech with saying that the EU is leading aid policies.

3.5: Concluding Remarks

As an overall goal, the EU wants to collaborate to ensure 'human and civil rights, peace and security in Africa' ensuring also a worldwide peaceful and secure environment. In doing so, the EU is willing to share its ideas with its southern counterpart; also it stimulates the role of Africans living in Europe; all ensuring an 'innovative thinking about African political, economic and societal issues'.

That should lead to the development of accurate policies which will be closer to reality and therefore more able to reach their targets to the contrary of what has been done for the past years.

The European Union *per se* was born in 1992 and is therefore not even 20 years old; it is not organized efficiently and as mentioned earlier member states' national interests are conflicting with supranational motives of the EU resulting in unclear actions. The European Commission is also subject to vague policies; talks encountering in the European Parliament are everlasting and usually not proficient.[62]

The European Union has not been very efficient these last years despite its serious involvement in the achievement of the MDGs, results are slow to come. Kohnert criticizes the new 'hidden colonialism' of the European Union policies, unfettered capitalism but also explains that now the EU might finally decided to take real actions and establish a fairer

[62] Discussion with the French Elite, French Embassy to Kenya, Nairobi, December 4th 2009.

environment toward Africa because of the Chinese threat dismantling both the US and the EU supremacies on the African continent; undeniably China is remarkably implanting all over Africa at a hurried pace that both cannot compete against. China is becoming a superpower and this is the core reason why the EU and the US are reacting with more aid flows towards Africa. The EU cannot be left behind in the aid business though its member countries were among the first donors in Africa.[63]

[63] D., Kohnert 'EU-African Economic Relations: Continuing Dominance, Traded for Aid?' (GIGA - German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Institute of African Affairs, 2008).

CHAPTER FOUR:
FRENCH AID IN KENYA

4.1: Introduction

This chapter focuses on French aid to Kenya. It will give an overview of which particular areas France is willing to invest foreign aid's channel. The first part of this chapter will explore the philosophy of French aid to Africa; more so an attempt will be made to explain the philosophy that underpins French aid to Kenya along a brief description of the different funds it disburses to Kenya. The second part this chapter will provide a concise assessment of the success/or failure of aid. In addition, reasons aid can work, in form of a critical analysis, will be delineated as a way to sum up this entire project.

4.2: Philosophy of French Aid

4.2.1: In Africa

French foreign aid started in the 1950s and was part of the decolonisation process. The creation of the 1959 Franco-African community and Charles de Gaulle's presidency were core elements of the granting of independence to French colonies in Sub-Saharan Africa in the 1960s.[1]

Franco-Kenyan relations started before Kenya's independence (1963) since Kenyan students were sent to France on French scholarships to complete advanced degrees. In fact, France was among the earliest countries to recognize Kenya as an independent state. It established a full embassy in Nairobi as soon as Kenya became independent. However, in the 1980s economic development became a priority on the part of French aid packages. Among the

[1] G., Bossuat 'French Development Aid and Co-operation under de Gaulle' Contemporary European History, Vol. 12, No. 4, (Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 431-456.

highlights of French aid to Kenya in the 1980s was the Kerio Dam in the Rift Valley, which was at the time the largest project on French funding. It failed since the country is still experiencing serious shortages of electricity.[2]

France also supported Kenya's annual budget, a relationship that was established by Daniel arap Moi when he was Jomo Kenyatta's vice-president. Mr. Moi was in very good diplomatic terms with former French presidents Pompidou, Giscard d'Estaing and Francois Mitterrand. In fact Moi's first international trip as president was to France and those good relations were reinforced by Kenyatta's death and Mitterrand presidency (1981-1995).

The Cold War period (1945-1990) was a time when France was seen as a non-aligned power 'free from superpower hegemony, truly non-aligned, and thus a natural ally of the Third World'. That is in part is what allowed France to develop both political and economic relations with Anglophone African countries such as Kenya. But as Martin notes, relationships between France and its former colonies were changed remarkably after the Cold War (1990). Only historical and cultural ties remain, along their 'informal, intimate, and secretive politico-diplomatic relations.'[3] The French sponsored democratization of the continent has surely followed important French strategic interests rather than those of African aspirations. The overall aim is to preserve and ensure the reinforcement of French interests within the recipient countries. French national interests are threefold; cultural, political

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[2] Informal Meeting with Professor Simiyu, Department of History, University of Nairobi, Nairobi, February 5th 2010.

[3] G. Martin, 'Continuity and Change in Franco-African Relations' *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 1-20.

(strategic) and economic.[4] In the early 1990s, France was supporting Kenyan political evolution towards a democracy and Moi's despotic regime.

Since the creation of the Fifth Republic and more especially since the end of the Second World War (1945), French policies toward foreign aid have been stable and constant;[5] Martin says 'France's African policy is characterized by exclusivity, stability, and continuity.'[6] The conducting threads of the French government's policies are not likely to be affected at any time.

The key the turning point in the Franco-African diplomatic relations was the death of President Felix Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast in December 1993. He was the last African leader to have had close relationships with several generations of French politicians. It was at this juncture that French trade and capital investment was redirected from francophone Africa toward Nigeria, Zimbabwe, South Africa and Kenya. In addition, the 50 per cent devaluation of the CFA franc in January 1994 marked both the termination of the preferential monetary and the trading area called 'la zone franc'. Martin says that 'this, more than any other single event since independence, might truly mark the dawn of a new era in Franco-African relations.'[7]

Culturally, France has a strong will to broaden the French language, defending and building up French ideas in designated developing countries, of which Kenya is one; the

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[4] Y. Bénot, 'Vingt and de 'politique africaine' La France contre l'Afrique/ Tricontinental (1981), pp. 58-60.
[5] G. Martin, 'The Historical, Economic, and Political Bases of France's African Policy' *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 189-208.
[6] G. Martin, 'Continuity and Change in Franco-African Relations' *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 1-20.
[7] Ibid

language is indeed the strongest part of the French culture as Rosemblum states *'La France, c'est la langue française'* (France, is the French language).[8] It is believed that as people learn French, they will develop a natural affinity for the country. This in turn will benefit France in terms of goodwill and other related benefits. French, as a language is certainly the core of the French culture and anything revolving around the French culture is also known as 'La Francophonie', 'an aggressive policy...to teach, develop and foster Francophone cultural traditions...developing French international diplomacy.'[9] Since its Revolution (1789), France has claimed to be the land of a rich culture and has a strong need to expand it as widely as possible. The *mission civilisatrice*, the French imperialistic expansion and partition of Africa are part and parcel of French cultural *rayonnement*. The former French colonies have been heavily burdened by French's cultural essentials because France believed for long time that France-Africa or Eurafrica would make France the leader European power in Africa.[10] 'Eurafrica' is a body of thought, originating in the colonial period, according to which the fate of Europe and Africa is seen as being naturally and inextricably linked at the political, economic, social, and cultural levels. Africa and Europe supposedly complement each other; they are inter-dependent and integrated on many levels.[11] Lastly, the absorption of Africa by Europe seems to be the best solution 'if we do not want to lose Africa as a

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[8] M. Rosenblum, 'Mission to Civilize: the French way' (1986), p. 8.
[9] S. Meunier, 'The French Exception' *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 79, No. 4 (Council on Foreign Relations, 2000), pp. 104-116.
[10] See G. Martin in 'Continuation and Change in Franco-African Relations'
[11] G.Martin, 'Africa and the Ideology of Eurafrica: Neo-Colonialism or Pan-Africanism?' *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 221-238.

precious source of raw materials and as an outlet for our products, Europe must participate in the absorption of the black continent.'[12]

Essential to the French culture, la Francophonie is an international organisation of French-speaking countries and governments, clustering the community of French-speaking people. Formally known as the *Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie* (OIF) or the International Organization of La Francophonie, the organisation comprises fifty-five member states and governments and thirteen observers. The prerequisite for admission is not the degree of French usage in the member countries, but a prevalent presence of French culture and French language in the member country's identity, usually stemming from France's interaction with other nations in its history.[13] The ultimate goal is to expand as much as possible the presence of the French language in both secondary schools and universities through channels such as KATF (Kenya Association of Teachers of French). The French language has become a strategic language, being an official language of both the African Union and the United Nations. Besides the inheritance of the French language from former colonies, mostly in western and central Africa, France would like to develop in countries where English or Portuguese are dominant to be more present on the continent as a language. France and its new public diplomacy department is now having a new strategy toward the French language 'not compete with English as a global language…but promoting multilingualism not the first foreign language learned around the world, then at least more than one foreign language will be learned.'[14]

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[12] M. Liniger-Goumaz, 'L'Eurafrique: Utopie ou Réalité?' (Yaoundé, 1972), p. 28.
[13] Babylon Dictionary
[14] M. Leonard, 'Diplomacy by Other Means' *Foreign Policy*, No. 132 (Washington Post. Newsweek Interactive, LLC, 2002), pp. 48-56.

