

Sino-African relations and ODA in the 21st century

An analysis of the connection between Chinese aid and
public expenditure in education and health sectors of Sub-
Saharan African nations

Matilda Dunfjäll

Abstract

This thesis investigates the relationship between Chinese aid and public expenditure in human development sectors in African nations. This is achieved through analysing the change of public expenditure in the education and health sectors of the top two African recipients of Chinese ODA – Ethiopia and Cote d'Ivoire, with an extended analysis to an additional five nations. Through a comparative analysis this thesis investigates if a direct connection between public expenditure in the health and education and Chinese aid can be established and the implication of this phenomenon in the larger international aid system.

The study discovers an overall pattern of increased public health and education expenditure in African nations after the influx of Chinese ODA, however a direct connection between the two cannot be established. The study discovered that public health and education expenditure increased by larger percentages in nations with previously established ambitions and goals of poverty reduction and human development, indicating that the surge of Chinese aid may have contributed to increased fiscal autonomy in the African aid recipients, providing more freedom to increase expenditure in already prioritized sectors. The result of this analysis hence contravenes the narrative of Chinese aid hindering African human development.

Key words: China; Africa; public expenditure; development aid; south-south cooperation

Words: 19995

Abbreviations and Acronyms

AU	African Union
EPRDF	Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front
FOCAC	Forum on China-Africa Cooperation
HDI	Human Development Index
IR	International Relations
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OOF	Other Official Flows
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
SDPRP	Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program
SSC	South-South Cooperation
WHO	World Health Organization

Table of contents

1	Introduction and research question	3
1.1	Introduction	3
1.1.1	Research question.....	5
1.2	Preliminary argument and hypotheses	5
1.3	Theoretical and practical contributions	6
1.4	Thesis structure	7
2	Research design.....	8
2.1	Methodology	8
2.1.1	Comparative case study.....	11
2.2	Theoretical perspectives	12
2.2.1	Liberalism.....	13
2.2.2	Neorealism	14
2.3	Material	14
2.3.1	Data	15
2.4	Previous research.....	16
3	Chinese aid and development cooperation	19
3.1	Development aid in transformation.....	19
3.2	The history of Chinese aid in Africa and the Chinese ODA model.....	20
3.2.1	Chinese aid and the non-interference policy	21
3.3	The ongoing debate surrounding Chinese aid	23
4	Analysis.....	26
4.1	Comparative case evidence	28
4.2	Ethiopia: Chinese aid complementing a history of poverty reduction efforts	33

4.3	Cote d'Ivoire: Balancing Chinese aid in an era of political insecurity	40
4.4	Case extension.....	47
4.5	Chinese ODA and connections to human development in the international system	61
5	Conclusions.....	66
6	References.....	70
7	Appendix.....	78
7.1	Data on other variables.....	78
7.2	Data on public expenditure, period 1995-2014.....	79
7.3	Data on Chinese ODA to Sub-Saharan African states, period 2000-2014.....	80

1 Introduction and research question

The introductory chapter presents the topic of the thesis and aim of the analysis. This chapter also defines the chosen research questions, hypotheses and preliminary arguments as well as potential practical and theoretical contributions of the thesis.

1.1 Introduction

Development aid has traditionally split the world into developing and developed states, aid donors and aid receivers. However, since the beginning of the 21st century, states that in the past were defined as receivers of development aid has now begun distributing large amounts of development assistance themselves. Interestingly, development cooperation in the global south is emerging differently than “traditional” north-south development aid, shaping new forms of aid and development. The term south-south cooperation (SSC) is used for categorizing development assistance between two states within the global south. Spearheading current SSC are relations between China and several African nations, which in later years has developed strong bonds economically, politically and socially (Meibo & Peiqiang 2012).

Reactions to the increased importance of SSC and China-Africa relations has been varied. Many western scholars and politicians argue that Chinese aid primarily benefits China and is overly focused on economic growth and resource extraction while overlooking the humanitarian aspect of development aid. China in particular has taken a stance of non-interference in aid distribution which many western actors argues is not helping further humanitarian efforts, even going as far as to state that Chinese non-interference aid is hindering western aid from being successful. Others argue that Chinese aid and south-south cooperation is a

growing alternative to western domination within the aid system and may be a successful addition or substitute to western-led aid and development (Muhr 2016).

This thesis analyzes the relationship between increased Chinese aid in Sub-Saharan African nations and human development in recipient nations. The aim is to increase understanding of how Chinese aid affects recipient nations on the African continent in areas related to human development. The thesis hence examines if Chinese aid has contributed to increased public expenditure and in areas of human development within the largest African recipients of Chinese aid. It also analyzes the contribution of Chinese aid within human development against the larger backdrop of the current international system, especially in regard to the debate surrounding increasing China-Africa relations and the so called “rise of the global south”. Is there a relationship between Chinese aid and public healthcare/education expenditure and if so, what is it? What implications does this have in the larger context of both development aid, south-south cooperation and the international system?

This thesis is a comparative case study, aimed at analyzing the relationship between Chinese aid and human development in African aid recipients. This will be executed through examining public expenditure in the healthcare and education sectors. The analysis will be focusing on the two largest recipients of Chinese aid on the African continent – Ethiopia and Cote d’Ivoire, with an extended analysis of Cameroon, Ghana, Nigeria, Tanzania and Zimbabwe. The thesis will look at the connection between aid and public expenditure in these seven nations, then discuss the findings in the larger context of the changing international landscape of international aid and relations.

1.1.1 Research question

Based in the above chosen topic and motivations, the research question and sub-questions of this thesis are:

- **Has the large influx of Chinese aid in Africa affected public expenditure in the education and health sectors in the top two African recipient nations?**
 - In what way has Chinese ODA affected public education and health expenditure in top African recipient nations?
 - What implications does the relationship between Chinese aid and education and health expenditure in African recipient nations have for the current international aid system?

1.2 Preliminary argument and hypotheses

The increased importance of Chinese aid in African nations deserves to be researched more thoroughly, both in regard to the recipient nations and on an international system level, especially as the debate on this topic has been very differing in opinions and China-Africa relations is still a controversial issue in current IR discourse.

The hypothesis tested in this thesis will be that Chinese aid does have an effect on public expenditure in its African cooperation partners, even though the connection may be vague. The main argument is that as Chinese aid provide recipient nations with increasing amount of aid, the larger amount of money available to these nations naturally lead to more government spending, which should affect the education and health sectors to a certain extent. The hypothesis is based in the notion that with increasing growth of Chinese aid in African nations their public expenditure has increased, even in sectors that China has been criticized for not caring much about; human development-focused areas like as healthcare and education. The aim is also to investigate how much of Chinese aid provided to African nations goes into the health and education sectors to

understand if there could be a more direct relationship between the aid and public expenditure.

On the international level, if Chinese aid indeed positively influences human development which historically has been championed by western nations, south-south cooperation could be a major opportunity for nations of the global south to continue to develop with less assistance from western nations. Chinese aid and south-south cooperation could then become a threat to northern traditional aid practices and to the traditionally western-ruled international system.

The hypotheses of this thesis are hence:

- As Chinese aid has increased in its African cooperation partners, so has public expenditure in the health and education sectors.
- A similar pattern of increased public expenditure in the health and education sectors can be observed in African nations which receive a large amount of Chinese ODA.

1.3 Theoretical and practical contributions

As the expansion of China-Africa relations and south-south cooperation is still in its infancy and steadily growing, it has yet to be explored thoroughly within academia and current research is overall insufficient considering the importance and scope of the topic. This thesis could add to the current debate and literature regarding China-Africa relations, south-south cooperation and the transforming landscape of development aid. There is no current research analyzing the relationship between Chinese aid and public expenditure in health and education, giving this thesis the opportunity to fill in a small gap in the existing academic literature on China-Africa relations.

There is a theoretical and practical worth in this research paper whether or not the hypotheses would prove to be true. If the hypotheses are proven correct, this thesis would be of interest as the current debate on Chinese aid argue that Chinese aid not being “humanitarian” enough and is simply being focused on Chinese economic growth. If the hypotheses are proven false, it would still be an

interesting addition to the debate, concluding that Chinese development aid indeed does not have a large effect in the areas of human development.

1.4 Thesis structure

This thesis will be structured in the following manner: firstly, a chapter on research design will be presented, including information on methodology, theoretical perspectives and material used in the thesis. A literature review on relevant texts related to the thesis subject matter will follow. The third chapter is comprised of background information, which will explore the concepts and historical origins of development aid and the Chinese aid model, as well as presenting the different parties in the divisive debate surrounding the topic. The following chapter will consist of the comparative case study, extended case study as well as presenting the analyzed data and its findings. The last chapter consists of the conclusions of the paper, followed by chapters containing references and appendixes containing additional data.

2 Research design

This chapter presents in-depth information of the research design utilized in the thesis, presenting methodology, theoretical perspectives, data and previous research respectively.

2.1 Methodology

Based on above discussion on the relationship between China and Africa, this paper will be researching the effects of Chinese aid on human development spending in African nations by conducting a qualitative comparative case study on the nations of Ethiopia and Cote d'Ivoire, the top two African receivers of Chinese aid. The analysis looks closer at the relationship between Chinese aid and public expenditure in the healthcare and education sectors in Sub-Saharan African nations receiving a large amount of aid from China. Macroeconomic profiles of public expenditure of the chosen African states will be established using statistics to understand if there has been a substantial change before and after Chinese aid increased. As Chinese aid has been on a rapid increase since the middle of the 2000s, profiles can be established limited to the time periods before and after the influx of Chinese aid. These numbers and profiles will then be compared to each other, test the hypothesis and answer the research questions.

The dependent/independent variables in this thesis will hence be:

- Dependent variable: public expenditure in health and education sectors in the Sub-Saharan African nations receiving the largest amount of aid from China.
- Independent variable: Chinese aid.

The analysis consists of different parts, the main part being a qualitative comparative case study on the relationship between Chinese aid and public health and education expenditure in Ethiopia and Cote d'Ivoire. The analysis is followed by an extended analysis of five other African states, in order to establish larger

patterns of the effects of Chinese aid on education and health public expenditure. As the main comparative case study will be of two individual nations the results cannot be generalized, but through the extended analysis patterns in the continent overall can be established. The motivation for choosing Ethiopia and Cote d'Ivoire in particular is that they have been the receivers of the largest amount of Chinese aid in Sub-Saharan Africa (spanning the period between the years 2000-2014), and hence should have the largest connection between Chinese aid and government actions and priorities on a national level. Cote D'Ivoire has received \$4.0 billion in ODA since 2000, and Ethiopia \$3.7 billion (Aiddata 2017). As this thesis is limited in scope, prioritization of nations to analyze was a necessity in order to make more in-depth observations, which is why two nations in depth were chosen for the more in-depth comparative case study. Any attempt at a deeper investigation of more nations would end up shallow in the amount of space available to a master's thesis. The comparative case study will be based on descriptive statistics on public expenditure and aid. Another part of the analysis consists of analyzing the findings from the comparative case study from two chosen theoretical viewpoints, which will provide a larger, more international perspective. As for the extended analysis, the states chosen are the other 5 African nations on the official list of China's top 10 ODA recipients, namely Zimbabwe (\$3.6bil), Cameroon (\$3.4bil), Nigeria (\$3.1bil), Tanzania (\$3.0bil) and Ghana (\$2.5bil) (Aiddata 2017). These five nations are included merely as an extended analysis in order to conduct some broader generalizations and to observe if the results discovered in the comparative case study are reflected in the region overall. The reasoning behind the extended analysis is that the thesis is too restricted a space to conduct a thorough analysis on all seven nations, but with an extended analysis the results can be more generalizable. All different nations analysed - Cote D'Ivoire, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Ghana, Nigeria and Zimbabwe - are all different in both geographical location, demography and size/shape of economy and industry, despite being the largest Sub-Saharan African recipients of Chinese aid which makes them interesting subjects of analysis.

The motivation for choosing to analyze public expenditure is based in the desire to understand the connection between Chinese aid and its effect on government prioritization of human development. Public expenditure is a good

indicator of how the government chooses to spend their money, and in extension which sectors are being prioritized by the government. As for the motivation of researching public expenditure as opposed to other factors directly correlating to the success of development aid: the aim of this paper is not to understand how successful human development aid has been, but rather the effect Chinese aid has had on government prioritization in recipient nations. The effectiveness of the public expenditure and aid projects is hence not relevant for this study and will not be taken into consideration.

The motivation for choosing the education and healthcare sectors in particular is that they are both widely recognized bottlenecks of human development. As the thesis does not have the space or capacity to look at all human development factors, prioritization of the sectors considered to be the most relevant was necessary. Education and health have been used as indicators of measuring human development by other researchers as well. The UN HDI which is widely used and recognized as a respectable tool to measure human development is based on three different categories: health, education and standard of living (UNDP 2017). While public expenditure on standard of living is harder to measure, health and education are more straight-forward and easier to analyze, they also have better statistics available.

The aim of this thesis is not to merely prove a direct correlation between Chinese aid and public education and health expenditure in recipient nations, nor is it to merely prove causation. Proving that Chinese aid is the direct cause of change in public expenditure is extremely difficult. When investigating sociopolitical phenomena correlation and causation are very difficult to establish, as there are numerous different factors affecting the phenomena (Ragin 1987). The aim of the thesis is to analyze the relationship between increased Chinese aid in Sub-Saharan Africa and the priorities of the recipient government nations in regard to human development (through education and health). The descriptive statistics are merely a basis for further analysis and discussion on the relationship between Chinese aid, African nations and human development, as well as the larger international implications of SSC and non-interference aid in the international system at large.

When studying a global phenomenon, it is also of importance to investigate the discussion in academia and politics surrounding China-Africa

relations and SSC, as the debate is vital in understanding Chinese Aid from an international perspective. Many western institutions have been arguing that Chinese aid in particular is not concerned with human development but is solely focused on economic growth and resource extraction, a neo-imperialist venture which in the long run will leave African nations resource-depleted and underdeveloped. It is also argued that since Chinese aid has a non-interference policy while western aid is conditional and demands democratization or human development in return for aid or loans, recipients of Chinese aid will ignore human development and through the lack of demands by China human rights violations in African nations will increase. Another argument is that Chinese aid is provided to non-democratic rulers or to states with high corruption, legitimizing these practices (Bond 2016). The second part of the analysis hence consists of an analysis of the results generated in the comparative case study from a more international perspective, analyzing the implications of China-Africa relations in the current international climate. As China is taking up more space and increases influence in other nations in the global south, how is Chinese aid changing the current world order? This analysis will be conducted from liberalist and realist theoretical perspectives to increase understanding of the different sides of the debate as well as economic and power relations on an international scale. Utilizing these two very different theories as a base for discussion provides more nuanced perspectives on the China-Africa debate.

2.1.1 Comparative case study

As explained above, this thesis mainly consists of a *qualitative comparative case study*. Comparative case studies involve analysis of similarities, differences or overall patterns between two or more cases sharing a common feature. Comparative case studies are overall suitable for creating generalizations on a broader level (Goodrick 2014). This thesis is based on Gerring's (2011) definition of a case study. Gerring argues that a case may be created out of anything, as long as it has identifiable boundaries and comprises the primary object of an interference. A case study is an in-depth study of one or more cases in order to increase understanding a larger collection of similar cases. The

methodology of case studies has long been associated with the academic field of political science and comparative politics and is regarded appropriate to understand political and economic phenomena. However, a case study is a broad term, and can mean a variety of different implications in regard to data and methodology utilized (Gerring 2011). A comparative case study compares different cases with a common variable with the aim to establish similarities, differences and patterns across several cases, giving a multifaceted analysis of a phenomena (Goodrick 2014, Baxter & Jack 2008). Although comparative case studies are generally seen as good for understanding political patterns and for testing existing hypotheses, the methodology has some negative aspects as well. The main issue is that a comparative case study will have to sacrifice depth over breadth. Analyzing more than one case requires sacrificing the depth achievable through only focusing on a single case (Gerring 2011, Ragin 1987).

This thesis cases consists of the clearly identifiable phenomenon of public spending on healthcare and education in spatially defined nations, defined by the time periods before/after the influx of Chinese ODA.

2.2 Theoretical perspectives

Although this paper is not heavily theory-dependent, theoretical perspectives will be used in the analysis portion of the thesis to provide frameworks of understanding the topic from different points of view. As qualitative research needs to be conducted on the basis of an already established theoretical framework, the analysis is based on two different theoretical perspectives: neorealism and liberalism.

The motivation for the choice of theoretical perspectives is that they are two classic IR theories that vastly differ in nature but are both applicable on the topic at hand, with the ability of providing two different perspectives of the phenomena. Through these two theoretical perspectives the analysis is more multi-dimensional in its approach to how Chinese Aid contributes to both the

prioritization of human development in aid recipients, but also in the international system at large.

2.2.1 Liberalism

Liberalism is one of the most prevalent theoretical perspectives utilized in IR, and is well suited for analyzing economic connections and relationships between nations, both between specific nations as well as on a larger scale within the international system.

Liberalist theory is rooted in the main argument that increasing trade and overall connections between nations will lead to a more peaceful state on the international level, as increased interdependence and connections between states means that the states has more to lose in a conflict when these relations are broken. Liberalist theory emphasizes the importance of interdependence through growing markets and economic development to naturally increase human connection across the planet, stating that the increase in economic power of one actor do not have to equate the downfall of another. In short – liberalism proposes that market forces will bring prosperity and development (Scholte 2005). Liberalist theory argues that increased interdependence overall lead to more trade and economic benefits for all involved (Kiely 2015). While other theories such as neorealism are more focused on the power struggle between nations, the liberalist school of thought has always been more focused (and hopeful) about the concept of cooperation between nations. Liberalism conceive states as rational actors, making decisions on their own preference and possibility of gains and development. Cooperation can hence occur when both nations have something to gain, and they perceive the trade at least somewhat fair. Therefore, the concept of south-south cooperation in liberalist theory is perfectly natural – as long as states of the global south see more to gain in cooperation, the relationship between states of the global south will continue to grow stronger (Jules et al 2008).

2.2.2 Neorealism

Realism is one of the most prominent theories within IR, with a main focus on power dynamics within the international system. Neorealism, developed from the realist school of thought, is inherently a theory of power relations between nations within the international system, the main argument being that the international system is in a state of anarchy as it lacks authority on an international level. As a result of the international anarchy the actors within the international system hence has to rely on power, primarily military but also economic, and power displays in order to establish relations with other nations and claim a place within the system. As the primary goal of nations is to gain power and authority within the international system, the result is a constant power struggle between international actors (Waltz 1990, Scholte 2005). Realism is a classic theoretical perspective for discussing power structures on an international level and is well suited perspective to balance the liberalist view and its understanding of how the international system is working. It is also well suited to discuss how the influence of Chinese aid can affect the international system, making it a good theoretical perspective for discussions of power relations within the sphere of development aid and the “rise of the global south” through connections and influence between China and Africa. Neorealist theory provide means to view sociopolitical phenomena and struggles within the international system through analyzing power, relationships and alliances between different actors. Neorealism is also utilized by many scholars discussing power struggles within the global south and current global system (Milhorance 2017, Cui 2016).

2.3 Material

The material used as a basis for the analysis is primarily primary data, including datasets on Chinese aid and health and education public expenditure and reports from various state actors and international organizations. The data used has been scrutinized to assure it coming from legitimate sources, which is vital in order to draw proper conclusions.

2.3.1 Data

The three main datasets used in this thesis are: one dataset on Chinese aid to foreign nations, one set on public health expenditure and lastly another dataset on public education expenditure. The data on public expenditure in both the education and health sectors were retrieved from the World Bank database, using their calculations on both datasets for cohesion. The original dataset for health expenditure is from the World Health Organization WHO expenditure database, and the education statistics are originally from the UNESCO institute for statistics. The statistics available for these nations are not consistent and often sporadic, and as a result this thesis is constrained to using the statistics available. Statistics on public expenditure are generally unavailable until 1995 and onwards, as a result this thesis will be based on the statistics 9 years before the rapid expansion of Chinese aid (2004), to 10 years after, the period 1995-2014.

The data on Chinese aid in African nations used in this thesis comes from a dataset from Aiddata, this dataset being the most comprehensive dataset available on Chinese aid to other nations available today. As the Chinese government does not publicize ODA data, Aiddata utilizes all possible information available to put together this dataset. Both Aiddata and the World Bank data are reliable sources, making the conclusions more legitimate. As Aiddata have tracked projects in the time period 2000-2014, these are the years which will be analyzed in regard to the expansion of Chinese aid. In conclusion: as there are limited statistics available in regard to both public expenditure and Chinese aid projects, this analysis is hence adapted to and limited by the statistics available. The year 2004 is established as the point of increased Chinese aid, a time frame established by adhering to academics such as Cheng et al. (2012), and through looking at the statistics from Aiddata (2017), confirming that the period surrounding the year 2004 is when Chinese aid to African nations started rapidly increasing.

Another matter of importance is that the thesis only analyzes the development projects classified by Aiddata as only ODA, as ODA defines aid in the strictest sense of the word. Which projects counts as ODA in the dataset is defined according to the OECD rules on what constitutes aid (Dreher et al 2017). As for the calculation of monetary USD values of aid projects, the monetary measurement used is according to USD 2014 values. This monetary value is used

for consistency, as it is the same measurement used in Aiddata's official numbers on China in their own reports (Aiddata.org 2017). Unfortunately as no official data from the Chinese government on ODA has been released, the dataset used in this study can hence only cover what has been discovered or presented officially. There may be other ODA projects that has not been officially announced that this dataset has not registered, and hence cannot cover. Therefore, there is inevitably some errors in the dataset. However, as this dataset is the best source available when tracking Chinese aid, it is the best option to use for the thesis analysis (Dreher et al 2017).

A matter which also is important to reflect upon is that when trying to establish a connection between two different political/social/economic phenomena, there are numerous different variables involved, making it difficult to distinguish causality and correlation. Ragin (1987) described it as "causal complexity", that the effect or outcome of one variable can depend on which other variables are present, or that an outcome stems from numerous combinations of different conditions (Ragin 1987). Naturally several other variables other than Chinese aid does factor into the public expenditure in recipient nations, but there is no way to establish them all in a paper like this. In the appendix some other data and variables are included which may be interesting to the debate, but they will not be discussed at length in the paper itself.

2.4 Previous research

In this section, some of the more important academic literature utilized in this thesis will be presented. The literature is all connected to China-Africa relations, aid and the changing landscape of IR today. As the space in this thesis is limited, only a few texts used will be highlighted.

The main piece of literature used as a basis for the thesis is the article "*Banking unconditionally: the political economy of Chinese finance in Latin America*" by Stephen Kaplan (2016). This article is a study which has provided much inspiration for the structure and method of this thesis. Kaplan analyzes Chinas lending position in Latin American nations, arguing that Chinas increasing

position as an international lender of large amounts of capital has enhanced developing governments fiscal autonomy. Kaplan bases his analysis and conclusions on a comparative case study of Brazil and Argentina with an extended analysis of Venezuela and Ecuador, as they are all prominent lenders of Chinese capital. Kaplan uses his comparative case study as a basis for examining the neoliberal world system, looking at globalization through the lens of fiscal policy. Kaplan argues that this type of study, analyzing how governments are choosing to spend the money received from China, provides insight on China as an actor within Latin America in the field of political economy. Kaplan splits the influence of Chinese capital on two levels: the international level, where China is a new investor, leader and aid provider, and the domestic level: where Chinese capital directly affects the sectors where governments choose to spend it. On the international level, this can explain how the international shifting economic power of increased Chinese influence can affect national policy choices as well as explaining the advancing position of China in IR. In summary, Kaplan does a comparative case study of fiscal policy changes in the wake of increasing Chinese investments. He argues that Chinese money increases the fiscal autonomy of the receivers, giving them more money to complete their own governmental objectives, whether it be development or corruption. Through understanding the way governments choose to spend Chinese capital, we can understand Chinas position both as an influence in national economics and development but also as a larger force in the international system and as an alternative or threat to the west (Kaplan 2016). Kaplans paper is in line with what this thesis examines, namely if the governments are choosing to spend Chinese money in human development and if so, what effects this may have in a larger context. Kaplans argument of Chinas position in the larger international context being dependent on aid recipient's fiscal policies is also highly relevant to the discussions in this paper.

Other academic research on the topic of C-A relations is mainly literature on differing perspectives and analyses on increasing China-Africa relations, especially in regard to development aid, as well as more general descriptive literature on China-Africa relations. As for literature on the debate surrounding the topic, research like Parks & Strange (2014) outlines the international debate on China-Africa relations, confirming that the West and China takes very different approaches to development aid, and highlights that the Beijing model has been

called self-interested and driven more by commercial than by altruistic motives. The debate on the topic is divided, with mainly westerners arguing that it is a threat to the current world order and mostly a means for China to exploit natural resources, while others from the South argues that SSC is a good alternative to the mainly western-run current world order, and is a means for southern nations to rise in importance on the international arena without interference from western states. Other texts on the same topic are Gray & Gills (2015), whose article pays special attention to the divide in the debate between those who think that SSC has the potential to become an economic liberation from northern domination, while others, mainly westerners, has painted SSC as more of a threat to the existing world order. The article also discusses the place of SSC within the existing paradigm of international politics and our current western development system. Similarly, texts like Changsong, & Jing (2016) and Cheng & Lien (2012) are analyses which maps out the history as well as current relationships between China and the African continent, while speculating on possible influence of China in the coming decades, arguing that the west is likely to perceive China a threat. Milhorance and Soule-Kohndou (2017) mentions the difference between north/south narratives and the somewhat hostile approach of the global north to developing nations when they seek to establish themselves and create partnerships globally as a part of international development which may only encourage nations of the global south to further increase SSC.

3 Chinese aid and development cooperation

This chapter attempts to map out a brief history of Chinese aid and establish the differences between Chinese and “traditional” aid by approaching development aid and China-Africa relations from a historical perspective. This chapter also maps out the current debate regarding Chinese aid that is prevalent in IR today.

3.1 Development aid in transformation

Development aid as a practice developed into its institutionalized form as we know it today in the beginning of the 20th century. Several western nations started providing regular aid to their colonies in Africa, Asia and Latin America, often with a focus on infrastructure in order to further trade and accumulate wealth in western nations. As the former colonies gained independence the practice of foreign aid continued, primarily with a focus on economic development. In the post-war era the USA became the largest aid donor in the world followed by other western nations, and throughout the cold war period aid became a tool for political alliances. Throughout the 1960s and 70s western nations started refining their aid programs and the phenomenon became more widespread. The practice of donating a certain quota of national income as development aid also originated in this era and is today a staple for OECD nations. Western nations without a history of colonization, also started providing development aid for what is claimed to be more humanitarian reasons. Ever since, western nations have been providing large amounts of development aid to developing nations all over the world. Traditionally, development aid has consisted of a transaction between a donor from a western nation and a recipient from the global south. Development aid has always been used as a tool for underlying motives and not just been capital

transferred in good will, it is a practice that stems from colonization and throughout history has been used as a tool to gain power, political allegiances or other perks for the aid donors as well as recipients (Phillips 2013, Milhorance & Soule-Kohndou 2017).

While development aid between nations of the global south has occurred throughout the 20th century, it did not become a widespread practice until the last couple of decades. The rapid economic development of several nations in the global south in the 1990's, spearheaded by China, started a larger trend of South-south cooperation and development practices as a joint effort between developing nations. South-south cooperation expanded rapidly in scope during the beginning of the 21st century, with China leading the helm. SSC has developed into a widespread practice, becoming a heated topic in academia and politics in later years as the nations and economies of the global south grow more powerful. The growth and increased importance of SSC is based on several different factors, among these the ability of rapid economic recovery and resilience of some of the large economies of the global south. Cooperation between nations are varied in its shape including trade, aid, technology transfer and movements toward increased regional integration (Nayyar 2013, Milhorance & Soule-Kohndou 2017).

3.2 The history of Chinese aid in Africa and the Chinese ODA model

Although the practice of Chinese ODA in Africa has rapidly increased during the 21st century, the relationship between the regions is far older. China has a history of diplomatic relations with and development aid to African nations reaching back to the 1950s. China's engagements with African states has been continuous, from which a unique development cooperation model has evolved. The relationship between China and Africa at early stages was ideologically fueled, as during the cold war the international climate was polarizing and the aim of foreign aid was primarily to win political support from the "third world" with little attention given to potential economic benefits for the donor (Meidan 2006, Changsong & Jing 2016). During the cold war period China provided approximately \$2.5 billion in

aid to African nations, as well as sending Chinese staff to assist in various development projects. The largest development project China funded was the construction of the Tanzania-Zambia railway in the 1970s, built so as to minimize Zambia's economic dependence on South Africa and Rhodesia for the benefit of the local economies as well as being a large-scale transfer of skills to local Zambian and Tanzanian workers. Through these types of projects China established overall friendly relations with African nations (Changsong & Jing 2016). The railway project is indicative of China's role as an aid provider, as it since the beginning of providing ODA to foreign nations has established itself as a global financier for what could be called the "hardware" of growth and development in financing mainly infrastructure and construction projects (Dreher et al 2017).

After the cultural revolution ended in 1976 China-Africa relations waned, as China increased focus on relations with the western world and domestic economic development. Some aid to African nations was provided but in more diverse and flexible fashion, with a primary focus on economic benefits and long-term results. During the 1990s China once again increased influence in the African region, this time establishing a more structured and cooperative relationship than before. However, even though China-African relations increased during the 1990's it was still on a comparatively small scale. The relationship truly started its rapid increase after the first Forum for China-African Cooperation (FOCAC) which was carried out in the year 2000 in Beijing. (Changsong & Jing 2016).