4.2.2: In Kenya

Kenya as a former British colony and also a strategic country in the continent inherited English as an official language. Indeed, Kenya and its capital city, Nairobi, hosts headquarters of a few of United Nations' offices. Also as a country, Kenya has acted and still acts as a mediator within the region and belongs to the leading countries of the African continent. This is why France in part decided to develop its diplomatic relations and therefore strengthen its collaboration with Kenya on both bilateral and multilateral dimensions.[15] Also, Kenya is member of the East African Community made of five countries namely Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Burundi and Rwanda, the last two being French speaking countries. The French language has become strategic within the community since already two member countries speak it. Also, the islands in the Indian Ocean such as Madagascar speak French too. French is all around Kenya and that undeniably contributes to the increasing desire to learn the French language.[16]

From a political standpoint, there is evidence to suggest that the French elite is strategically strengthening its links with the Kenyan elite. In fact, since Kenya was not a former French colony, relations do not have the bitterness colonization left in many former colonies and there is therefore no complex of wanting to be largely present on the Kenyan political stage. France expects Kenya to have democracy as a basic requirement with respect and enforcement of human rights in order to develop its positions in Kenya. France wants to be more present into Kenya and therefore the developing process is on its way. The new

[15] France in Kenya (French Embassy to Kenya, 2007), pp. 1-16.
[16] Interview of the French Elite, French Embassy to Kenya, Nairobi, December 4th 2009.

Kenyan Constitution is a hybrid between the British and the French system;[17] France is well satisfied that this new constitution is getting closer to the French constitution of the Fifth Republic (in which the Senate and the executive power are mainly decentralized into regions and sub divided in departments) though no French citizen was on the board of the committee of experts that established the new constitution. The passing of this new constitution ensures the fortification of Kenyan-French bilateral relations.

Economically, France has a strong need and will to make its enterprises/firms enter Kenya and to increase its exportation and consequently France's wealth. The economic mission of the French Embassy to Kenya is an international network helping French firms to implement a branch in Kenya and participate into the development of both countries.[18]

According to the OECD,[19] the DAC (Development Assistance Committee) EU Members Total has given to Kenya the following amounts (USD Millions) from 1992 until 2007:

Figure 1: European Union Contribution to Kenya

Year	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Disbursement	**311.4**	**226.7**	**223.92**	**209.67**	**227.8**	**200.01**	**178.65**	**145.51**
Year	**2000**	**2001**	**2002**	**2003**	**2004**	**2005**	**2006**	**2007**
Disbursement	**169.56**	**169.52**	**155.27**	**195.11**	**230.54**	**262.57**	**331.05**	**401.64**

Source: OECD. Statistics Extracts, ODA by recipient by country, France to Kenya, Current Prices in USD Millions, ODA Total, Net Disbursements, 1992-2007.

While France alone has been given to Kenya, the following amounts (USD Millions):

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[17] Interview of a Member of the Parliament, Hon. Gunda, Nairobi, February 25th 2010.
[18] Interview of the French Economic Mission personnel, French Embassy to Kenya, Nairobi, November 3rd 2009.
[19] OECD. Statistics Extracts, ODA By Recipient By Country, France to Kenya, Current Prices in USD Millions, ODA Total, Net Disbursements, 1992-2007.

Figure 2: France's Contribution to Kenya

Year	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Disbursement	**40.02**	**20.57**	**16.06**	**13.17**	**17.04**	**6**	**3.33**	**3.64**
Year	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
Disbursement	**3.97**	**9.86**	**17.6**	**20.49**	**32.17**	**7.94**	**20.08**	**47.82**

Source: OECD. Statistics Extracts, ODA by recipient by country, France to Kenya, Current Prices in USD Millions, ODA Total, Net Disbursements, 1992-2007.

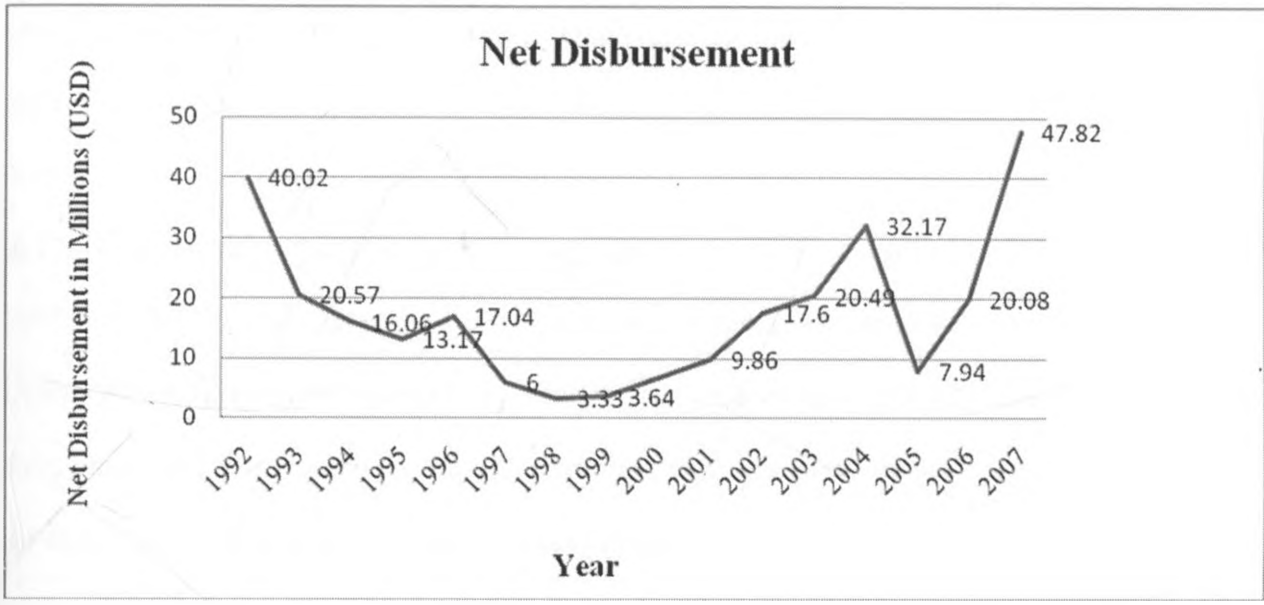
Despite the World Bank's acknowledgement of France as a key player in development and the third largest donor among DAC member countries, France does not give much aid to Kenya relatively to the other European Union countries and also towards the other African nations such as the ones from West Africa (French speaking and colonial past). Among the possible explanations of why, Alesina and Dollar[20] found out in their study that France 'allocates more aid to their political allies and former colonies at the margin and pays less attention to recipient needs and good governance'. Charasse argues that France as a bilateral donor contributes to 4-5% of the ODA (along Germany, Japan, Denmark and Sweden); and comes far after the largest giver that is America, which participates to a quarter of the total ODA, allocating most of its funding to the health sector and non-state actors. The UK whose ODA is around 10% of what receive Kenya contributes as much as multilateral organization that are the European Commission and the World Bank for also approximately 10% each.[21]

This graph below shows the trends over the last fifteen years of the French aid to Kenya. Its beginning in 1992 was time for Europe to become a union with the ratification of

[20] A. Alesina & D. Dollar, 'Who Gives Foreign Aid to Whom and Why?' *Journal of Economic Growth* (2000), pp.33-63.
[21] M. Charasse, 'Aide Publique au Développement' Compte-rendu de mission en Afrique de l'Est : Ethiopie, Djibouti, Kenya, (2009), pp.79-119.

the Maastricht treaty and for President Moi to be re-elected as the president of the Republic of Kenya but this time under a multiparty democratic regime while President Moi has been in office since 1978 in a certainly more oppressive regime.

Figure 3: Net Disbursement of French Aid to Kenya



Source: OECD. Statistics Extracts, ODA by recipient by country, France to Kenya, Current Prices in USD Millions, ODA Total, Net Disbursements, 1992-2007, graph by Author, 2010.

The last years of President Mitterand were marked by a constant decrease in ODA while the election of President Chirac in 1995 coincides with a raise from 13.17 to 17.04 Million USD in ODA. Then France entered a long phase of economic recession with severe budgetary restrictions that contributing to the decreased amount of ODA which remained inferior to 10 Million USD up to 2002.[22] At the same time France was undergoing an economic recession, President Moi, in Kenya, was engaged in an inconsistent behaviour encouraging western leaders to freeze the aid while Kenya was not supportive of reforms

[22] Informal Meeting with Professor Simiyu, Department of History, University of Nairobi, Nairobi, February 5th 2010.

suggested by the west.[23] The 'good governance' policies and actions (with hope that foreign aid flows will not be exclusively used towards corrupted ends) were the ones rewarded by increases within the foreign aid channel. The increase illustrated by a peak at the end of President Chirac's presidency can be explained by the change in power in Kenya. After 24 years in power, President Moi acknowledged the victory of Mwai Kibaki, the opposition's candidate. The transition between the two presidents was democratic, assessing of the political stability of Kenya. From 9.86 million USD in 2001, it almost doubled reaching up to 17.6 million USD in 2002 and never ceased increasing until 32.17 million USD in 2004. 2005 is marked by a serious fall in French ODA to 7.94 million USD (while the European Union ODA was increasing) partially explained by the absence of French humanitarian aid to Kenya that same year[24] along the Paris Declaration endorsement on March 2nd 2005 calling for drastic measures towards the effectiveness of foreign aid.[25]

Since the severe drop in 2005, French ODA to Kenya has been constantly increasing to 20.08 Million USD in 2006 that then more than doubled in 2007 with an amount of ODA reaching the highest of those last fifteen years (since 1992) up to 47.82 Million USD. For sure, China's expanded presence on the African continent constitutes a serious menace to the Americano-European hegemonies in Africa, justifying a serious boost into the aid channel. In fact China has financed around 65 billion USD in the 2008-2009 Kenyan budget which is similar to the combination of both the French and the German funding on that same year

[23] Informal Discussion with a Member of Parliament, Hon. Gunda, Nairobi, March 11th 2010.
[24] See Food and Humanitarian Aid later in this paper
[25] OECD website: Development Co-operation Directorate (DCD-DAC) , Aid Effectiveness, The Paris Declaration.

budget.[26] In addition to the Chinese threat, the election of current French President Sarkozy who decided on new aid policies toward Africa while entering office in that same year of 2007.[27]

4.3: French Aid to Kenya

Undeniably, France gives less aid to Kenya than to its former colonies (mostly in western and central Africa). That is clearly attestable from both the OECD data and facts from the ground but as mentioned earlier in this chapter, France is currently developing its ties with Kenya, therefore its foreign aid. Consequently the French Embassy to Kenya offers different kind of funding which are going to be briefly described below.

Firstly, the French government provides the Embassy to Kenya for two special funds; namely the Social Fund for Development (*FSD: Fonds Social de Développement*)[28] and the Prioritized Solidarity Fund for the French Language (*FSPF: Fonds de Solidarité Prioritaire pour le Français*).[29] These two funds have their own budget but are managed by the main aid bureau of the embassy that is the cooperation's office for cultural actions (*SCAC: Service de Coopération des Actions Culturelles*). Both humanitarian and food aids have also their own budget that vary according to the needs of the grounds.

Under its 70000-euro yearly budget, the SCAC provides scholarships for master and doctorate candidates, allocates research funds for the French Institute of Research in Africa

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[26] M. Charasse, 'Aide Publique au Développement' Compte-rendu de mission en Afrique de l'Est : Ethiopie, Djibouti, Kenya, (2009), pp.79-119.
[27] Informal Meeting with Professor Simiyu, Department of History, University of Nairobi, Nairobi, February 5th 2010.
[28] Interview of FSD personnel, French Embassy to Kenya, Nairobi, October 5th and November 2nd 2009.
[29] Interview of FSPF personnel, Alliance Française, Nairobi, October 21st and November 27th 2009.

(*IFRA: Institut Français de Recherche en Afrique)*; IFRA comprises a few people both French and Kenyan in charge of developing intelligence within Africa, especially in the Horn of Africa.[30] Also SCAC funds partially both the Institute for Research and Development (*IRD: Institut de Recherche et Développement*) where research projects mainly focus on development projects and the French Agricultural Research Centre for International Development (*CIRAD: Centre de Coopération Internationale en Recherche Agronomique pour le Développement*) which mandate is to contribute to poverty alleviation, food security, integrated management of natural resources and sustainable development in developing countries and in French overseas regions. CIRAD is promoting innovative research for development, in partnership with various stakeholders: research centres and universities, professional (farmer) organizations and the private sector, local authorities and NGOs, and funding agencies.[31] Both IRD and CIRAD are also partially funded by the French Ministry of Research. Also the SCAC finances a modest part of Alliance Française (there are four in Kenya with the largest in Nairobi) and the French School (*Lycée Denis Diderot*) whose administrations are both Kenyan and French with a French government's convention and as less expatriates as possible. Teachers are resident teachers, trained by the French ministry of education, locally recruited and paid by Alliance Française and the Lycée Denis Diderot, and finally another funding from SCAC goes to the military mission of the French Embassy.[32] The French Development Agency (*AFD: Agence Française de Développement*) works in

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[30] M. Charasse, 'Aide Publique au Développement' Compte-rendu de mission en Afrique de l'Est : Ethiopie, Djibouti, Kenya, (2009), pp.79-119.
[31] Telephone interview of CIRAD personnel (and CIRAD website), Nairobi, November 13th 2009.
[32] Interview of the SCAC Elite, French Embassy to Kenya, Nairobi, November 2nd 2009.

collaboration with the French Embassy but is very independent; in fact, the embassy works on the political side of AFD while AFD per se manages its projects on the ground.[33]

In the course of this study, only the two special funds (SFD and FSPF), the scholarships, the food and humanitarian aid, the military funding and the French Agency for Development's projects will be depicted. The other parts of the French funding that have less impact development-wise are not taking into consideration.

The Social Fund for Development: SFD

The SFD was created in 1993 by the French government to provide financial support to local communities and to countries of the Priority Solidarity Zone (PSZ) in their development initiatives. The priority solidarity zone (*ZSP: Zone de Solidarité Prioritaire*) is defined by the French government, since February 1998, as 'the area in which development assistance, employed in a selective and concentrated way, could produce a significant effect and contribute to the harmonious development of institutions, society and the economy.'[34] In this context, Kenya was finally reached by the SFD (existing earlier mainly in former French colonies).

The SFD rallies two essential goals to development namely poverty alleviation and also it provides the beneficiaries of the help a direct chance to be part and parcel of their own development; the idea remains that they involve themselves from the inquiry to the realization and the appreciation on the grounds. Projects sponsored by the SFD[35] should be led by small infrastructures, such as Community Based Organizations (CBOs), non-

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[33] Interview of the French Elite, French Embassy to Kenya, Nairobi, December 4th 2009.
[34] France-Diplomatie website: Priority Solidarity Zone (French Foreign and European Affairs' Ministry, 2002).
[35] M. Charasse, 'Aide Publique au Développement' Compte-rendu de mission en Afrique de l'Est : Ethiopie, Djibouti, Kenya, (2009), pp.79-119.

governmental organizations (NGOs), and any other non-profit organizations with the underlying idea of playing a role in the development of the key areas previously mentioned toward a sustainable development. Also projects should be innovative implementing new ways of thinking, new methods of community issues' resolution. The amount of the funding oscillates from 10,000 Euros to 50,000 Euros with at least 30% of the total cost of the overhaul project being burdened by the community benefiting from the project; financial contribution being in kind or not and the duration of the entire project should by no means exceed two years.

While it was created more than fifteen years ago, SFD only started in 2001 in Kenya and is contributing to poverty alleviation within the Kenyan Economic Recovery Strategy.[36] Phase one of SFD started in 2001 which entailed the funding of 21 projects worth total 600,000 Euros. The second phase started in 2003 with a budget of 500,000 Euros for the funding of 16 projects while phase three started in 2006 and financed 19 projects. Currently, phase four is underway (started in September 2009) with an similar budget of 500,000 Euros, coming from the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, spread over three years (2009-2010-2011) and has so far already sponsored four projects. The Social Fund for Development focuses on traditional areas of foreign intervention (along the UN MDGs) that are agriculture, education, energy, environment, gender, governance, health, heritage, social employment, youth and sports and water and sanitation.[37] Though, the latter phase four is focusing more on projects toward gender and childhood, it will finance small scale projects identified jointly and implemented by NGOs and CBOs. The overall goal of these projects

[36] Interview of SFD personnel, French Embassy to Kenya, Nairobi, October 5th 2009.
[37] UN MDGs website

will be the improvement of people's access to basic services in various sectors, such as basic education, food security, and healthcare; income generating activities or water and sanitation. The implementation of the fourth phase will enhance our bilateral co-operation towards improving the living conditions of Kenyans. The budget of the funding includes managing fees and controlling fees; also this budget shall be consumed entirely, otherwise the French government will be reducing the following year; the funds that have not been used at the time they were supposed to are lost plus entail a decrease in the next three-year financial plan. All is controlled and supervised by Paris. Financially the structure of SFD is registered within the Kenyan Government[38] and on September 25th 2009, both the French and the Kenyan governments were signing the financing agreement for 500,000 Euros towards the implementation of the fourth phase of the Social Fund for Development of the French Embassy to Kenya.