3.2.1 Chinese aid and the non-interference policy

Since the establishment of FOCAC China-Africa aid relations has undergone a considerable transformation. The relationship is now much more focused on long-term cooperation, with an emphasis on economic development, trade relations and cultural cooperation. A larger focus has been given to SSC, and China has implemented measures in order to support both social and economic development in African cooperation partners. In later years, primarily after the fifth FOCAC meeting in 2012, China has stated that more focus will be given to social and cultural exchanges, as opposed to the prioritization on mainly economic

development and trade that has been central in China-Africa cooperation since the beginning of the 21st century (Changsong & Jing 2016).

Chinese aid differs from “traditional” western-based aid in several aspects. China’s experience and development as a non-western state has led to a different progression and approach to development cooperation practices than what has been practiced by western donors since the “invention” of development aid (Changsong & Jing 2016). The current China-Africa ODA model is based in historical China-Africa aid relations, and hence differs from western aid because of differences in history, culture and ideology (Changsong & Jing 2016, Parks & Strange 2014). Overall, Chinese aid strays from the traditional donor-recipient power dynamic, as both parties are more regarded as equals in cooperation since both parties has something to gain, as opposed to traditional western aid which is frequently framed more as charity. The power dynamics between the western state (donor) and developing nation (recipient) are firmly established as inherently unequal (Changsong & Jing 2016).

Chinese aid is more focused on productive sectors, instead of social sectors and poverty reduction as a primary goal which has been the case in the west. China also has the benefit of being a non-western nation with a very successful history of development in recent years. The experience from the development process provides China with knowledge and hands-on experience which western nations lack, making the gap between China and African nations smaller than that of African nations/traditional donors. Chinese aid is also framed as mutual benefit with no strings attached as a result of the non-interference policy, which is a tangible difference from western aid which usually comes with various demands from the donor nation (Cheng et al 2012). Cheng et al. (2012) frames starting point of the rapid increase in relations between China and African nations as late 2004, simultaneous to the expansion of Chinese ODA and Chinese aid globally has expanded by an average of 21.8% annually since 2005 (Zhang 2016, Cheng et al. 2012).

Chinese aid and investments overseas has been promoted as non-interference, which inherently means that China has absolute respect for state sovereignty. The non-interference policy is not new, it has been in place since 1955 and China has stayed close to these principles in their approach to development aid. As China becomes more powerful in the international sphere, more attention has been given

to the non-interference policy as an alternative means of conducting international politics (Brown 2013). The non-interference policy states that China does not meddle in domestic matters of sovereign nations and abstains from political conditionality. The strategy stems from Chinas “*five principles of Peaceful Coexistence*”, namely: Mutual respect for other nations sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non-aggression, mutual non-interference in domestic affairs, equality and cooperation for mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence. Non-interference includes not interfering in regime changes or conducting military interventions. China’s modern policy in Africa is based in the five principles of peaceful coexistence as a historical and political Chinese legacy. This policy is a starkly different approach from western nations international policies, especially regarding development aid (Okolo 2015).

Another factor shaping the Chinese international relations globally and African nations in particular is the Chinese “going-out policy” which was initiated in 1999. The policy has acted as both a driving force of and part of Chinas overall foreign policy and strategy. Driven by domestic politics, the going out policy was created in order to increase Chinese investment overseas, attaching a lot of importance to outward foreign investment. Chinas focus on the importance on outward investment is connected to how Chinese politics views investment opportunities abroad, the connection they make and the relationship and focus on mutual benefits of SSC and Chinese ODA overall (Shen & Mantzopoulos 2013).

3.3 The ongoing debate surrounding Chinese aid

Ever since the increased cooperation between China and Africa in the 1990’s there has been debate surrounding the nature of the intention of Chinese aid, especially from traditional western donors. Traditional aid has more focus on human development, often with the long-term goal of poverty reduction. This has become the norm of western development aid, and this method of aid practice is seldom contested by the public or policy makers. As Chinese aid has been rapidly increasing since 2004, the Beijing method of development aid has suddenly

become a model taking up a lot of place in the international system, and the deviation from the norm has made it a topic of critique and debate. Foreign aid to Africa is a big part of Chinese aid, and most of the aid is concentrated to east Africa, with a primary focus in infrastructure, public works, technical assistance and scholarships to study in China (Cheng et al 2012). The main argument raised by traditional donors is that the primary incentive of China's interest in African nations is to secure energy and resources, and human development is nothing but an afterthought (Changsong & Jing 2016, Parks & Strange 2014). In the last decade Chinese aid has become much more visible in the international sphere due to its enlarged magnitude. As such, the discrepancy between the Chinese and OECD/DAC traditional western donors have become more apparent. Different political actors are frequently discussing if Chinese aid undermines the current consensus of western aid (Cheng et al. 2012). China is now the largest exporter in the world and the second largest economy, making it a very powerful nation, and the combination of the enormous economic power of China can be interpreted as intimidating by western actors (Cheng et al. 2012). A popular but rather untested claim in western media and politics is that Chinese aid is actively hindering western aid efforts. The nature of the non-interference policy of Chinese aid has also been contested, as some claim that by not taking a stance and providing aid to countries despite the state of the nation's politics, China is still getting involved in national politics by providing governments with funding (Dreher et al 2017).

The debate regarding the issue today has become focused on the rise of china and SSC –the so called “rise of the global south”. It is often framed as “the fall of the west vs the rise of the rest”, with one side being more negative towards the increase of SSC and China-Africa relations, claiming that the non-interventional side of Chinese aid undermines western aid efforts. The other side to the debate is arguing that perhaps it is time to rethink traditional western aid, and that SSC is great in this new era of developing nations becoming more important and an alternative to the western-centric international system that has been prevalent since colonial times (Muhr 2016, Parks & Strange 2014). Perhaps the increased cooperation between states in the global south can lead to a decreased dependence on western nations – which could be a positive thing (Gray & Gills 2016, Bond 2016). Some argue that the negative reaction to Chinese aid from western scholars and policymakers is simply based in the fear or losing power and influence on the

global stage. There is also the implication that increased Chinese influence globally leads to a decline of human development, free speech and human rights as the Chinese model is primarily based in economic development and production, with western aid being historically more based in human development and poverty reduction (Nayyar 2016, Gray & Gills 2016). Some scholars argue that the hostility towards Chinese aid stems from a colonial mindset of the western world constructing their identities as saviors, seeing the rest of the world as beneath them and viewing Africa as something to be “saved”, while in fact the entire developing world is currently creating a multitude of relationships without input from western states (Dreher & Fuchs 2011, Bond 2016).

4 Analysis

This chapter consists of three parts: firstly, data on Chinese aid and public expenditure will be presented and a brief analysis will follow. Secondly, the two nations of the comparative case study will be analyzed by looking at the state of the nation's economy and development in health and education, followed by a more in-depth analysis of the nation's connections to China and Chinese ODA. The comparative case study will be followed by an extended analysis of the other five nations. Lastly, the connection between Chinese ODA and expenditure in health and education will be analyzed from a more international perspective, discussing how these connections play into international relations from liberalist and neorealist perspectives.

For more in-depth statistics and data, please see the appendixes in chapter 7 of this thesis.

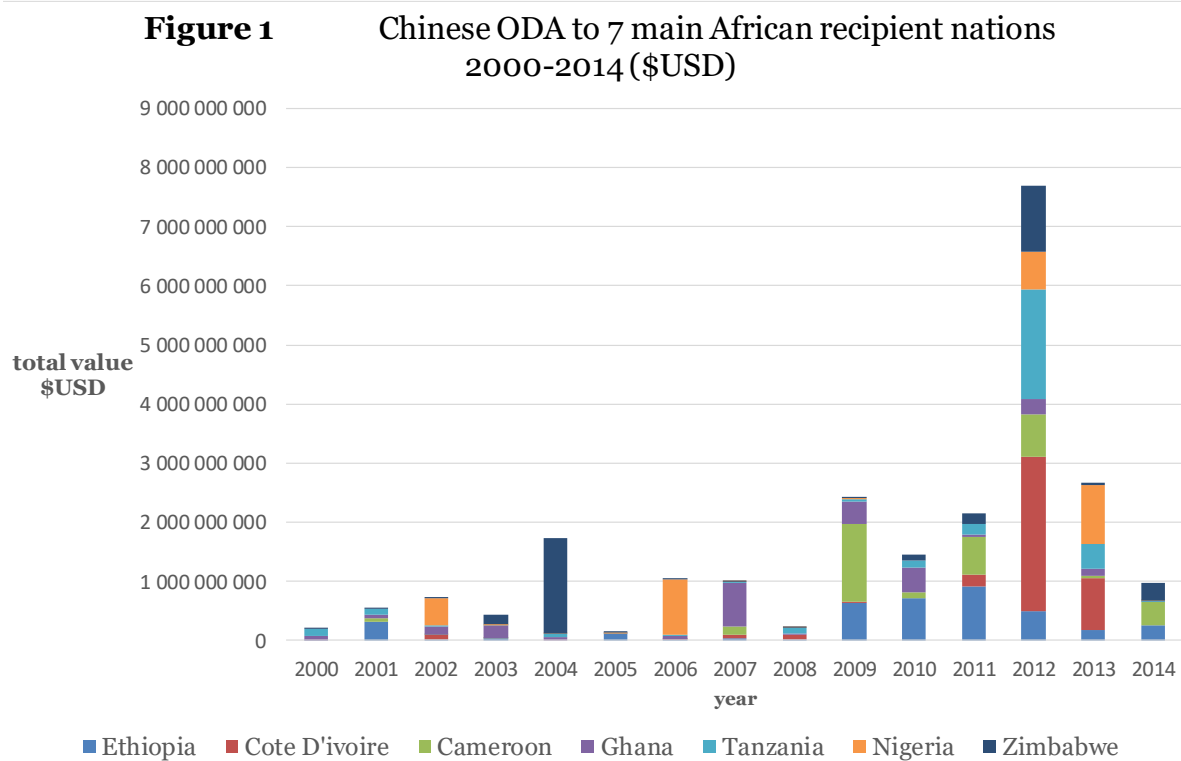


Figure 1. Calculated from *the Global Chinese Official Finance Dataset* (Aiddata 2017)

4.1 Comparative case evidence

Figure 1 above demonstrates the development and gradual increase of Chinese ODA to its combined 7 main recipient states in Africa over time. As demonstrated by the graph, there is a clear difference of the amount of capital transferred to Sub-Saharan African nations after the year 2004. In the years 2000-2003 the aid to African nations did not exceed over 1 billion USD, while after 2004 the aid exceeded 1 billion USD every year except for two, the greatest amount of ODA transferred in 2012 with over 7 billion USD to all seven nations combined. There has been a clear increase in the amount of capital in ODA transferred between China and Sub-Saharan Africa.

Table 1 Chinese aid to African nations pre- and post 2004

	average number of projects/year	average amount of \$USD/year	total amount of projects	total amount of \$USD
Ethiopia				
2000-2003	3	89 mil	12	355 mil
Post-2004 (+10)	2.45	353 mil	59	3.33 bil
Cote d'Ivoire				
2000-2003	0.25	20 mil	1	81 mil
Post-2004 (+10)	2.45	353 mil	25	3.88 bil
Cameroon				
2000-2003	1.75	17 mil	7	70 mil
Post-2004 (+10)	4.7	302 mil	52	3.33 bil
Ghana				
2000-2003	2.75	122 mil	11	490 mil
Post-2004 (+10)	5.9	190 mil	65	2.09 bil
Tanzania				
2000-2003	4	54 mil	16	216 mil
Post-2004 (+10)	6.4	255 mil	70	2.80 bil
Nigeria				
2000-2003	1.5	119 mil	6	478 mil
Post-2004 (+10)	2.2	236 mil	24	2.60 bil
Zimbabwe				
2000-2003	4	45 mil	16	182 mil
Post-2004 (+10)	7.7	312 mil	85	3.43 bil

Table 1. Calculated from *the Global Chinese Official Finance Dataset* (Aiddata 2017)

Table 1 demonstrates a more detailed account of the Chinese ODA to its recipient African nations. As demonstrated, the average number of projects per year as well as the average total USD in ODA from China to the African nations has increased considerably after 2004 in every nation on the list. By analyzing at the aid data, the drastic increase in ODA over the span of the 21st century, both in the amount of aid projects as well as the total amount of capital being transferred is made obvious.

Table 2 ODA to education and health sectors (as % of total ODA)

	Total aid USD	ODA to education sector	%	ODA to health sector	%
Ethiopia	3.7 bil	32 mil 12 projects	0.9%	19 mil 7 projects	0.5%
Cote d'Ivoire	4.0 bil	0 1 projects	0%	106 mil 4 projects	2.7%
Cameroon	3.4 bil	30 mil 5 projects	0.8%	9 mil 17 projects	0.3%
Ghana	2.6 bil	41 mil 10 projects	1.6%	31 mil 17 projects	1.2%
Tanzania	3.0 bil	1.5 mil 11 projects	0.04%	19 mil 23 projects	0.6%
Nigeria	3.1 bil	14 mil 5 projects	0.5%	34 mil 8 projects	1.1%
Zimbabwe	3.6 bil	14 mil 12 projects	0.4%	218 mil 17 projects	6%

Table 2. Calculated from *the Global Chinese Official Finance Dataset* (Aiddata 2017)

Table 2 demonstrates the amount of ODA from China to African recipient nations that goes directly to health- or education related projects. As demonstrated by the numbers, the amount of Chinese ODA that goes directly to the health- and education sectors is very small, both sectors making up less than 3% of total aid in almost every country, the two exceptions being Cote d'Ivoire's health sector and Zimbabwe's education sector. Some nations have several projects worth smaller amounts of money, while other nations have a smaller number of overall projects, however the projects themselves are much larger in scale. These numbers indicate that ODA directly to human development-related projects in the health and education sectors has not been prioritized by China in the distribution of ODA in

Africa. A direct connection between Chinese ODA and public expenditure in the health and education sectors is hence not possible to establish at this stage. This will be elaborated upon further later in the analysis. A more detailed breakdown of statistics of Chinese aid in different sectors for each nation will be presented in the case study below.

Table 3 Average health & education expenditure (% of total government expenditure) pre- and post-2004

	Average health expenditure	Difference average health expenditure pre-2004 & post-2004	Average education expenditure	Difference average education expenditure pre-2004 & post-2004
Ethiopia				
Pre-2004 (-9)	8,21%	+6,36%	14,69%	+11,82%
Post-2004 (+10)	14,57%	increase	26,51%	increase
Cote d'Ivoire				
Pre-2004 (-9)	8,38%	-0,47%	21,27%	+0,41%
Post-2004 (+10)	7,91%	decrease (slight)	21,68%	increase (slight)
Cameroon				
Pre-2004 (-9)	6,39%	+0,07%	insufficient data	insufficient data
Post-2004 (+10)	6,46%	increase (slight)	18,20%	
Ghana				
Pre-2004 (-9)	9,72%	3,28%	insufficient data	insufficient data
Post-2004 (+10)	13,00%	increase	24,57%	
Tanzania				
Pre-2004 (-9)	12,09%	+3,97%	insufficient data	insufficient data
Post-2004 (+10)	16,06%	increase	18,15%	
Nigeria				
Pre-2004 (-9)	5,42%	+2,22%	n/a	n/a
Post-2004 (+10)	7,65%	increase	n/a	
Zimbabwe				
Pre-2004 (-9)	n/a	n/a	n/a	insufficient data
Post-2004 (+10)	8,65%	n/a	insufficient data	

Table 3. Calculated from the *World Bank World Development Indicators* (2017a, 2017b)

Table 3 demonstrates the development of public expenditure in the seven Sub-Saharan African nations. The data demonstrates the average percentage of education and health sector public expenditure/year in the period before and after 2004, the year of increased influx of Chinese ODA. The graph also demonstrates the percentage public expenditure has increased or decreased. For detailed statistics on each year, please see Appendix 7.1.

By analyzing this data, a general trend of an increased percentage of public expenditure in the health sector is distinguishable, with an increase of several percent in four out of the six analyzed nations, the other two having very minor changes to their public expenditure percentage. The only nation that experienced a slight decrease was Cote d'Ivoire, but only with half a percentage (-0.47%). While Cameroon saw an increase, it is very slight (+0.07%).

The data from education sector is more inconclusive. There was simply not enough statistics to make broader generalizations except in two of the seven nations in total, making it more difficult to establish a trend in education expenditure. However, important to mention is that while Nigeria had a complete lack of data available and Zimbabwe had no data available prior to 2004, Ghana, Tanzania and Cameroon did have some data recorded from the period 1995-2003, however the data available is sporadic (data available <50% of the time), hence insufficient to draw distinct conclusions, which makes generalization of the time period at large impossible. A larger pattern of change in education expenditure percentage therefore cannot be concluded. However, the sporadic data for Cameroon, Ghana and Tanzania available in the years prior to 2004 does support a trend of increased public expenditure after 2004 as well (see appendix 7.1 for the complete data each year 1995-2004). The two nations with data available for the entire period are Ethiopia and Cote d'Ivoire, both which experienced an increase in education expenditure, however Cote d'Ivoire only saw a slight increase of half a percent (+0,41%). In conclusion, while a pattern of increased education expenditure was reflected in both nations, the increase in Cote d'Ivoire is very slight, making it a very modest increase. While the sporadic data available for Ghana, Cameroon and Tanzania does point to a pattern of increased expenditure in this area as well, there is simply not enough evidence to come to a strong conclusion of increased education expenditure. However, while no larger patterns on increased education expenditure could be established, the two available nations both saw increases.

As previously established, during the period 2004-2014 Chinese ODA to the recipient nations has increased, as has the overall percentage of public expenditure in health. The nations with sufficient data saw an increase in education expenditure, but the data is insufficient to make generalization of the region based on the scarce data available. The extent of change in public expenditure was also

varied. As stated before, establishing a direct relationship between the two factors is hence not possible. What can be concluded is that the increase of Chinese ODA and relations between China-Africa has **not** led to a decrease of public expenditure in the human development-related health and education sectors. Analyzing public expenditure as a means to understand the priorities of state governments, we can hence establish that the priorities of human development have not decreased as Chinese influence has grown stronger. This directly contradicts the politicians and academics which argues that increased Chinese influence will lead to a decline in prioritization of human development in ODA partners, at least short term. It also contradicts those arguing that receiving more non-interference aid will lead to African nations spending less money on human development and inherently undermine western donors work for increased human development in these nations.

4.2 Ethiopia: Chinese aid complementing a history of poverty reduction efforts

This section is an in-depth analysis of the two largest recipients of Chinese aid – Ethiopia and Cote d’Ivoire.

Table 4 Chinese aid to Ethiopia 2000-2014 by sectors

Sector	USD total	Percentage
Action Relating to Debt	308 748 343	8.4%
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	146 377 647	4%
Business and Other Services	2 638 004	0.1%
Education	32 116 848	0.9%
Emergency Response	26 638 850	0.7%
Energy Generation and Supply	462 355 811	12.6%
Government and Civil Society	145 214 977	4%
Health	19 265 218	0.5%
Industry, Mining, Construction	7 729 868	0.2%
Other Multisector	28 439 713	0.8%
Transport and Storage	1 456 972 870	39.8%
Unallocated / Unspecified	913 155 648	25.0%
Water Supply and Sanitation	109 083 985	3%
Total	3 658 737 782	

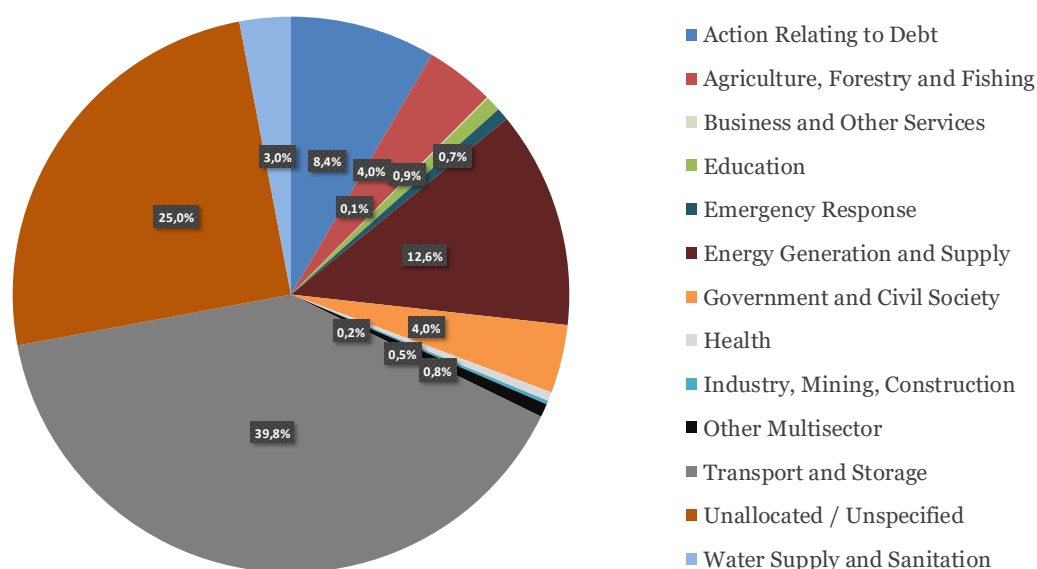


Table & figure 4. Calculated from *the Global Chinese Official Finance Dataset* (Aiddata 2017)

As seen in the data provided in the previous section, Ethiopia received the second largest amount of Chinese ODA during the period 2000-2014, and had none the highest rate of increased public expenditure when comparing the time periods before and after 2004. Ethiopia saw an 6,36% increase in average health expenditure and 11.8% of increase in average education expenditure in the time period after the influx of Chinese ODA. These changes are significant, and the largest among the seven analyzed nations.

As demonstrated in table 5, Chinese aid to Ethiopia during the period of 2000-2014 has been allocated to projects in many different sectors, however some sectors have clearly been favored over others. The largest sectors were transport and storage (39.8% of total ODA), which included mainly projects connected to the construction of infrastructure, such as building highways or constructing railroads. The second largest sector is “unallocated/unspecified” (25% of total ODA), which includes projects of grants and loans going to unspecified development projects, with no way of knowing into which sectors or to what kind of development the capital was allocated. There are no formal records of which development projects has been financed through these unspecified loans and grants, making it difficult to properly assess to which sectors the ODA has contributed. The data clearly indicates that infrastructure has been the main focus of Chinese aid in Ethiopia. None of the largest Ethiopian sectors receiving Chinese ODA were directly connected to human development, although there is no way of knowing where the unspecified development projects money went to. As proved by the data not a lot of Chinese ODA are aimed at development projects in the health and education sectors, with 0.8% and 0.5% respectively of the total amount of Chinese aid. Investigating the nature of the specific development projects in these sectors paints a clearer picture of the involvement of Chinese aid in health and education development projects. In the education sector Chinese aid projects to Ethiopia has been varied, including several projects of donations of school material, construction of school buildings, delegations of Chinese teachers educating Ethiopian personnel, establishing scholarships for students in need and establishing a Confucius institute in Addis Abeba. In the health sector, the Chinese-funded projects mainly focused on construction of medical facilities, donation of medical equipment and medication and sending

Chinese medical staff to help out in local hospitals, as well as several projects aimed at malaria prevention services (Aiddata 2017).

As for the Ethiopian economy, Ethiopia has been in a state of transformation and growth in the last couple of decades. The nation itself is quite large with the second largest population in Africa at around 102 million. Ethiopia is landlocked and possesses few natural resources in comparison to many other African nations. The lack of resources has affected the shape of the Ethiopian economy, as it has developed differently than other African nations which tend to have more export-focused economies. The Ethiopian economy has been relying more on agriculture, service and trade and has seemingly escaped the so-called resource curse, the phenomenon of nations abundant in natural resources being exploited by foreign powers and has to heavily rely on fluctuating prices in the international market, which has struck many other African economies (World Bank 2017, O'Mahony 2017).

Ethiopia has experienced massive economic growth since around the middle of the 00's, its growth rate being one of the largest both in the African continent and in the world. While agriculture has historically been the core of the Ethiopian economy, in the period since its rapid economic growth the service sector has grown to become the largest sector in the Ethiopian economy, followed by agriculture and industry. Ethiopia has consistently been working on becoming a better nation for manufacturing with a focus on export-led industrialization. The government has also been working on sustaining the nation's high growth rates as well as reducing poverty levels among the population (AFDB 2018).

As for the approach to poverty reduction and human development within the country, Ethiopia has managed to successfully reduce high levels of poverty among the Ethiopian population. The desire for increased poverty reduction has been fundamental in the last couple of decades of Ethiopian politics and development. The EPRDF, the ruling political coalition in Ethiopia since 1991, has referred to the poverty rates within the nation as a national shame and a hindrance to further development. The EPRDF coalition in and of itself was formed under the guise of reducing poverty and promote growth (Cheru 2016). The EPRDF came to power in Ethiopia in 1991 and has always had a strong focus on development and poverty reduction, and the policy formation and implementation in Ethiopia is based in the EPRDFs ideologies and political

strategies. After the rise of the EPDRF Ethiopia has decentralized, as the coalition views participation as integral to good governance. However, the government has still kept a top-down approach within its politics in comparison to other African nations. As such, policy making is a top-down process. Throughout its history, the EPRDF leadership has seen the rural poor as its primary political constituency and viewed its central purpose as bringing development to the countryside. Key government policies and programs have therefore often had a strong rural bias (Brown & Teshome 2007). Hence, during Ethiopia's macroeconomic evolution there has been a constant focus on poverty reduction and human development and prioritization of government spending in related sectors, including education and health (AFDB 2018). The Ethiopian government has been prioritizing and investing in large-scale projects related to poverty reduction, including pursuing increased public expenditure in areas related to poverty reduction as well, as approximately 70% of the national budget is allocated to sectors related to reducing poverty rates and increasing human development. The Ethiopian government has as a result achieved quite high rates of poverty reduction since the 1990s. Overall, the fiscal policy has aimed to achieve macroeconomic stability while enabling and supporting economic growth and poverty reduction, which has been achieved through prioritizing public spending. One of the key objectives in Ethiopian fiscal policy since the early 1990s has been to spend money in sectors with high potential for poverty reduction, which has shown significant results over time (Batte Sennoga et al. 2017).

This decline in poverty rates can be regarded as a result of economic reform as well as industrialization supported by external capital. During this decade, a new Education and Training Policy and Strategy was implemented in 1994, which was successful in increasing access to education for the Ethiopian population. Ethiopia has ever since had several poverty reduction strategies, implemented with varying degrees of success. These include the Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program (SDPRP) 2002-2004, The Plan for Accelerated and Sustained Development to End Poverty (PASDEP), 2005-2010 and The Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP), 2010-2015. The SDPRP program had strict indicators which stated that one goal was to raise public expenditure in education and health (IMF 2004, Deloitte 2014). As for education and healthcare, Ethiopia experienced significant reforms in health care in the late 1990s, as the Federal Ministry of

Health developed a new health care financing strategy in 1998, in order to improve the sector through proper capital and resource allocation and use. This reform is shown to have led to large achievements and an overall increase in public expenditure to the health sector (Eskinder Eshetu 2014). In 2002, before Chinese expansion of aid, the Ethiopian ministry of finance and development presented a Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, which saw a second phase started in 2005. Regardless of success level, Ethiopia has had continuous poverty reduction strategies in place even before Chinese influence started in the region (Thakur 2009). In Ethiopia's connection to poverty reduction there appear to be an established willingness and drive to increase poverty reduction and human development through social development alongside economic growth, as demonstrated by the attitude of the government, poverty reduction rates and several poverty reduction strategy papers.

Overall, Ethiopia has during its period of strong economic growth continuously showed great interest in and investing in pro-poor sectors alongside agriculture (which a large portion of the population is invested in), making Ethiopia's poverty rates drop considerably. However, it is important to note that Ethiopia has not eradicated poverty completely, and still has a long way to go in the health and education sectors. The current amount of expenditure in health and education does not seem to be enough, and many citizens are still living in poor conditions (Deloitte 2014).

As for the relationship between China and Ethiopia, the connection between the two nations has become very strong since the mid-2000s. The influx of aid as well as other investment from China has made Ethiopia far less vulnerable to external pressure in policymaking from western nations such as the US or EU, a phenomenon which has been welcomed by the Ethiopian government. Trade between China and Ethiopia has also flourished since the deepening of international relations between the two, and the increased trade with China has led to a diversification of Ethiopian trade, as well as generating overall profit and growth (Hackenesch 2015). China and Ethiopia have a history of relations going back to ancient times, but only started formal diplomatic relations in 1970. The relationship between the two states has been focused on mutual gain and economic development from the beginning (Gamora 2010, Shinn 2014). Ethiopia has, as a matter of fact, themselves created a model of economic growth which is

largely based on East Asia, China in particular, as opposed to an approach more similar to its African neighbors. The Ethiopian government has long looked to China for its model on economic growth. As stated previously, the Ethiopian approach to economic growth is more top-down than other African nations, which fits well with the Beijing model. However, a method based on the Beijing model requires strong leadership and a functioning government in order for the top-down operations to run smoothly (Central Intelligence Agency 2018a, Aglionby 2017).

Ethiopian leadership has referred to and admired China as a model for successful development since the beginning of the 21st century. As socioeconomic conditions are similar in both nations, they are both seen as having the same struggle in developing their economies. As China has successfully managed to modernize its economy and society in a short time span, it is seen as a success story for other developing nations, among these Ethiopia. Ethiopian officials have also expressed appreciation for the Chinese non-interference policy in its investments and aid (Adem 2012, Gamora 2012). While China is seen as a role model for Ethiopia, their relationship is also being framed as mutually beneficial with both states cooperating to perpetuate economic growth and modernization (Gamora 2012). It is clear that identity politics are also involved in the relationship, and that Ethiopia feel like an increasing relationship with other countries from the global south is a way to decrease reliance on the west and old colonial systems. For example: Meles Zenawi when prime minister of Ethiopia demonstrated and spoke of postcolonial solidarity between developing nations, quoting *“Africa will never forget the historical role played by China in the struggle against colonialism”* (Adem 2012). This speech demonstrates the view of China as a comrade in arms in a struggle of developing nations to free themselves from the unequal power system which globally has been kept in place since colonial times. The appreciation for the non-interference policy in Ethiopia is based in the mutual trust and solidarity between developing nations, understanding that both nations are using each other for their own development, China for strategic allies in the horn of Africa, and Ethiopia for continued socioeconomic development. The non-interference policy also allows for economic growth while still maintaining national policy space (Thakur 2009).