Projects in need of funding are to be dropped at the French embassy. A pre-selection is made and then a committee meets and takes a decision toward the giving of the funds or not and the way forward.[39] To avoid corruption, transactions with money are limited to the employee of the French embassy to Kenya in charge of managing the project directly to the person responsible for the project on the ground, in order to ensure that no cooperation has been established earlier. The surveyed of the results of the project conducted, are done by both Kenyans and French; French training Kenyans towards the way evaluations have to be conducted.

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[38] Interview of the French Elite, French Embassy to Kenya, Nairobi, December4th 2009.
[39] See the FSD Application Form, French Embassy to Kenya website.

With the SFD, there is no financial return *per se* but it increases the presence of the French country in the Kenyan picture, media and political arena. Politically speaking it is very positive to be widely present on the ground. The idea is to increase the French image and to ensure it is as good as possible in the eyes of the Eastern African Community. Indeed the SFD is one of the French Embassy's Cooperation and Cultural Affairs Service's major tools toward development, seeking 'to meet the direct needs of the communities but also to look for new development opportunities.[40] Therefore, it funds both small infrastructures and innovative projects, with a focus on gender, education, governance, environment and cultural heritage.'[41]

The Prioritized Solidarity Fund for the French Language: FSPF

Kenya belongs to the priority countries where a special revival plan for the French language has been implemented.[42] The FSPF was launched as a result of the research conducted by the Cooperation Attaché for the French language from September 2006 to February 2007 on both the number of students and teachers of French as well as the results of the KCSE (Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education). The results of the research were transmitted to the Minister of Education by the French Ambassador to Kenya in February 2007. Then in March 2007, the first directory on the teaching of French in Kenya was unveiled. Working sessions between senior officers from the Ministry of Education, also the Cultural and Cooperation Counsellor along the Cooperation Attaché for French and the Director of Alliance Française of Nairobi took place on a regular basis. In May 2007, the

[40] Interview of FSD Projects' personnel, French Embassy to Kenya, Nairobi, October 5th 2009.
[41] See French embassy to Kenya website, SFD projects.
[42] Interview of the SCAC Elite, French Embassy to Kenya, Nairobi, October 27th 2009.

first draft of the project leading to the FSPF funding was submitted to the Minister of Education by the French Ambassador to Kenya. After several meeting between the French and the Kenyan elites, the Kenyan minister launched the first conference of the French language in Kenya on July 12th 2007 where the public, some non-state and private actors along the Kenya Institute of Education, the Kenya National Examinations Council, the Teachers Service Commission, representatives of secondary schools, training colleges and public and private universities were present to discuss the project. In September 2007, France and Kenya signed the country framework document (DCP) that 'states in particular that Franco-Kenyan cooperation will as a priority focus on the support of the training of teachers and education specialists as well as the development of teaching resources so as to build and develop the capacities of promotion and teaching of French in terms of both quality and quantity.'[43] On the same line, the Prioritized Solidarity Fund for the French Language has been established by the ratification of a Franco-Kenyan agreement. This funding came up in 2008 and will last 4 years up to 2012; the cooperation office has budgeted 2 million Euros on four years.[44] Unlike the SFD, the FSPF funding budgeted that is not used during one year can be reported to the next year and that over the four years of its existence. Kenya has been chosen as one recipient of this special fund because the country hosts the largest Alliance Française in Sub-Saharan Africa in terms of students and that the French language is

[43] Priority Solidarity Fund for the French Language Financing Agreement, Nairobi, 2007 (see French in Kenya website for the Financing Agreement for the implementation of Project FSP No 2007-47).
[44] Interviews of FSPF personnel, Alliance Française, Nairobi, October 21st and November 27th 2009.

the most taken by pupils from secondary education. Both attest of a strong will from Kenyans to learn French.[45]

FSPF came up along the idea of human and material cooperation in order to develop the French language in Kenya. Under the umbrella of the SCAC (Cooperation and cultural actions of the French Embassy), three payments per year are made by the French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs (*MAEE: Ministère des affaires étrangères et européennes*) to the Cooperation bureau for French (*BCF: Bureau de Coopération pour le Français*). The yearly demand is 500,000 Euros since 2 million Euros on four years were agreed upon. The Cooperation bureau for French usually get less funding though. Funding is given from the French Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs to the French embassy to Kenya that wires it on the bank account of Alliance Française which has a special account for the Cooperation bureau for French, its FSPF funding and its management.[46]

The piloting committee (with the French Ambassador to Kenya) meets each six months with one representative of the Kenyan education minister, one from the Kenyan institute of education (responsible for primary and secondary schools programmes) plus manager of the fund (Cooperation Attaché for French). This is a cultural cooperation beneficial to both countries. In June 2010, the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs will be coming to audit/evaluate the progress made and the report will be followed by a continuation or a cessation of the funding.

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[45] M. Charasse, 'Aide Publique au Développement' Compte-rendu de mission en Afrique de l'Est : Ethiopie, Djibouti, Kenya, (2009), pp.79-119.
[46] Interviews of FSPF personnel, Alliance Française, Nairobi, October 21st and November 27th 2009.

The relation between SCAC and the Cooperation bureau for French which offices are in Alliance Française are based on an agreement of principles. SCAC and the Cooperation bureau for French work hand in hand; though whereas SCAC acts more on the official side, the Cooperation bureau Alliance Française is active mainly on the grounds.[47]

To get the FSPF funding, schools/institutes/universities are required to provide a resource centre which is basically a room free of charge, no rent has to be paid, security needs to be proven in exchange of some material provided by FSPF that belongs to the student and not to the school neither to the staff. That policy aims to limit corruption. Schools have to present their needs and the will to host a resource centre to the Cooperation bureau for French where an analysis and an evaluation of the institution requiring will be conducted.[48] The Cooperation bureau will not approach schools to provide the FSPF funding. The Cooperation bureau sent the information of a new funding (FSPF) for schools/universities through the meetings aforementioned and also through KATF (Kenyan Association of Teachers of French) which is a network of teachers of French in Kenya. KATF's president informed head teachers (two by province appointed by elections through teachers of French) in the provinces along universities' lecturers that are members of the association.[49]

A field investigation is conducted by the Cooperation bureau to see if the room provided by the institution matches the FSPF requirements stated earlier, also to meet the future responsible for the resource centre and consequently decide whether the

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[47] Interview of the director of FSPF and responsible for implementation, Alliance Française, Nairobi, October 21st and November 27th 2009.
[48] Email discussion with FSPF Personnel, March 2010.
[49] Interviews of FSPF personnel, Alliance Française, Nairobi, October 21st and November 27th 2009.

implementation will follow or not. Depending on what the institution needs regarding the number of students taking French, more or less material will be provided. Furniture is also included in the budget but will be provided only if the need arises. An agreement is later signed between the institution to which the equipment has been provided and the Cooperation bureau.

The initial project includes 10 schools and 5 universities/institutes. For now, three schools, two universities, one institute and two Alliance Française have been equipped. As stated earlier the fund provides the institution differently according to their needs. Kenyatta University got 10 computers while Kagumo Teachers College got one. The offer usually is made of 10 computers, keyboard, mouse, headphones, one printer, one TV and one DVD player, one interactive board, one subscription to French TV channels along books of FLE (French as a Foreign Language) and other literature books, novels, magazines and books for children.[50]

Besides the secure room the institution is required to provide, the Cooperation bureau and the FSPF funding calls for long term development and therefore wants reliable people with a good background within the French speaking academic environment to take care of the resource centre.[51]

In the Kenyan educational system,[52] French is not taught in most public primary schools and only in a few private primary schools. This project is looking at development within the governmental wings and therefore taking into consideration public institutions

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[50] See French in Kenya website for a complete list of the equipment of the eight resource centre equipped, 2009.
[51] Interview of the director of FSPF and responsible for implementation, Alliance Française, Nairobi, October 21st and November 27th 2009.
[52] French in Kenya website, French in KCSE (Cooperation bureau for French, 2009).

only. Kids in primary schools are learning English and Kiswahili, respectively the official and the national languages of Kenya but do not have the choice of another foreign language. French only appears within the secondary education curriculum. The number of student is small (though French ranks first in foreign languages taught in Kenya) and pupils are more likely to quit learning French when they join university.