As stated previously Ethiopia is also lacking in resources, which differentiates the state from other African nations that attract a lot of foreign investment, as

natural resources usually are regarded as assets foreign states wish to possess. The common argument among western scholars that China only uses aid to extract resources does not apply in the case of Ethiopia as resources is not the main selling point of the state (Hackenesch 2015). What Ethiopia possesses instead is a large amount of influence and respect on a regional level, as well as diplomatic connections. Ethiopia is hence a nation abundant in diplomatic opportunities. Ethiopian influence in the surrounding region is prevalent, which can be demonstrated by the fact that Ethiopia is currently the seat of the African Union. Ethiopia is hence unique in its relationship to China in that the nation is not resource rich, it does not export an abundance of raw materials and does not have any important points of infrastructure, meaning it has no port or access to the sea for transportation of resources (Adem 2012).

In conclusion, Sino-Ethiopian relations have been built upon mutual respect and promotion of growth. Even though Chinese aid to the healthcare and education sectors have been small, Ethiopian national policy have long before Chinese aid had strategies and institutions in place to promote poverty reduction. This is in line with Kaplans narrative of Chinese aid increasing fiscal freedom for African nations, giving Ethiopia the means to be able to allocate more public expenditure in the education and health sectors partly as a consequence of Chinese non-interference aid.

4.3 Cote d'Ivoire: Balancing Chinese aid in an era of political insecurity

Table 5 Chinese aid to Cote D'ivoire 2000-2014 by sectors

Sector	USD total	Percentage
Action Relating to Debt	40 095 908	1%
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	3 316 754	0.1%
Education	-	-
Emergency Response	2 564 045	0.1%
Energy Generation and Supply	500 500 147	12.6%
Government and Civil Society	94 278 574	2.4%
Health	106 073 031	2.7%
Industry, Mining, Construction	127 315 546	3.2%
Other Social infrastructure and services	63 513 054	1.6%
Trade and Tourism	889 659 193	22.4%
Transport and Storage	2 118 070 870	53.4%
Unallocated / Unspecified	22 093 107	0.6%
Total	3 967 480 229	

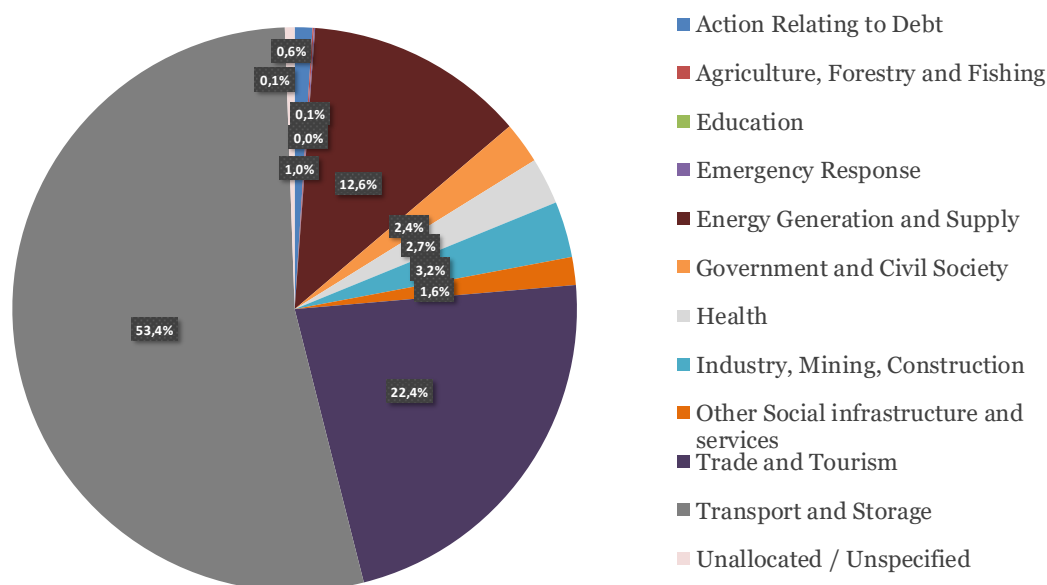


Table & Figure 5: calculated from the Aiddata Global Chinese Official Finance Dataset

Cote d'Ivoire is the single largest recipient of Chinese aid on the African continent, with 4 billion USD received in ODA in the period 2000-2014. However, in a stark contrast to Ethiopia, the percentage of education and health public expenditure in Cote d'Ivoire went relatively unchanged. Cote d'Ivoire was the only nation which saw a decline in public health expenditure, with a 0.47% decline in average health expenditure after the influx of Chinese aid. The education expenditure did increase with 0.41% on average, which is much smaller in comparison to the Ethiopian percentage.

The number of aid projects in Cote d'Ivoire is smaller than the other analyzed nations, with more projects worth larger sums. However, the sector allocation of ODA from China to Cote d'Ivoire follow similar patterns to the aid given to Ethiopia. Over half of the total ODA given to Cote d'Ivoire from China during the 21st century was allocated to the Transport and storage sector (53.4% of total Chinese ODA), indicating a similar pattern to ODA distribution in Ethiopia. These 53.4% all went single project, a giant project of railway construction from the inland to the coast, with a primary function of transporting both minerals and other resources mined in the north of the country to the coast. The Chinese ODA to the energy sector similarly went to a single large construction project of a dam for generating energy. The main difference in sector allocation between Chinese aid to Cote d'Ivoire and Ethiopia is that the second largest sector in Cote d'Ivoire is Trade and Tourism. The ODA to the trade and tourism sector was also allocated to a single project, the expansion of the Abidjan harbor in order to promote further international trade (Aiddata 2017). As demonstrated by the statistics, the ODA provided to Cote d'Ivoire has not had a primary focus on human development. The aid allocated to the health sector only amounts to 2.7% of total ODA, and the single development project in the education sector did not register any transfer of capital, leaving the aid to the education sector empty. The health- and education sectors have therefore not been prioritized in Chinese aid to Cote d'Ivoire, which is in line with the information that China donates to sectors they know how to work well, such as transportation. However, the health projects in Cote d'Ivoire were quite large in the amount of USD allocated. The single education project China contributed to in Cote d'Ivoire was the construction of a series of schools. As for health aid, the four projects were of a varied nature, including construction of a hospital and anti-malaria research center, donation of anti-malaria medication

and donation of laboratory equipment. The Chinese aid to Cote d'Ivoire has overall focused on certain sectors, mainly connected to infrastructure and construction. It is overall a similar pattern as the Chinese ODA to Ethiopia (Aiddata 2017).

When comparing the macroeconomic characteristics of the two nations, Cote d'Ivoire overall possess very different qualities and are facing different challenges and circumstances to Ethiopia. Cote d'Ivoire is located in west Africa, and it is a coastal nation with a smaller population of 24 million. Cote d'Ivoire is much smaller than Ethiopia, both in population and geographical size. Cote d'Ivoire is very rich in natural resources, with a mainly trade-based economy. The main export is cocoa beans and cashew nuts but also oil and minerals. As an export-based economy, Cote d'Ivoire is also more vulnerable to fluctuating demand and prices in the global market. Cote d'Ivoire's economy is also heavily dependent on agriculture, as it engages a large part of the state's population and contributes to the main exports. Outside of the export of agricultural products such as nuts and beans, mining gold and the export of electricity are also large industries (heritage foundation 2018, Central Intelligence Agency 2018.). Similarly to Ethiopia, Cote d'Ivoire has experienced a sudden and large growth since the beginning of the 21st century. The success and rapid economic growth has mainly been a result of the export of raw materials, as well as increased consumption (Yembiline et al. 2018).

After achieving independence from in 1960, the economy of Cote d'Ivoire has gone through several stages and transformations. During the period 1960-1980, the era often referred to as the "Ivorian miracle", was characterized by the availability of funds and investment. However, the strong focus on exports within the Ivorian economy led to a sensitivity to external prices, making the economy fragile. In the 1980s, a combination of drought, low commodity prices, and rapidly rising debt costs exacerbated the structural weaknesses of the Ivorian economy. As the prices for cocoa and coffee fell on the world market in the end of the 1980's, the Ivorian economy struggled and did not recover until the economy started growing again in the mid-1990's. In the 21st century the economy has regained strength, and in the last couple of years, from 2010 and onwards, experienced some of the largest annual growth on the African continent (Akindès 2012).

The political circumstances for Cote d'Ivoire have been very different than that of Ethiopia. Cote d'Ivoire not only has a colonial history which Ethiopia lack, but it has also suffered political instability during the last couple of decades. The nation has been involved in a series of armed conflict since the end of the 1990's, among these the first and second Ivoirian civil wars (2002-2007 and 2010-2011 respectively). The socio-political crisis has caused political turmoil on both micro-, meso- and macro levels of the Ivorian society, and also taken its toll on the population and economy (Akindès 2012). The conflict has contributed not only to political instability, but an inability of public service delivery such as healthcare and education in large parts of the nation, mainly rural societies. The issue amounts to both a lack of personnel but also a lack of resources and proper willpower demonstrated by officials to combat poverty reduction in the nation. As an example, despite official declarations that large efforts would be made in order to reach the millennium goals, little action was taken by the official Ivorian government and even less on the regional political levels, making a clear statement that poverty reduction was indeed not the top priority of the government at the time. Scandals of corruption, access to social services declined military coups, violent elections and western meddling in internal affairs made the period in Cote d'Ivoire from the end of the 1980s to the end of the 2000s difficult. This period of time also saw an increase in poverty levels within the Ivorian population (Cogneau et al 2016, Akindès 2012).

As a result of the insecure political situation, armed conflict and the unstable economy subjected to several attempts at reforms and adjustment policies, public expenditure in sectors such as health, education and social housing were relocated or withdrawn, which in turn had a negative effect on living standards. Health- and education services as well as living standards experienced rapid deterioration. Poverty spread at a fast pace, and in 1999 Cote d'Ivoire was ranked 172 out of 174 according to the HDI index. In the period between 1985 and 2011 the depth and severity of poverty among the Cote d'Ivoire population increased, from 10% to 51% of the population. The complexity of both international and national political circumstances has made focus on poverty reduction difficult and unsuccessful well into the 21st century and is still an ongoing issue (Akindès 2012). The healthcare and education sector in Cote d'Ivoire is yet to recover from the years of political instability which put them secondary to other political

interests. Although the economic growth has been large and significant progress has been made in the poverty reduction department, education and health public expenditure as well as other expenditure focused on human development has not been enough to meet the demands of the population. Currently, Cote d'Ivoire still does not have the proper mechanisms in place to manage health and education in the country. Major political reforms are currently taking place, but the context is still marked by a weak opposition and large protests and insecurity (Yembiline et al. 2017).

As for Ivorian poverty reduction strategies – as previously stated, Cote d'Ivoire has not possessed the capacity nor the willingness and strong political institutions in place to properly combat poverty reduction, which includes investing more in the healthcare and education sectors. The Ivorian government has together with international cooperation partners produced several national development plans in order to combat poverty, with little to no success in implementation. This pattern of non-successful poverty reduction strategies and policies were in place before and after increased relations with China. However, in recent years poverty reduction strategies has experienced more success. The nation implemented a new National Development plan in 2012 for the years 2012-2015 with some more success, but still not sufficient for the needs of the population. This plan had a strong emphasis on improving both education and health sectors. The national development plan was Signed by several prominent politicians including the president and other high-ranking officials, whom in the document officially recognizes that strategic planning has not been a part of Cote d'Ivoire's poverty reduction efforts during the time the nation suffered civil unrest and conflict (International Monetary Fund 2013). Cote d'Ivoire renewed their commitment to human rights and the preservation of stability and security in 2016. At the same time, the government commenced the implementation of a new development plan, which included strategies for poverty reduction and governance (UNICEF 2016). To summarize, similarly to Ethiopia Cote d'Ivoire has together with international actors produced poverty reduction policy papers which included the goals of making education and healthcare better and more accessible, however due to the political climate and priorities of the government, these plans were mainly ignored. This would point to official development policies being fairly redundant unless the sitting government also prioritizes

poverty reduction and properly follows through. In Cote d'Ivoire national poverty reduction strategies have been in place since the time of conflict and before Chinese influence, however the plans were not followed. There have been efforts to draw up new development plans and an increased focus on poverty reduction in the last couple of years, whether these plans will be executed remains to be seen. It can be concluded that national circumstances contributed to development and poverty reduction not being prioritized by the Ivorian government, despite policy being in place.

As for Chinese involvement and relations with Cote d'Ivoire, there has been little analysis as of why Cote d'Ivoire in particular has become the largest receiver of Chinese aid. Historically, there were no formal relations between the two nations until 1983, Cote d'Ivoire being one of the last nations in Africa to establish formal relations with China (Handloff et al. 1991). The relationship has evolved at high speed in the last couple of years. Although economic relations between the two nations was established in 1983, the relationship has steadily grown ever since, taking off rapidly in 2011 (Xinhua 2016).

While it is difficult to find material analyzing the relationship between the two nations, current Chinese investment is centered around manufacturing, agriculture and natural resources (Tiyambe Zeleza 2014). The relationship between China and Cote d'Ivoire seem primarily economic in nature, as there is little evidence of other factors being the primary reason for the cooperation between the two nations. There has been indication that Cote d'Ivoire, similarly to Ethiopia, is modelling its growth on the Chinese model. As Cote d'Ivoire has also experienced a sudden steep increase in economic growth, the Chinese model has been deemed suitable for translating this growth to overall development. As Cote d'Ivoire aspire to have the capacity of processing and manufacturing its own raw materials instead of the current model of raw resource export, China is a good example and can provide Cote d'Ivoire with much needed help in its industrialization process (Xinhua 2016, Seka et al 2008). The sectors prioritized in Chinese ODA are unsurprising and reflect similar patterns of aid provided to other Sub-Saharan African nations, and trade investment in the state reflects the nature of the Ivorian economy which is focused on exports of raw materials and trade. China and Cote d'Ivoire have also deepened their trade relationship since the beginning of the 21st century, China being one of the largest nations of Ivorian imports, but not exports

(OEC 2018). The fact that China has not become even a top ten nation of Ivorian exports goes against the common narrative that China wishes to exploit natural resources, as this has not been the case in Sino-Ivorian relations, despite Cote d'Ivoire being the country which has received the largest amounts of Chinese ODA.

Overall, Cote d'Ivoire is a nation with a completely different history and development to Ethiopia, despite seeing similar development in relations to China during the 21st century. As a result of long periods of armed conflict and political insecurity, human development sectors have not been prioritized by the government, and public expenditure in these areas were withdrawn and reallocated. As the second Ivorian civil war did not stop until 2011, there were no strong foundations or ambitions within the Ivorian government to combat poverty reduction, nor any ambitions or plans to allocate more resources to the education- and health sectors, which in turn is reflected in the public expenditure numbers, showing little change in the percentage of expenditure. Chinese investment in trade and natural resources is unsurprising as the economy of Cote d'Ivoire is export-based, and Chinese ODA in the nation seem to be of the same nature as ODA to other sub-Saharan African nations. By comparing the two nations development of public expenditure, it looks like Chinese ODA provides recipient nations with more fiscal freedom to change public expenditure according to their own goals, policies and attitudes prevalent since before the influx of Chinese aid.

4.4 Case extension

This section will be a brief case extension in order to examine whether patterns can be distinguished in the relationship between Chinese ODA and public expenditure in African nations. The other five African nations on the top ten list of recipients of Chinese aid will be briefly analyzed. These nations all received different monetary amounts of Chinese aid, so the Chinese influence in the ODA landscape should also be of varying degrees. Below an overview of public expenditure from each nation will be presented, as will the nature of the ODA received from China, their overall relationship to China and their history and success of poverty reduction.

Development aid from China to Cameroon follows similar patterns to other nations, the main sector being transport and storage, water supply and sanitation, communications and energy generation and supply. A majority of aid projects involve some type of construction work, regardless of sector. For example, the projects in water and sanitation in Cameroon were all related to construction work such as construction of wells, constructing water distribution systems and a loan to construct a water treatment plant. As for the aid projects in the healthcare and education sectors, the education projects were mainly focused on construction of schools and donation of school equipment. As for the health sector there have been several different aid projects, mainly focusing on sending Chinese medical teams to work in Cameroon, as well as the donation of anti-malaria drugs and hospital equipment. A couple of projects also focused on the construction of various medical facilities (Aiddata 2017).

Table 6 Chinese aid to Cameroon 2000-2014 by sectors

Sector	USD total	Percentage
Action Relating to Debt	50 755 371	1.5%
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	-	-
Communications	384 744 481	11.3%
Education	30 219 329	0.9%
Energy Generation and Supply	207 312 699	6.1%
General Environmental Protection	738 471	0.0%
Government and Civil Society	-	-
Health	9 100 258	0.3%
Industry, Mining, Construction	55 758 702	1.6%
Other Multisector	9 288 391	0.3%
Other Social infrastructure and services	143 232 815	4.2%
Transport and Storage	1 366 635 755	40.1%
Unallocated / Unspecified	47 292 748	1.4%
Water Supply and Sanitation	1 098 316 804	32.3%
Total	3 403 395 824	

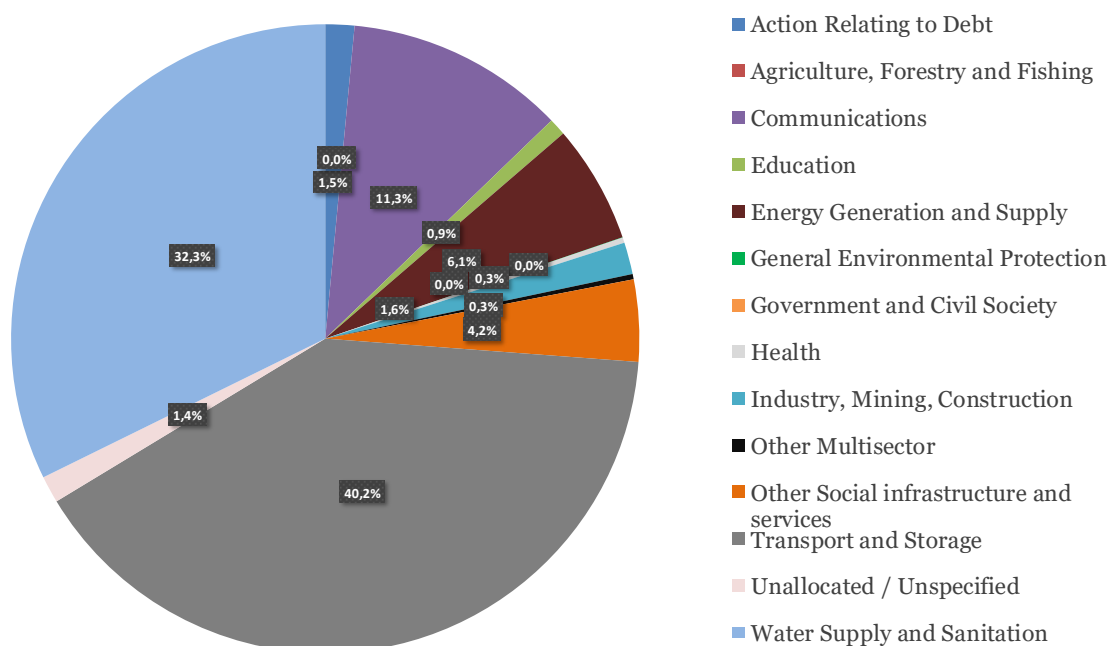


Table & figure 6. Calculated from *the Global Chinese Official Finance Dataset* (Aiddata 2017)

Cameroon is a nation whose economy is export-based, exporting mainly oil, wood and cocoa beans with oil as a primary export resource (OEC 2018b). Cameroon has experienced a varied economic history, as Cameroons economic growth picked up in the middle of the 1990's after a decade of economic crisis. Economic growth picked up the pace even further around 2006, mirroring growth patterns of other Sub-Saharan African nations. However, despite the economic growth there has been no substantial change in national poverty levels. (Khan & Baye 2008).

The health expenditure in Cameroon saw virtually no difference before and after the expansion of Chinese aid, which in in line with the history of an insufficient healthcare system and lack or regulation and proper long-term policies in the country. There seem to be a lack of proper policy and efforts in human development, WHO describes the nation as being in a crisis in human resources for health (World Health Organization 2018). Poverty reduction efforts have been made during the beginning of the 21st century but were virtually unsuccessful, as poor governance seem to be an issue. A good healthcare plan is also lacking (IMF 2010). While healthcare has not been improved upon, education has seen a significant improvement. Cameroon has had a better outcome of efforts in education, as education levels have risen significantly. This pattern of increased education has been ongoing in Cameroon since the 1990s (Fambon et al 2016). Similar to Cote d'Ivoire there have been policies and plans for increased human development in place, with varying degrees of success. Although Cameroon has seen strong economic growth this has generally not translated into poverty reduction, partly because of a high population growth but also due to increasing social inequalities and a clear divide between rural and urban population. Poverty rates in the nation has hardly decreased during the 21st century (The World Bank 2016).

As for Sino-Cameroon relations, Cameroon has already experienced extended collaboration with China for a couple of decades (Nordtveit 2011), but the two nations have rapidly increased relations during the 21st century, and the level of economic interaction between the two nations have expanded along with political ties. Trade relations between the two nations have also increased, and China is currently the number one trade partner in both import and export in

Cameroon (OEC 2018b). Chinese aid to and the relationship with Cameroon has been fairly positively received on a national level (Khan & Baye 2008).

Table 7 Chinese aid to Ghana 2000-2014 by sectors

Sector	USD total	Percentage
Action Relating to Debt	471 405 834	18.2%
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	57 775 804	2.2%
Communications	283 995 427	11%
Education	41 286 783	1.6%
Emergency Response	895 885	0.0%
Energy Generation and Supply	1 045 751 061	40.4%
Government and Civil Society	293 088 529	11.3%
Health	30 577 579	1.2%
Industry, Mining, Construction	31 771 063	1.2%
Non-food commodity assistance	-	-
Other Multisector	167 907 267	6.5%
Other Social infrastructure and services	10 852 935	0.4%
Transport and Storage	106 509 413	4.1%
Unallocated / Unspecified	44 296 865	1.7%
Total	2 586 114 445	

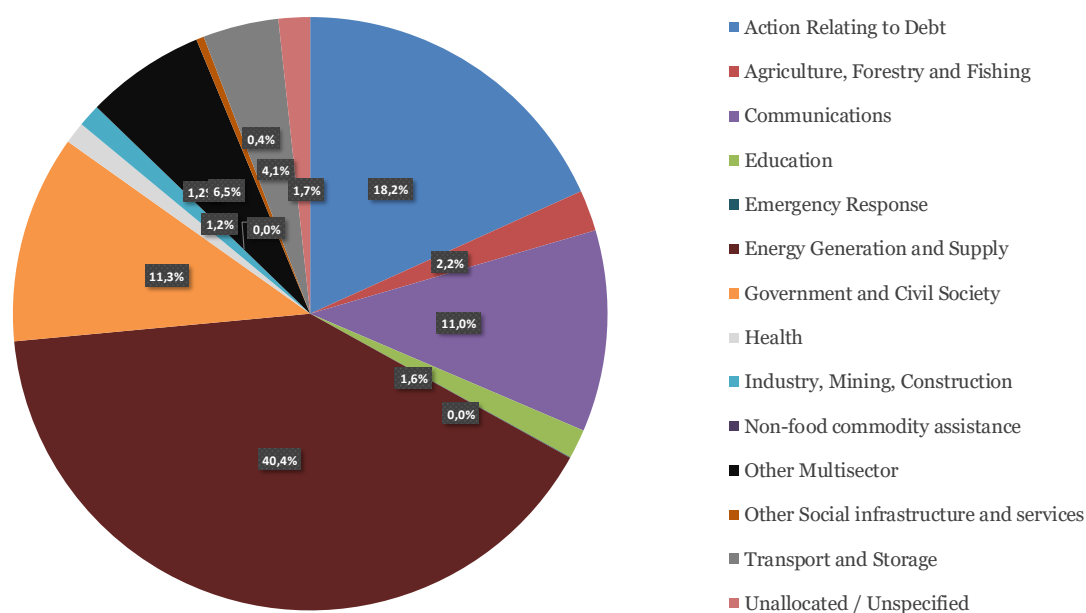


Table & figure 7. Calculated from *the Global Chinese Official Finance Dataset* (Aiddata 2017)

Chinese ODA to Ghana is significantly less focused on transport than the other nations, but instead has a larger focus on energy generation and supply, with debt-related action, communications and government and civil society being other large sectors. Again, health and education sectors are not being prioritized. The education assistance to Ghana is very varied, with project from grants for rural poverty alleviation, to donation of equipment, construction of schools and scholarship programs. The health-related projects in Ghana are varied as well, including China sending Chinese medical assistance teams to Ghana, hospital and research center constructions, donations of medical equipment, and donations of drugs and mosquito nets (Aiddata 2017).

Ghana, a neighbor of Cote d'Ivoire, is Africa's second largest producer of gold and is also rich in cocoa, diamonds and oil. The economy is export-based, and the nation has experienced a decent growth rate the last couple of years. The government of Ghana are working on making the economy less resource- reliant. Ghana has a rather strong policy performance, strong governance and economic policy management as well as relative political stability. However, the nation has had major issues with corruption (Idun-Arkhurst 2008). Ghana has remained relatively politically stable last couple of decades, a stark difference to its neighbor Cote d'Ivoire. Since democratic structural reforms in 1992 Ghana has made significant improvements in governance and growth. Focus on development and poverty reduction in national politics has been significant, with falling poverty rates in the 21st century. Overall, the government of Ghana has had a focus on poverty reduction and human development since the 1990s (Idun-Arkhurst 2008), before the increased relationship with China. When it comes to poverty reduction, Ghana has worked on sustained and inclusive growth, drastically reducing poverty rates in the last two decades, from 52.6% to 21.4% between 1991 and 2012 (The World Bank 2012). Ghana is often hailed as a poverty reduction success story and as a good example of a nation practicing poverty reduction alongside stable economic growth.

The relationship between China and Ghana goes back to the 1960's, and ever since the political leaders of both nations have had continuous relationships. Ghana has provided diplomatic support to China over the years, while China has provided development assistance, and similarly to other nations the trade relationship between the two has deepened in the last decade, as well as the

amount of ODA provided by China (Idun-Arkhurst 2008, Isaac 2017). Ghana is one of the African nations whom send most students to China to study, contributing to further social and cultural ties between the nations (Idun-Arkhurst 2008). China has become a large trading partner for Ghana, one of the biggest in exports and the biggest in imports (OEC 2018c). This is a similar pattern to the other nations in this analysis.

Table 8 Chinese aid to Nigeria 2000-2014 by sectors

Sector	USD total	Percentage
Action Relating to Debt	5 541 383	0.2%
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	-	-
Communications	557 938 788	18.1%
Education	14 358 745	0.5%
Energy Generation and Supply	-	-
Government and Civil Society	-	-
Health	34 240 363	1.1%
Industry, Mining, Construction	-	-
Other Multisector	991 334 530	32.1%
Transport and Storage	1 449 223 214	47%
Unallocated / Unspecified	21 850 286	0.7%
Water Supply and Sanitation	9 652 471	0.3%
Total	3 084 139 779	

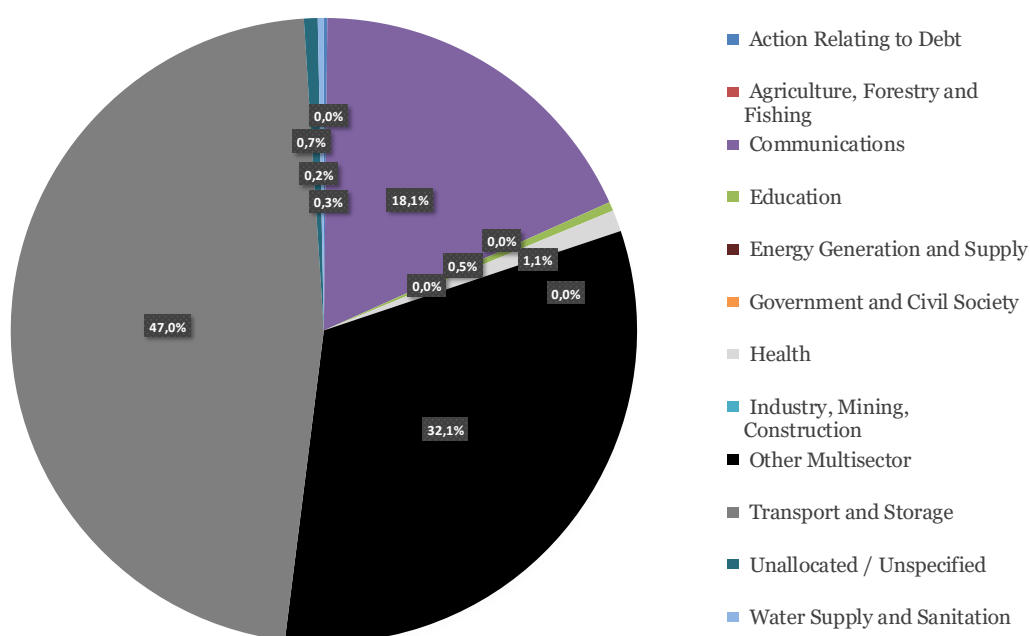


Table & figure 8. Calculated from *the Global Chinese Official Finance Dataset* (Aiddata 2017)

Chinese ODA to Nigeria follows similar patterns to other nations in this study, with the largest amount of ODA going to the transport and storage sector. The second largest sector is Other Multisector, which only encompasses a single large project, a loan for the construction of a hydropower plant. The only other large sector is communications. Similar to other nations, education and health sectors are small. The education projects to Nigeria are mainly constructions of education facilities, equipment donations and scholarships for Nigerian students to study in China. Health projects in Nigeria have been mainly focused on malaria, avian flu and Ebola prevention drugs and equipment, as well as training locals and construction of medical facilities (Aiddata 2017).