At KCSE, the Kenyan public secondary education system separated the subjects into 5 groups: group 1 made of the compulsory subjects that are English, Kiswahili and Mathematics. Then group two entails science subjects that are physics, biology and chemistry, two are compulsory. Group three 'humanities' which includes history, geography, social sciences and religious education are, pupils chose one of those. Then groups four and five where the technical and cultural subjects are, French is in group five, topics are optional; pupils are to take one subject. But this latter can also be selected in group two or three leaving both group four and five with even less students. It appears easier to get higher grades in topic such as music than in French also justifying the small number of students. Also French is subject to the challenge of both Arabic especially on the Coast where the Muslim faith is ever growing and German due to the very active Goethe institute.[53]

In 2009, at the KCSE: 330,000 pupils[54] but only 2,216 taking French as shown by this graph below.

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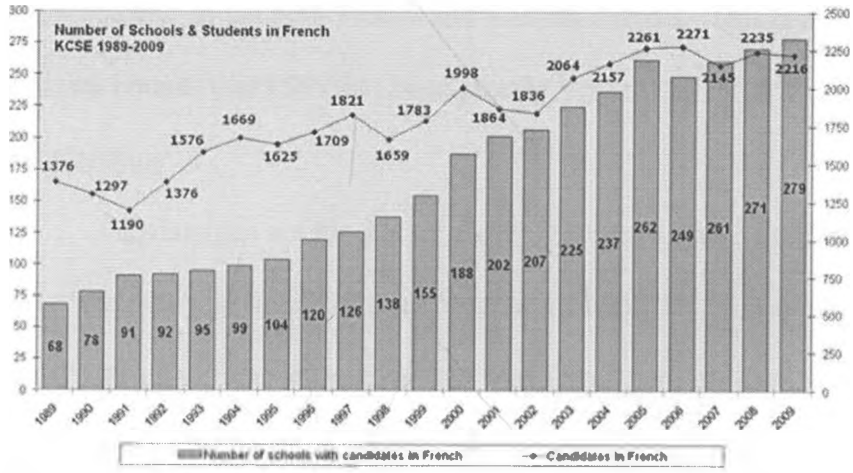
[53] Interviews of FSPF personnel, Alliance Française, Nairobi, October 21st and November 27th 2009.

[54] Daily Nation (Nairobi) website, 'KCSE results improve but girls slide' (March 2nd 2010).

Figure 4: Number of Students in French at KCSE



Source: French in Kenya website, French in KCSE, Cooperation bureau for French, 2009.

The overall goal is to increase or at least maintain the current figures by making the citizens of Kenya realize the importance of the French language within the African continent and in the world; that is also why the FSPF has been launched.

This programme worked in Ghana where resources centres and French language laboratories, have proved useful, now managed by the Ghanaian government. Kenya is benefiting from the same funding and will therefore develop the French language too.[55] Kenyatta University is developing its French department well and has started (under financial and material support of the French government) in December 2009 a MA programme in TFFL (Teaching French as a Foreign Language) in partnership with Alliance Française and a reputable university for methods of teaching French that is Stendhal University, Grenoble 3, (in South-eastern France). The partnership entails a MA programme and the teaching of certain undergraduate TFFL classes which require a particular knowledge. For now, Kenyan students remain with a Kenyan MA only (though they go to France at least once a year to

[55] Interview of FSPF Director, Alliance Française, Nairobi, November 27th 2009.

study) but the idea is to develop a strong cooperation with France that in the long term would allow students to get both French and Kenyan degrees. This is also to reinforce those existing bounds that FSPF has been created.[56]

Scholarships

Scholarships are for master and PhD students only. Funding for master candidates cover the two-year French master programme while for PhD candidates, scholarships are usually given to finance three months of research per year each year of the three-year PhD programme. The fourth year one month is paid to defend the thesis.[57] Variations occur very often since doctorate degrees are very flexible time wise. Some students will be travelling for a month instead of three while others will take more than four years to complete their degree.[58]

In 2009, all students having the scholarships offered by the French Embassy to Kenya were getting 737 Euros monthly, health insurance, no registration fees and free access to CNOUS services[59] (*Centre National des Oeuvres Universitaires et Scolaires*) social services in charge of helping towards the improvement of students' life and issues regarding their housing, scholarships, health coverage and so on. CNOUS acts under the authority of the French ministry for research and higher education and has been created by a law of April 16th 1955. Also included in the scholarship is a flight ticket from Kenya to France and back. For

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[56] Email discussion with the Director of the French Department of Kenyatta University, March 2010.
[57] Informal discussion with a PhD student on a French scholarship, Nairobi, October 8th 2009.
[58] Email discussion with French Embassy Personnel responsible for scholarships, October and November 2009.
[59] CNOUS CROUS website: Students' live services (French Ministry for Research and Higher Education, 2009).

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[59] CNOUS CROUS website: Students' live services (French Ministry for Research and Higher Education, 2009).

the SCAC, giving 737 Euros equals to a budget of 1500 Euros for a month-scholarship, the plane ticket alone also costing 1500 Euros. In that same year of 2009, the budget allocated toward scholarships is 133,800 Euros while it was 143,400 Euros in 2008; 115,400 Euros in 2007 and 81,530 Euros in 2006. This is for social sciences cooperation while the scientific cooperation has its own budget supporting small research projects; in 2009, 4750 Euros were allocated towards it, 2160 Euros in 2008, 3720 Euros in 2007 and 5980 Euros in 2006.

Food and Humanitarian Aid

The French Embassy to Kenya also provides on a need-basis food and humanitarian reliefs. Budgets provided vary according to the needs of the grounds and are therefore given case per case.[60]

Figure 5: Food Aid to Kenya for 2009 (in Euros) (1Euro=105.5928 KES)[61]

ACF US (Nutrition Supplements in the context of the North-eastern Crisis; Mandera District)	260,000 **27,454,128 KES**
PREMIERE URGENCE (Improvement of food security and access to water for the Tana River peoples)	240,000 **25,342,272 KES**
Save the Children (Conditional Distribution of fresh food products via food coupons, refugees camp- Garissa District)	650,000 **68,635,320 KES**
AFD (Improving the supply in drinking water and cleaning used waters, Nairobi)	1,500,000 **158,389,200 KES**
SOLIDARITES (Emergency supply in water for peoples of the Chalbi district (Northern Kenya) who suffered from drought.	50,000 **5,279,640 KES**
	2,700,000 **285,100,560 KES**

Source: SCAC Food and Humanitarian Aid, French Embassy to Kenya, October 2009.

The food and humanitarian aid from the French embassy to Kenya is divided into two separated budgets: one for Northern Kenya only and another one for the rest of Kenya and

[60] Interview of the SCAC Elite and Humanitarian Aid personnel, Nairobi, October 27th and November 2nd 2009.

[61] The Money Converter website (14th March 2010 at 22.56 pm East African Time)

Somalia (the second allocated budget aforementioned is out of concern in this paper since the main part of the budget goes to Somalia).

Northern Kenya is separated from the rest because it is a very needy region; usually the region that needs aid most. This is a very poor region; the Mandera district and Northern Kenya ranked among the top 10 poorest regions of the country.[62] Plus it has experienced serious droughts these last years, explaining the rise in aid from 700,000 Euros in 2007 to 1,500,000 Euros in 2008. The north of the country is mostly inhabited by nomadic peoples (pastoralists) and their herds of cattle that are their only source of revenue. Both crucially need food and water for their very survival. Only some farm in particular along the Tana River in Garissa and River Dawa in Mandera. Also lack of policy programmes toward the development of pastoralists has been argued as the main contributor to the 'general underdevelopment witnessed in the region' that leading to serious issues among communities sharing the area.[63] Therefore food and humanitarian assistances have been fluctuating from 1,800,000 Euros in 2003 to 1,200,000 Euros in 2004. In 2005, no aid was provided but it came back in 2006 with 1,500,000 Euros.

The French humanitarian relief also occurs through other departments, along the French Development Agency (AFD) with donations and loans, as well as the debt cancellation and the technical cooperation that is the French experts working for the Kenyan authorities.[64]

Military

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[62] Daily Nation (Nairobi) website, 'Revealed: The richest and poorest regions' (November 18th 2008).
[63] M. Shariff, 'North Eastern Region' PeaceNet Kenya website (Peace and Development Network, 2008).
[64] Interview of the SCAC Personnel, French Embassy to Kenya, Nairobi, October 5th 2009.