As for the Nigerian economy it is the largest one in Africa, a middle-income mixed economy. Nigeria is a resource-rich nation, with economic development driven by the oil and gas sector. It has several expanding sectors, including the largest manufacturing sector in Africa and conducts a lot of trade with surrounding west African nations. Nigeria is the most populated nation in Africa, with over 184 million citizens, however a large amount of the population is still living in poverty (Barungi et al 2017).

Despite access to policies for improving human development and a relatively favorably policy environment Nigeria has seen a decline in education enrolment in recent years, partly due to rising political instability because of the Boko Haram insurgency. The increasingly unstable political situation in the nation has led to a decline in public service delivery in the northern parts of the nation, as well as a shift in priorities for the Nigerian government (African Economic Outlook, Aluko 2017).

Although currently in a recession, the country has seen improvements in stable economic growth in the 21st century, however this has not been reflected in poverty reduction despite government efforts and policy creation. Some causes for the failure in poverty reduction can be increased income inequality, and a widening north-south divide partly as a result of the book haram insurgency (Barungi et al 2017). The current conflict which has affected the nation since 2009 have drastically changed and shaped the growth climate in the nation, effectively cutting of public service delivery and limiting overall growth as well as the trickle-down growth effect from richer to poorer areas. Many indicators of

poverty have worsened in the most affected areas in the north, leading to a need of restructuring poverty reduction strategies (The World Bank 2016b, Aluko 2017).

China-Nigeria relations have been modest since establishing diplomatic relations in 1972, with several decades of smaller cooperation. The relationship did not expand until in the 21st century, as similarly to other African nations the economic and political relations expanded rapidly. Outside of political and economic cooperation like diplomatic and cooperation arrangements, as well as both public and private trade, there has also occurred scientific cooperation between the nations in several joint research projects. It is framed as a mutually beneficial relationship as Nigeria was in need of FDI and technical assistance which China provided. As the Chinese economy is also based in manufacturing the Beijing model has been of interest to Nigerian officials in their strive for further economic development (Ogunkola et al 2008).

The Chinese aid to Tanzania follows similar patterns to other nations as well, with the largest sectors being Industry, mining and construction at 42.9%, followed by communications and transport and storage respectively. The ODA to the “industry, mining and construction” sector is all tied into a single large project of the construction of a gas pipeline. As with all other nations, the amount of capital going into health and education sectors are small in comparison to other sectors. The education aid projects from China to Tanzania are made up of several construction projects of schools in different levels of education as well as donations of school equipment. Although there have been many projects connected to the health sector, more than any other nations in this analysis, the projects are on the smaller sides, mainly sending Chinese medical teams over to help out and educate in local hospitals, both in mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar. Other projects involve donation of anti-malaria drugs and construction of various medical facilities (Aiddata 2017).

Table 9 Chinese aid to Tanzania 2000-2014 by sectors

Sector	USD total	Percentage
Action Relating to Debt	85 937 943	2.8%
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	8 191 535	0.3%
Communications	708 462 169	23.4%
Developmental Food Aid/Food Security Assistance	1 807 233	0.0%
Education	1 468 126	0.0%
Emergency Response	18 138	0.0%
Government and Civil Society	29 425 014	1%
Health	18 718 593	0.6%
Industry, Mining, Construction	1 297 318 408	42.9%
Non-food commodity assistance	-	-
Other Multisector	30 049 029	1%
Other Social infrastructure and services	131 638 786	4.4%
Transport and Storage	641 700 636	21.2%
Unallocated / Unspecified	15 719 425	0.5%
Water Supply and Sanitation	53 258 643	1.8%
Women in Development	5 082	0.0%
Total	3 023 718 761	

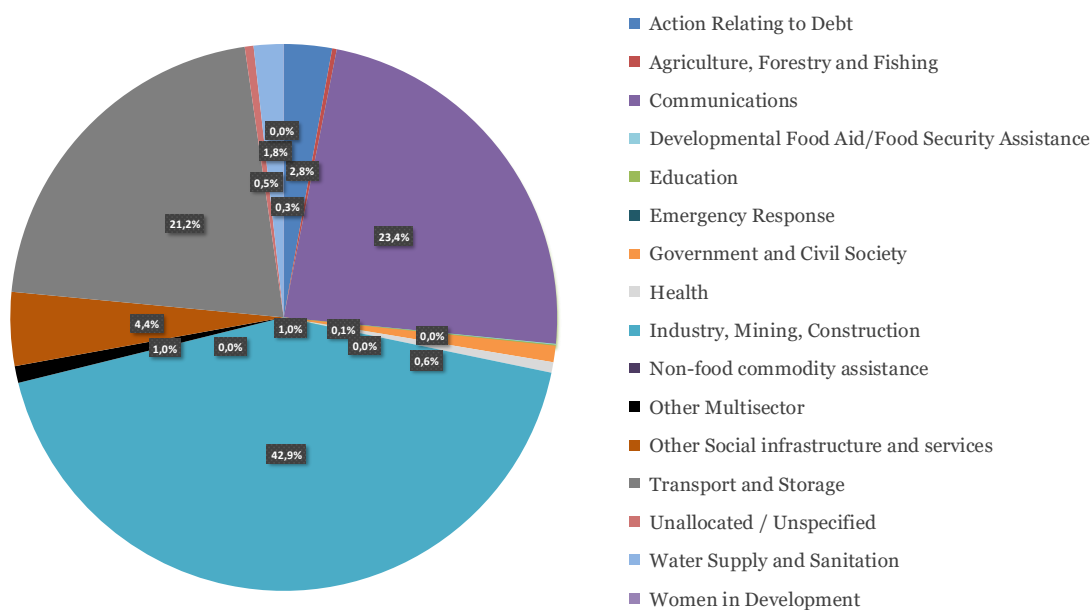


Table & figure 9. Calculated from *the Global Chinese Official Finance Dataset* (Aiddata 2017)

Tanzania has had a relatively stable political history since its independence and has not been involved in conflict for a fairly long time. Tanzania also has a history of good governance, as well as trying to improve human rights with varying results. Tanzania has also suffered large problems of corruption, and

effectivization of government spending efforts have been poor. The nation has issues when it comes to human development, as both the healthcare and education sectors are lacking in funding. Poor infrastructure is also an issue in the nation. There is also a large disparity in the public service delivery and poverty reduction efforts between urban and rural population (Emenuga et al 2017).

The Tanzanian economy has sustained a fairly high economic growth rate in the last decade, with a steadily declining poverty rate. However, the absolute number of poor are not declining due to a very high rate of population growth. Tanzania still has a high number of their population living in poverty. The Tanzanian economy is mainly structured on the sectors of tourism and natural resources (Central Intelligence Agency 2018b). Similar to other African nations, Tanzania has implemented a number of policies in order to reduce poverty. Poverty levels in Tanzania have been decreasing during the last decade, however they still remain quite high. Efforts to reduce poverty levels have been increasing since the 1990's, and a poverty eradication strategy was created in 1998, as poverty reduction was formally incorporated in the long-term goals of the nation. However, despite ongoing efforts and policymaking the poverty reduction strategies have not been as effective as hoped (Magombeyj & Odhiambo 2016).

As for China-Tanzania relations, similar to other nations on this list there are some perceived similarities between the Tanzanian and Chinese development model, making the nations natural cooperation partners. The two have had diplomatic relations since the early 1960's when China and Tanzania signed "The Treaty of Friendship between the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the United Republic of Tanzania (URT)", and the two nations have since had a history of diplomatic support. China has for example sent medical teams to Tanzania since the 1960s. Similarity to other African nations, there has been increase in both trade and relations between China and Tanzania since the 21st century, including a lot of Chinese investments in various sectors of the Tanzanian economy. Chinese-Tanzanian trade relations have also deepened, with China becoming one of Tanzania's main trade partners. Aid relations between the two nations has a history and development cooperation has been occurring since the 1960s, including railway constructions and technical assistance (Moshi & Mtui 2008).

Similar to other nations, Tanzania has expressed interest in the Chinese model of development, and the government has hence been eager to listen to recommendations from China in order to adapt their own model and promote national economic growth (Moshi & Mtui 2008).

Table 10 Chinese aid to Zimbabwe 2000-2014 by sectors

Sector	USD total	Percentage
Action Relating to Debt	200 753 258	5.6%
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	41 916 890	1.2%
Banking and Financial Services	-	-
Communications	283 358 254	7.9%
Developmental Food Aid/Food Security Assistance	32 447 901	0.9%
Education	13 854 521	0.4%
Emergency Response	500 000	0.0%
Energy Generation and Supply	1 607 419 409	44.6%
Government and Civil Society	3 295 935	0.1%
Health	218 361 584	6.1%
Other Multisector	27 568 935	0.8%
Other Social infrastructure and services	22 773 122	0.6%
Support to Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) and Government Organizations	12 576 981	0.3%
Trade and Tourism	10 675 910	0.3%
Transport and Storage	181 410 025	5%
Unallocated / Unspecified	34 542 971	1%
Water Supply and Sanitation	915 006 616	25.4%
Women in Development	-	-
Total	3 606 462 312	

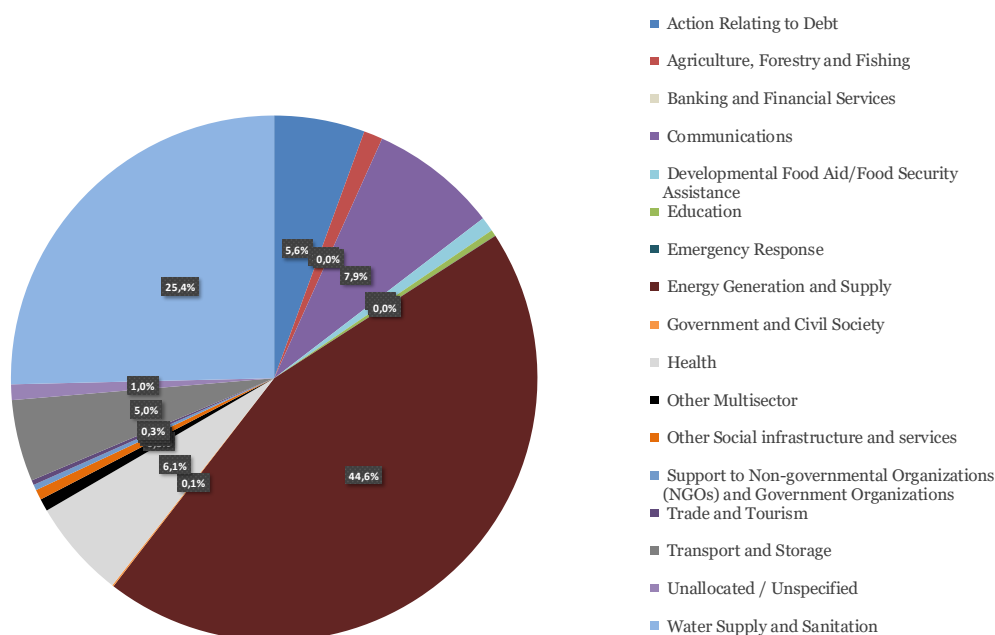


Table & figure 10. Calculated from *the Global Chinese Official Finance Dataset* (Aiddata 2017)

Unfortunately Zimbabwe suffers from a severe lack of statistics on both healthcare and education public expenditure prior to 2004, making it difficult to estimate how Zimbabwe's public expenditure has changed. This section on Zimbabwe will hence be very short.

Chinese ODA to Zimbabwe also follows the same patterns as to other nations. A majority of aid went to the sectors of energy generation and supply as well as water supply and sanitation. Out of all the nations analyzed in this thesis, Zimbabwe had the largest percentage of Chinese ODA go to the health sector with 6.1 percent. Health projects in Zimbabwe are varied, including construction of hospitals, donations of medical equipment and drugs, and medical team/personnel being sent from china. In the education sector, Education projects in Zimbabwe are mainly focused on school construction, equipment donations and scholarships (Aiddata 2017).

With an unstable economy and political and economic unrest, it is hard to make an estimation of policy effectiveness and poverty reduction in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe has seen severe economic and political disruption in the last decades, and a large part of the population is living in poverty despite reduction efforts (Manjengwa et al 2012). As for China-Zimbabwe relations, China and Zimbabwe have a history of diplomatic relations, with a mutual support for each other in the international sphere, as historical allies. During the last decades the two nations deepened their relationship through aid and development cooperation as well as diplomatic relations. The two states have had consistent cooperation in the last couple of decades, with more intensity in the last decade (Chun 2014, Ramani 2016). This relationship has been severely criticized by other nations as China has had close relations with Zimbabwe under Mugabe rule, and Mugabe has praised China as being a "true friend" on several occasions. Supporting Mugabe as dictator has been interpreted as a bad example of the non-interference policy, as China has through providing aid and investing in Zimbabwe monetarily supported a dictatorship with little regards for human rights (Volodzko 2016).

Several trends can be concluded from this extended analysis. However, as the extended analysis is shallower and simplified, the level of analysis cannot be compared to that of Cote d'Ivoire and Ethiopia. This extended analysis overall does provide some important insights into patterns of both Chinese ODA

distribution, China-Africa relations, poverty reduction and human development strategies in the analyzed nations.

There is a distinct trend throughout all nations in regard to the type of ODA that China provides, and it appears the Chinese ODA to the African nations is allocated in similar fashion in regard to sector placement across all nations. Some sectors are prioritized and receive larger amount of aid, mainly transport and storage, energy generation and supply, water and sanitation & Communications. The nature of Chinese aid does not differ much in sector allocation across Africa, Chinese aid hence uphold its focus on infrastructure and construction projects. The overall share of total ODA going into the health and education sectors is small, indicating no direct relationship between Chinese aid and public health and education expenditure.

There are also some distinct discernable trends in the diplomatic and political relationships between China and the various African nations. The overall nature and historical progression of political relations and development cooperation seem to have a fairly similar nature across all nations. The general trend appears to be that although diplomatic relations were established throughout the second half of the 20th century, relations between China and African nations were mainly sporadic until the 21st century when political, social and economic relations suddenly increased alongside development aid. Another discernable pattern is that China has become established as a large trade partner in all analyzed nations alongside the increased relations in the 21st century, mirroring the south-south cooperation movement. However, the trade differs from each country in both scope and nature. China is not a large export partner for all nations but have become an important partner for imports in almost all analyzed cases.