The SCAC attributes a special funding to the military mission of the French Embassy of around €15 000 yearly.[65] A military cooperation programme to promote peace has been launched under the auspices of the French Ministry of Defence and the Directorate of Military and Defence Cooperation. As one of the branches of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the French military mission in Nairobi centred its efforts on offering specific military support to Kenyan armed forces. Since October 2002, French is taught to about fifty members of the Kenyan Armed Forces School of Higher Education (AFSHE) each year. The context of this programme is the increasing number of military and peacekeeping missions led by the UN in French within francophone Africa. Also senior officers can take part of an exchange programme with high level French institutions such as the Joint Staff College and the Institute for Higher National Defence Studies in Paris.[66]

The French military forces are not present in Kenya but the military mission of the French Embassy to Kenya has set up regular exchange programmes between the French Naval Forces and their Kenyan counterparts. Also when it is feasible, young Kenyan Navy Officers are welcomed on board the French ships to train with their French colleagues at sea, missions known as 'PASSEX'. As a military entity, the French military mission in Nairobi is committed towards the maintenance of peace and security the African Union is in charge of. The current development of brigades and stand-by brigades on the entire continent of Africa and leading peacekeeping missions are both elements of peaceful diplomacy the French military mission is engaged in participating in. France is also reinforcing its partnership with

[65] Interview of the Military Mission, French Embassy to Kenya, Nairobi, November 9th 2009.
[66] Military Mission, French Embassy to Kenya ebsite.

the United Kingdom[67] and more especially in training centres the UK is running. That is why French military personnel is present in the International Peace Support Training Centre (IPSTC) in Karen, a Nairobi suburban area which is mainly supported by international forces since 2008. Also some French military personnel are deployed within the BPSP since 2007. French military officers are on mission for two years renewable for one year. They are entailed to contribute to the maintenance of peace and security and are headed up by the UN.[68]

The French Forces in Djibouti are working towards peace sustainability on the continent and more especially in the East African region. Historically, Djibouti was the last to get its independence in 1973. When decolonization occurred, the French forces remained behind and are still there. 3,000 Military personnel and constitutes the place when France has the most of its men in the whole continent of Africa. Forces in Djibouti are in collaboration with the brigades toward the maintenance of the UN motto that is preserving international peace and maintaining international security.

The budget towards the military started to be significant, at a national level, in 1998 with the creation of the Military and Defence's Cooperation's Management (*DCSD: Direction de la Coopération Militaire et de Défense*).[69] The French Foreign and European Affairs' Ministry along the Ministry of Defence are in charge of most of the military budget therefore is not much of concern in this research. The only interesting point to note is the radical jump in budget that happened since 2008 and the military attaché to IPSTC; from

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[67] Military and Defence cooperation's management, *Bilan 2008*, (French Foreign and European Affairs' Ministry, 2009)
[68] Interview of the Military Mission, French Embassy to Kenya, Nairobi, November 9th 2009.
[69] See Military and Defence cooperation's management, *Bilan 2008.*

between 55,000 and 85,000 Euros from 2002 to 2007 to a budget of 164,177 Euros in 2008 and 209,376 Euros in 2009.[70]

The French Development Agency (AFD)

The French Development Agency has been present in Kenya since 1997 following the classification of Kenya as a PSZ (Priority Solidarity Zone)[71] as a regional agency representing all five East African countries that are Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi. So far, it has spent around 500 Million Euros in Kenya. As its name supports, AFD, as a French entity, follows the French government's main policies and works in collaboration with the Kenyan government on its poverty eradication's programme. AFD usually finances with loans, projects toward development such as access to water and sanitation; electricity and roads; as well as the environment when rehabilitating Meru National Park (funded along the French Global Environment Fund). This is for the government to government negotiations.

Now on the other hand, Proparco, an affiliate programme to AFD, finances private Kenyan businesses, following the thought that developing the private sector is essential to poverty eradication.[72] At the end of 2005, AFD's cumulated commitments in Kenya stood at 212 million Euros that is 20 Billion Kenya Shillings. The level of its commitments in Kenya is approximately 73 million Euros for operations mainly consisting in banking intermediations (Barclays, NIC, I&M) in favour of SMEs.[73]

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[70] Email interview with the French Ministry of Defence's personnel, January and February 2010.
[71] See PSZ.
[72] Charasse, M. 'Aide Publique au Développement' Compte-rendu de mission en Afrique de l'Est : Ethiopie, Djibouti, Kenya, (2009), pp.79-119.
[73] AFD Website and email interview December 17th 2009.

AFD works within the Partnership Framework in which since 2006 the Kenyan government and France are willing to develop water and sanitation, infrastructure and environment. 500,000 Euros grant towards a Study and Capacity Building Fund, fund to look at potential development projects and their feasibility, along technical assistance in order to well define the needs of the three sectors within the Partnership Framework and also maybe other sectors that could for example be urban development.

The French and Kenyan governments signed on September 25th, 2009, two main financing agreements; one between the Kenyan government and the AFD for 52.5 million Euros and the other of 500,000 Euros for the implementation of the Social Fund for Development of the French Embassy.[74] Included in the 52.5 million Euros is a one-million Euro grant as a provision of technical assistance and related studies to the Ministry of Energy for three years. This is the continuation of a strong Franco-Kenyan cooperation. The 51 million Euros soft loan remaining is to complete the funding of the complementary phase of rehabilitation and extension of water and sanitation services in both Nairobi and Kisumu. The water and sanitation sector has seen AFD committing 140 million Euros in those two latter cities and Mombasa.

The AFD and the French Government are long time partners (since 1997) with Kenya especially towards the energy sector and so far 197 Million Euros have been committed by the French government in this area. Currently, AFD is financing rural electrification for 30 Million Euros, distribution upgrade for 25 Million Euros, transmission for 60 Million Euros and geothermal power generation for 20 Million Euros. France became through its

[74] See SFD.

development agency (AFD) Kenya's leading partner in the energy sector and AFD is currently the chair of the Energy sector donor coordination group.[75]

A successful example of AFD's funding towards a Kenyan agency is the restoration of Meru National Park that has been done by the French Development Agency (AFD) working in collaboration with Kenya Wildlife Society (KWS) following the proposal for funding drafted earlier by a KWS senior officer.[76] This particular project 'is exemplary due to its positive impact on Kenya's biodiversity, as well as the socio-economic development of the communities surrounding the park.'[77] The project cost 16.27 million Euros: AFD loan to the Government of Kenya for 8.2 million Euros, the French Global Environment Fund grant for 1.86 million Euros and Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) contribution for 6.21 million Euros.[78]

The park's infrastructures have been revised and electricity has been brought to the park and to communities along the road. Also the entry gates have been changed following the entire road network that has been redone outside and inside the park (on Murera gate side). The road network has been completely improved with graving on 81 kilometres, allowing even 2 wheel drive-vehicles to be driving on. Some graveling (51 kilometres) also the air strips have been remodelled, two are now made of tarmac while one is gravelled. KWS vehicles and tractors have been renewed for the most part while the decent ones got checked and are now under good and serious maintenance.[79]

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[75] French Embassy to Kenya website, section AFD.
[76] Interview of KWS Elite, Nairobi, November 17, 18 and 19th 2009.
[77] France in Kenya brochure, French Embassy to Kenya, July 2007.
[78] Email Discussion with AFD personnel, Meru Conservation Area Development Project (MCADP), November 2009.
[79] Interview of the Senior Warden, Meru National Park, November 24 and 26th 2009.

Housing for the staff has been, for the most part, constructed or refurbished. Thirty houses for four peoples in strategic areas such as near the gates, the airstrips or the park's headquarters. All houses are self-contained, so far, judged too small by the people living in. A social centre equipped with computers and internet access, and a testing and counselling centre has been created. Every bloc created is equipped with solar panel for electricity production while water is pumped from existing grounded pipes. The water network has also been revised allowing the communities of Keena, Ura, Kora, Birinada and Murera to give access to clean water. The pumping already existed but now the water is cleaned and safe to human consumption.[80]

The park was depreciated of its animals, mostly victims of poachers but they have been trans-located from other regions of Kenya along equipment for research. Elephants are now observed on an every day basis by the 60 rangers that have been trained and provided with radio equipment to avoid poaching, as rhinoceros and all endangered species. Also an electrified fence has been constructed on the western boundary of the park, in order to reduce human to wildlife conflicts and consequently to ensure the maximal animals' peace so that they can reproduce and prosper safely.[81]

Towards the communities living within the Meru Conservation Area (MCA: Meru National Park, Kora National Park, Mwingi and Meru National Reserves), eight water projects in Muringi, Tana River, Garissa within the MCA have been completed from boreholes to dams. Around the region of Garissa, pastoralists get their live stocks fed

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[80] Group Discussion, Tree Nurseries and Water Projects, Meru National Park, January 22nd 2010.

[81] Interview Meru National Park Personnel, Meru National Park and Maua, November 24 and 26th, December 29th 2009 and January 20th 2010.

following the construction of agro vet shop where they are able to find veterinary supplies funded along Meru National Park's restoration project. Five Agro forestry conservation projects such as trees and fruits' nurseries were funded, ensuring a certain reforestation on the Meru side of the park. Water projects around Isiolo and within its district, in towns such as Igremba and Taraka with water piping, boreholes and reservoir tanks.[82] Groups in the communities are mostly open groups in which each community member is welcome to join; the management of water has been often handed toward women's hands, known for their reliability when it comes to family's and on a larger scale communities' responsibilities.[83]

AFD also funded some community projects especially communities living around Meru National Park and within Meru Conservation Area. Funded projects were mainly water and tree nurseries projects; both responsible for the conservation and preservation of the environment. AFD worked with KWS' Cooperation Social Responsibility (CRS) that is managing communities' needs and wills in order to preserve the surroundings areas of Kenyan national parks. The global aim is for KWS to establish a strong collaboration and cooperation with the villagers surrounding the park to strengthen relationships and the overall security.[84] Each year, KWS has a budget toward some communities' projects and in 2007 it was reinforced by AFD funding;[85] a push toward people's lives' improvement in the line of the country's development. Under the CRS and through the community warden (responsible for capacity building with education of the villagers on the local and national wildlife, environmental management, natural resources preservation…), KWS patrols the

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[82] Interview of the Senior Warden, Meru National Park, November 24 and 26th 2009.
[83] Group Discussion, Water Projects, Piping, Meru National Park, January 22nd 2010.
[84] Interview of the Senior Warden, Meru National Park, January 22nd 2010.
[85] Interview of the Community Warden, Meru National Park, January 22nd 2010.

communities regularly and had informed them for the AFD-Meru National Park project. From their needs on the ground, communities clustered into different groups and wrote proposals of what they wanted to have funded by AFD to the Meru National Park's Community Warden (see figure below).

Figure 6: Community Based Projects around Meru National Park

	Community Based Projects	
Water project (Kiambukoro)		**Tree Nursery project**
Communities submitted their proposals to KWS but did not pay for the realization of the projects since they were financed by a loan from AFD to KWS.		
Near surroundings areas of Meru National Park: access to clean water for communities-> Ensure peace around the park -> Safety of the Park is increased	**Strategic area for KWS**	Water catchment area; KWS can control the sustainable use of the water towards the tree nursery
From 30 members in 2007 to over a hundred in 2010; both genders included.	**Group members**	20 members, women only from 2007 until now. They provided KWS with 1/2 acre of land for the tree nursery.
725,000 KES	**Budget**	347,000 KES
Clean water is now available in the village	**Positive impact**	Trees are growing well; fruits' production is increasing -> Women empowerment
Pipes too expensive for most villagers. Only five people can afford to get water into their houses	**Problem**	Seeds non available and the technical advisor is out of reach -> limit the expansion of the tree nursery
People that can afford sell water to the others; 5 KES for 20 liters	**Problem temporary solution**	Within women and despite the limited expansion, gains made out of sales are shared among the community
Villagers content because they now have access to clean water at a small fee	**Conclusion**	Women satisfied to see their 1/2 acre of land producing fruits they can sell
Responsibility: both AFD and KWS could have kept track of the project to treat the problem and should have followed more closely the proposals made by the people.		
During dry season, water does not come since it is caught from a river. The creation of a borehole is necessary.	**Further needs from the community that need to be addressed**	Women want to expand and therefore seeds have to be provided to them as well as material they need to produce.

Source: data collected from interviews conducted in Meru National Park, January 2010, by author.

On twenty four proposals, only five were selected (by KWS senior officers of the Headquarter in Nairobi) following criteria calling for environmental conservation, planting trees, and access to clean water.[86]

Towards water projects, boreholes and piping have been the two kinds of projects KWS was willing to finance. KWS acted as a manager from the selection of proposals up to the completion of the project which took almost two years; both Meru National Park and the community projects have been completed by 2007.[87] People from the grounds did not have a word to say. For tree nurseries projects, falling also this funding, KWS sent a technical advisor who taught people how to use and manage seedlings. The French ambassador to Kenya along some Kenyan officials from water and environment departments visited the grounds where projects have been implemented and signed over its termination and great accomplishment;[88] two years later, tree nurseries are really suffering and cannot expand because of missing seeds and water flows only for the wealthiest people of the village.[89]

The idea of funding was not wrong in the first instance but financing needs to lead to sustainable development and not one or two-year developments. The aid has to be efficient in the long run to ensure serious empowerment of the people leading to sustainable development. In the short run, projects are almost always successful in the sense that communities are getting for the first time access to something they need and want, that is

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[86] Group Discussion, Tree Nurseries and Water Projects, Meru National Park, January 22nd 2010.
[87] Interview of the Community Warden, Meru National Park, January 22nd 2010.
[88] Visit of Water Project, Meru-Maua, January 22nd 2010.
[89] See figure 6 (p 31) for more details

water, seedlings or anything else but then in the long run severe limitations occur limiting the development of the people and therefore of the country.[90]

4.4: Conclusion and Assessment

Figure 7: Summary of the French Aid funds to Kenya

Characteristics / Funds	Availability	Budget	Needs fulfillment	Life improvement	Problem	Control	Cooperation among people	Cooperation among nations	Overall Satisfaction
	x: small				xx: medium			xxx: significant	
FSD	xx	x	x	x	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
FSPF	xx	xx	xx	xxx	x	xx	xxx	xxx	xxx
Scholarships	x	x	xx	xxx	x	x	xxx	N/A	xx
Food and humanitarian aid	x	xxx	xx	xx	xxx	x	x	xx	xx
Military aid	x	x	xx	x	x	x	xx	xx	xx
AFD	xx	xxx	xx	xx	xx	x	x	xx	xx
Community Projects (AFD-KWS)	x	x	xx	xx	xx	x	xxx	xxx	xx

Source: by author,2010.

The French aid to Kenya, as briefly summarized in the matrix above is made of very different funds that therefore are hard to compare; while the FSD and the AFD-KWS water and tree nursery projects involve small amount of money but are working for the good of communities (often not reached by foreign aid), AFD along food and humanitarian aid entail vast expenses towards large projects. Then FSPF, the military funds and the scholarships

[90] Group Discussion Water Projects, Meru National Park, January 22nd 2010.

developed for the promotion and development of the French language in Kenya with big funding and short duration for FSPF while the military mission offers small funding but on long term and scholarships are not the main part of the budget but they have existed for long time even before Kenya's independence.

All in all and from the study conducted in this project, French aid to Kenya is helping communities at the grassroots to get access to basic survival needs that are water, seedlings, education and so on that they will not have gotten otherwise but now as figure 6 showed above, the limitation is that this funding toward development is in most cases not sustainable. Communities adapt themselves with temporary solutions, such as buying the water from another villager or sharing resources among the women group because otherwise some of the group member will not access what they all have fought for but that might not be sustained in long term threatening at the same time the development of the all country. Development takes time and foreign aid alone is no panacea to ending poverty and sustainable development but it can surely help at least on short term. The ideal situation is that after aid has come, people continue developing by themselves and this is exactly what FSPF calls for.

Kenya can develop faster than it currently does and foreign aid could facilitate. Though donors have to listen to the needs of the people with care in order to avoid waste of money with useless constructions and projects on the grounds have to be seriously tracked. Ultimately, members of the communities will get to be working hands in hands with donor agencies towards meaningful foreign aid leading to a great and sustainable pan-Africanism.[91]

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[91] G., Martin 'Africa and the Ideology of Eurafrica: Neo-Colonialism or Pan-Africanism?' *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 221-238.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS

Foreign aid is subject to heated debates in terms of whether it has positive impacts on development and developing countries citizens' well being or not. On the one hand, there is the view that although foreign assistance to developing countries including Kenya has risen in the recent past, poverty levels in these countries has not fallen commensurately. This view has led to questioning the effectiveness of foreign assistance on its intended objectives of improving income growth, employment creation and poverty reduction. On the other hand, there is the view that foreign aid, especially the multilateral kind, has been sometimes remarkably successful. There seems to be a general consensus though that aid helps economic development only in countries that have sound institutions. Nevertheless, this conclusion is still quite controversial and is far from being settled.

Since the creation of the concept of foreign aid as it is today following the Marshall Plan idea of the early 1950s, foreign aid opponents have multiplied; indeed poor results on the ground led scholars from all over the world to argue that flows do not help the way they should and that there are other ways for Africa. Scholars and citizens appear to be tired of promises towards Africa; promises that are finally not reaching the people where the needs are. For that reason, alternative solutions to aid have been advanced. Ideas include removing trade barriers, tariffs to make trade fair in favour of all and not only the developed world. Trade alone would not be a panacea to poverty but one possible way out among an overhaul of African institutions with more transparency. The list of eventualities is long and was not the main concern in this study.

Majewski says 'while foreign aid is a political success, it is an economic and social failure;'[92] while in politics, leaders are being enriched with foreign aid flows, citizens are suffering from poverty still. Socially and economically, improvements are slow to appear. The west is calling for good governance and democracy for all, this 'one-size-fits-all' democracy western style which surely will never encounter needs of the developing world. Foreign aid flows will not stop anytime soon but they need to be flowing in a surer way to reach its target: people on the ground and not simply enriching the political elite. Also Africa on its part has to improve its institutions in order to ensure more transparency, accountability and political stability.

Part of this study reviewed European Aid to Africa and revealed unsatisfactory aid programmes; the European Union is a recent institution, born in 1992 initially with 15 member states, and currently it has expanded to 27-members. Its organization is not so efficient and as previously mentioned member states' national interests are in conflict with supranational motives of the EU, resulting in unclear goals and actions. Another criticism levelled against is that the European Commission and its blurred policies engages in talks at the European Parliament that last long but they do not provide clear responses to problems.[93] Concomitantly, foreign aid critics argue that the European Union's development aid needs to be rethought because it clearly suffers from a lack of coherence. Some of the critical challenges in the EU's development assistance faces include the definition of its political purpose, operational strategies, management arrangements and institutional structures.

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[92] J., Majewski, 'Third World Development: Foreign Aid or Free Trade? Foundation for Economic Education, Vo. 37, No. 7 (1987).

[93] Discussion with the French Elite, French Embassy to Kenya, Nairobi, December 4th 2009.

Additionally, many foreign aid critics view EU's assistance as a new sort of imperialism bent on promoting unfettered capitalism at the expense of the masses.

Actions on efficiency and effectiveness of foreign aid are more likely to come soon since China is threatening to dismantle the US and the EU supremacies on the African continent. Clearly, China's trade and investment in Africa is substantial, boosting growth rates on the continent and spurring much-needed infrastructure improvements. This phenomenon has caused many donor nations to re-examine their positions. Reactions are coming in form of more flows towards Africa with the 'big push' action. Indeed the EU is not likely to be left behind in the aid business. In the first place, its member countries were among the first donors to Africa.[94]

France, a founding member of the EU, is become an increasingly important player in Kenya's economic development. As such the focus of this study was French aid to Kenya, highlighting the main components of relations between a developed and a developing country. While aid flows have been vividly criticized as ineffective and that they fuel for corruption, it seems it has a positive impact on certain groups of people in Kenya. Foreign aid to Kenya is surely not all a loss.

In fact, the focus here was foreign aid to Africa and more especially from France to Kenya to see what flows are really doing on Kenyans' well being and also what are expected from them. France is a developed country whose presence in Kenya is not so large. Surely the absence of a colonial history between the two countries and the difference in languages are nowadays helping Kenya and France to bridge with one another. Indeed, France has a

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[94] D., Kohnert 'EU-African Economic Relations: Continuing Dominance, Traded for Aid?' (GIGA - German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Institute of African Affairs, 2008).

will of French language expansion and Kenya does not fear French imposition since there is no history, no heavy past shared.

Visits of French funded sites taught lessons of what can be done in better ways along what has already been accomplished well. Interestingly enough, people were satisfied of funded projects that were water projects with creation of boreholes and piping into the villages and also tree nurseries in shambas. Water is flowing towards the villagers and trees are flourishing for the most part. Discussions with villagers and projects' managers showed where strengths and weaknesses were in both cases and also what could be done in order to improve the new situation. People were satisfied with access to seeds and water they did not have before and they could not have had without any aid. On this hand, aid has fulfilled its aim. But the problem is that pipes for water are so expensive that most villagers cannot afford them while seeds are missing to expend tree nurseries. There is no tracking process post-implementation and completion of the projects. And this constitutes one major problem of aid-financed programmes as Easterly says 'Africa's (only) true saviours are the peoples of Africa and those who would help them in their task must also be accountable to them.'[95]

Indeed there are ways of providing foreign aid efficiently and stopping completely the aid shall not be the way forward. Prof. Yunus[96] talks of a world without poverty while Dr. Stiglitz often says that 'another world is possible, necessary and inevitable;'[97] this paper agrees foreign aid has not completed its job of poverty alleviation but that cutting the aid cordon now is not getaway either. As the case study illustrated, aid is not useless; it is just

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[95] W. Easterly, *'The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good'* (Penguin Press, 2005).
[96] M. Yunus, *Banker to the Poor: Micro-Lending and the Battle against World Poverty* (Public Affairs, 1999).
[97] J. E. Stiglitz, Making Globalization Work (W.W. Norton & Co., 2006).

not followed up properly and ensured its long term persistence. Projects are too much focused on short term effects with no care for a development that will last and is maintained sustainably. And that also takes part of the non-efficiency of the aid. Sustainable development is what needs developing countries in order to ensure their development in a long lasting manner. Foreign aid has also to flow this way. Criticizing and blaming the west for not doing right is not currently helping towards changes and improvements in the way aid is provided.

Western governments have their roles to play in consultation with African governments. But then in the long term perspective, the west should not be intervening anymore; as the FSPF discussed earlier in the Chapter Four of this study explains. There is aid in the first instances, and then the development is made by Kenyans and French working hand in hand. Later, the French leave and Kenyans alone take the relay to finally land themselves on an equal level to the French earning the same master degree. Development takes time and there is a need for understanding that foreign aid is not the solution to poverty; it can help but surely providing money to countries, that it is more or less cash flows, will not lift them and developed them over night.

Foreign aid theories have not changed much over time; they have evolved towards more cooperation and care of real needs of the ground. The leaders of the 21st century are aware of the errors of the past and shall therefore direct policies otherwise. There is a real need of understanding what people need and how to make them develop sustainably. African examples such as the case of Botswana show foreign aid can help and that it has to all over the continent.

It is possible to change as American president Barack Obama says 'aid is not an end in itself. The purpose of foreign assistance must be creating the conditions where it is no longer needed.'[98] This is the new strategy of how foreign aid has to be provided; examples of French aid in Kenya and more especially FSPF along AFD's partnerships with Kenyan enterprises are good examples.

Foreign aid shall be a first hand tool for needy governments as can be humanitarian aid in case of crisis but should not be a large portion of a country's income. It has to be reasonably provided and controlled over long period of times; controlled by citizens of the recipient countries along their donors' counterparts. The long term development has to happen within the country itself and by its people to ensure its sustainability.

[98] The Government of America website: Obama Today.

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Sample Questionnaires

Sample questionnaire for interviews

1. -Who are you? And what are in charge of?
2. -Who are you financing? And why?
3. -What is your annual budget?
4. -How do you decide which project to finance? Why? Which priorities are considered in the financing? What are the underlying motives?
5. -How much do you get from the French Embassy/French Ministry of Foreign Affairs?
6. -How does the funding work? Who is receiving the money and how is it managed?
7. -What is the goal of the fund?
8. Is the funding increasing or decreasing with time?

9. -What do the funding rely on? Is it more or less depending on the French government's willingness or Kenya has its word to say?
10. -How much are the Kenyans, as people, involved?
11. -Can we talk of 'cooperation'? And is yes, how so?
12. -Are the projects, once financed and completed, followed up by the aid donor?
13. -Which are the parameters that are most likely to help the project succeed/failed?
14. -Besides giving you your job, what do you think of foreign aid? Is it successful or not? Give explanation and examples please.

Thank You for your time, collaboration and insights.

Sample questionnaire for the French Elite (leaders of the French Embassy to Kenya)

1. What are the trends of the French foreign aid over time?
2. Data clearly show France give more aid to its former colony but Kenya is receiving more since 2007; what has made Kenya a prioritized zone for French aid?
3. What are the criteria France follows for its foreign aid?
4. Why the French language matters that much?
5. What about the French aid through the European Union? Is France's lobbying power strong? Are French interests at stake?
6. What are French interests on Kenyan grounds?
7. Is the French presence significant? Expanding? What are the factors?
8. What are your overall objectives?
9. Globally, what are the conclusions of the French aid so far?

Thank you for your time and your help.