The main difference between the nations has been the approach to poverty reduction, public expenditure and human development. Although all nations seem to have had relatively extensive poverty reduction policies formulated, the level of implementation and success of these policies have been varied. The poverty reduction policies hence do not seem to be the main issue in the overall poverty reduction. What instead seem to be a defining factor is the ambition and willpower of government and external facts such as political stability and conflict. This echoes the pattern observed in Ethiopia and Cote d'Ivoire, as external factors have shifted the priority of the local government and hence affected public

expenditure. National circumstances, political and economic stability and governmental ambition seem to be the defining factors in poverty reduction and public expenditure.

The seven analyzed nations are all different in size, geographical location, history and economy, and yet there was a pattern of increased health expenditure in a majority of nations. However, I do not believe there is enough evidence to argue that there is a direct relationship between Chinese aid and public expenditure, as there are too many other factors involved. Instead I would argue that it appears that the increase of Chinese aid provided these nations more fiscal autonomy, and the nations which has had institutions, policies and ambitions to invest more in health and education has done so, while other nations have used the capital in other ways. Looking at the percentages of increased health expenditure, Cameroon had smallest increase in percentage at +0.07%, which is virtually unchanging. Cameroon has, similarly to Cote d'Ivoire, had a history of bad governance and a lack of policies in place to handle the health sector, which was neglected prior to the expansion of Chinese aid (IMF 2010, World Health Organization 2018). Ghana, a nation usually hailed as poverty reduction success story with ambition to change, already had success in expanding the health sector before Chinese aid, have a larger increase in health expenditure at around 3.28% (Ateku 2017). This pattern seems to correlate with what was reflected in the comparison between Ethiopia and Cote d'Ivoire. In sectors which already saw development before Chinese aid increased, the public expenditure has increased as well. In sectors with poor governance or low prioritization, the public expenditure does not increase to the same extent. Overall, the public expenditure levels seem to correlate with the ambition, institutions and policies of the individual country, not so much with Chinese ODA, which would indicate Chinese aid as a contributor to fiscal freedom and not as a direct influence.

4.5 Chinese ODA and connections to human development in the international system

As demonstrated earlier in this analysis, the two main cases of Ethiopia and Cote d'Ivoire saw different changes in public expenditure despite similar increase in Chinese aid, Ethiopia experiencing a very large expenditure increase in both education and health, while Cote d'Ivoire saw a small negative increase in health and small positive increase in education. This was despite Chinese ODA to both nations having similar features, focusing not primarily on human development sectors but instead infrastructure, energy and communication with education and health only being a small part of the overall amount of ODA. This aid pattern was reflected in the five nations analyzed in the extended analysis as well. Instead of a direct relationship between increased Chinese aid and health and education sector expenditure, more evidence seems to point towards Chinese aid providing the recipient nations with increased fiscal freedom and room to spend money according to their own priorities. The conclusion of Chinese non-interference-based aid leading to increased fiscal autonomy in recipient nations also aligns with some academics such as Kaplan (2016) and McCarthy (2011), whom argues that states which receive ODA from China, through the non-interference policy, gets more fiscal autonomy, flexibility and freedom, and the choice to spend their money however they wish as the aid donor does not demand any policy changes or other costly endeavors in exchange for aid. This would indicate that non-interference ODA does give African governments more room to act in their own interests as opposed to when they receive western aid, which usually demands some sort of action from the recipient nation in order for fiscal transfers to take place. In short: as a result of the comparative case study, it can be concluded that although public expenditure in education and health has overall increased after the expansion of Chinese ODA, a direct relationship between the two cannot be established. However, Chinese aid and the non-interference policy provides recipient nations with fiscal freedom to increase expenditure in areas which were already of interest, which differs from nation to nation. Although there is a pattern of increased public expenditure in education and health sectors, the difference in

expenditure correlates more to nations previous interests, national political stability and governmental desire for poverty reduction than as a direct result of Chinese ODA. Another connection between the increase of Chinese aid and human development could be that increased infrastructure makes social service delivery more effective. It is known that infrastructure greatly increases the capacity of service delivery to citizens, but also provides inputs in other sector and raises the overall productivity (Thakur 2012), which could mean that as infrastructure became more solid, increasing opportunities for these nations to further invest in infrastructure increased as well. Another possibility is that as Chinese ODA went mainly to the infrastructure, energy and communication sectors, the African recipient governments could spend decrease expenditure in those sectors and instead increase expenditure in other sectors, including healthcare and education. The implication of a positive relationship between Chinese aid and human development in African nations is important, as it proves that the western aid model is not the only effective method for making African governments prioritize spending more on human development

What does these conclusions mean on an international level? The analysis saw no evidence backing up the claim that Chinese aid in any way negatively affect African governments prioritization of human development, at least short term, and no statistical indications that increased amounts of Chinese aid will lead to a decline in focus on human development in recipient nations in the future. The statistics show an overall positive trend of increased expenditure in the years after Chinese aid expanded. There is also no indication that Chinese aid would obstruct the goals of poverty reduction and human development western aid is working on, as the public expenditure in education and health did not decline.

Another interesting dimension of the debate is the argument that China is mainly using aid to gain access to resources. Although many of the largest receivers of Chinese aid are resource rich and primarily export-based economies there are exceptions, as Ethiopia despite being the second largest receiver of Chinese aid in Africa is not a natural resource- or export-based economy. This mildly contradicts the argument that China is using aid purely as a means for resource extraction and commercial opportunism (Hackenesch 2015, Adem 2012). However, above mentioned results do not mean that the critique towards China-Africa relations as a neocolonialist venture are all unfounded, and there is valid

criticism to be given. In the argument of China using African states to its own advantage, as the statistic clearly indicate that China has become a large trade partner in all analyzed nations, not just as an importer of African goods but also as an exporter of Chinese products to African nations. There is also something to be said about the narrative of “mutual benefits” in the relations between China and African nations, as the more powerful China has more leverage to exert power and skew cooperation agreements in their favor (Bond 2016). As for the non-interference policy, the critique stating that providing economic resources to nations ruled by dictators, corruption and human rights violations is not an apolitical act is also important, as reflected in Mugabe’s praise for the Chinese method (Volodzko 2016, Bond 2016).

Increased fiscal freedom for developing nations imply that the dependency on western nations is declining. With increased south-south cooperation and less dependency on western nations for aid, the “traditional” method of development aid will have to evolve in order to accommodate a world where nations of the global south are defining their own preferred methods of development. Chinese aid and its effect on African nations does have the power to change the western global development cooperation narrative. However, change from the western IR tradition does not have to be a bad thing, it might be good for the current global climate to change from a western-centric system to something more inclusive of other nations philosophies and ideas.

The global implications of a continuous expansion of China-Africa ODA relations can be interpreted very differently depending on the theoretical perspective of the observer. From a liberalist perspective, increased south-south cooperation can be interpreted as not a threat, but rather another step towards increased interdependence which according to liberalist theory will lead to development, growth and a more peaceful international system. From a liberalist point of view, increased China-Africa ODA relations could hence prove to be a positive movement for the global system if it creates more and deeper bonds between nations and increases the global interdependence. The findings that Chinese aid does not obstruct or actively hinder western aid efforts is echoed by empirical testing by Dreher et al (2017), which found no clear pattern of connection between Chinese aid and lack of western aid effectiveness. These finding echoes the sentiment that the rise of China-Africa relations does not have

to equal a decline of the western powers. The rise of the global south does not have to equal the fall of the global north, the current situation could provide an immense opportunity for increased relations, growth interdependence and trade on a global scale. From a liberalist standpoint interdependence will be the primary factor in development, growth and in the end, more peaceful relations. From a liberalist theoretical perspective the current development would not be classified as inherently negative or a threat, but rather as a global opportunity. Although many different factors come into play, the increased relations between not only China and Africa, but nations of the global south will lead to a more interdependent international society. This increased globalization will not only lead to increased relations between nations but will also come with increased common cultural and social values, which in turn could lead to a more stabilized international system where nations of the global south can enjoy an increased amount of power and importance together with the west. From a liberalist standpoint, the rise in power of one nation or group of nations does not need to lead to the downfall of power in another, as cooperation and equality is a goal. However, in order for this to work, this peaceful development would require southern states to rise within the existing global framework of liberal international relations and the market economy.

From a neorealist perspective, the view of the current situation can be interpreted rather differently. As neorealism argues that power struggles are always in focus in the international system, an unstable system with shifting powers can lead to instability, insecurity and conflict (Waltz 1990). The shift in power that increasing China-Africa relations and south-south cooperation presents could mean chaos in the international system if western states feel very threatened. From a neorealist standpoint, increased cooperation and power and within the global south would be a drastic shift from the current anarchical world system. The possible future consequences of an increased relationship between China and the African continent are numerous. As China becomes more powerful as an aid donor within the international aid system the west has no choice but to consider the Beijing non-interference model of aid as a viable and legitimate system of development cooperation. Relations between China and Africa are representative of south-south cooperation, and further relations between the two will increase the power and position of south-south cooperation within the

international system. As China provides more ODA globally and development cooperation increase, there will be less of a need for African nations to adhere to western standards of aid delivery, which has the potential of changing the global aid system. As more different methods of aid and development cooperation become viable, perhaps the norm of western aid will disappear and make room for other alternatives of development cooperation.

Less reliance on western aid may have larger implications for international relations at large. As the IR system at large have been dominated by western nations since colonial times, the west has relied on being the leading voices of the international system. However, with “the rise of the global south” and southern nations becoming less reliant on western aid, the power dynamics within the international system could drastically change as nations of the global south become more powerful. This would be a drastic change on an international level, and from a neorealist perspective such a harsh change has the potential to throw the current IR system into chaos and conflict.

Overall, if Chinese aid continues to increase at the current pace and the method of non-intervention aid and trade becomes more popular the power that western states have had over the global south since colonial times will wane, which would also lead to states of the global south taking up more space and implementing change not just in aid, but in politics and the international system over all. This could lead to several different consequences in the international system, however predictions of these consequences differ within different IR schools of thought. Liberalists would argue that increasing interdependence will lead to stability and peace, while neorealists argue that the rise of southern economic power and influence in the anarchic international system will lead to diminishing power of other nations, and as such, the “rise of the global south” could lead to hostility and conflict as nations scramble for power in the anarchical system.

5 Conclusions

To conclude, by looking at statistics of Chinese aid to African nations as well as changes in public expenditure before/after the influx of Chinese aid, a trend of overall increase in public expenditure could be established in the case of healthcare, but not education. However, through further analysing the connection between Chinese aid and public health- and education expenditure in a comparative case study between Ethiopia and Cote d'Ivoire, the results differed very drastically in nature. Ethiopia saw a much larger increase in public expenditure than Cote d'Ivoire, which experienced a small negative change in health expenditure and small positive change in education expenditure. By conducting an extended analysis to five more nations in order to distinguish patterns in aid and expenditure, no direct relationship between increased Chinese aid and public health and education expenditure could be established. Instead of a direct relationship between increased Chinese aid and positive health and education sector expenditure, there is more evidence of Chinese aid having given the recipient nations more fiscal freedom and room to adjust expenditure according to their own priorities. This can be concluded as Ethiopia seems to have had an interest in increasing expenditure in human development areas before Chinese aid started increasing in 2004, and Cote d'Ivoire has not been able to prioritize human development expenditure as the region have been preoccupied by internal conflict, mismanagement of funds, political instability and lack of strong policies. This pattern was reflected in the extended analysis, with nations with established poverty reduction strategies and fairly stable national political climates (Ghana, Tanzania) overall increased public expenditure in healthcare more than nations with less structured poverty reduction strategies or more politically unstable climates (Cameroon, Nigera). As the theory of Chinese aid contributing to increased fiscal autonomy seem to be reflected to a certain extent in the both the comparative case study and the extended analysis, The evidence points towards the conclusion that there is a stronger chance of Chinese aid giving

recipient nations increased fiscal freedom to place government expenditure in areas they see fit, than Chinese aid having a direct positive effect on public expenditure in health and education, especially as Chinese aid is distributed according to the non-interference policy and hence cannot be used to demand any political actions from the aid recipient.

As such, the answer to the hypotheses are a varied in results. “As Chinese aid has increased in its African cooperation partners, so has public expenditure in the health and education sectors” is correct, but no obvious relationship between the two different phenomena was established. However, there was no evidence of a negative relationship between the two either. I was expecting a larger amount of the Chinese aid to go directly into human development sectors, but I was wrong. The second hypothesis “A similar pattern of increased public expenditure in the health and education sectors can be observed in African nations which receive a large amount of Chinese ODA” was also partly proven to be correct. There is a pattern distinguishable of increased health expenditure since 2004. However, this pattern is not directly connected to Chinese ODA, but rather appear to be a result of the nation’s themselves pushing for change and human development. When it comes to a distinguishable pattern of education expenditure, there was simply not enough data to confirm if the hypothesis is correct or not.

As for the research questions, the answer to whether Chinese ODA has affected public healthcare and education expenditure in African recipient nations is that there may be a relationship between the two phenomena, but no direct connection between the two could be established. Again, I wrongly hypothesized that a larger amount of Chinese aid would go directly to health and education sectors and hence expected more of a direct relationship to analyse. Therefore, the way in which I believe the two phenomena are connected is that the influx of Chinese aid with a non-interference policy has led to China financing many projects without asking for political actions in return, leaving the African nations with more capital they can spend as they wish. The nations which originally has had a larger a focus on human development will hence allocate more funds to these sectors. This argument is made in accordance to academics like Kaplan, who theorizes that fiscal freedom has increased as a result of an influx of Chinese capital. However, there is no concrete proof that this argument is correct either.

There are larger international implications of the relationship between Chinese ODA and African health and education expenditure. By mapping the current debate within IR concerning the increasing phenomenon of China-Africa relations, two main schools of thought can be observed. One the side with a more pessimistic opinion of increasing China-Africa relationship, the main arguments established throughout the debate is that China is a bad influence on nations in the global south, particularly African states, and that an increased relationship between China and Africa will lead to regression in human development as China is merely cooperating in order to further their own economic growth. By following the Beijing model, human development will not be as prioritized as it has been in traditional western development cooperation. The other argument is that an increasing non-interference policy aid will lead to western aid declining in effectiveness, as African nations would rather receive non-interference aid from China than execute various tasks or reforms that western states asks of them in return for aid. On the side more optimistic towards the relationship, the main argument is that China provides a good alternative to the western aid system, and China through its experience of having been a developing nation whom achieved growth has more knowledge of what it takes for African nations to develop.

As seen in the data of this analysis, there is no concrete proof that Chinese aid would lead to a decrease in importance for human development, at least not in the short term. As a matter of fact, it is the opposite as public expenditure has increased. The implication of a positive relationship between Chinese aid and human development in African nations is important, as it proves that the western aid model is not the only effective method for making African governments prioritize spending more on human development. A deeper relationship between China and African nations imply that the nations of the global south are capable of achieving growth with a lesser dependence on western states, and the cooperation between Africa and China as a relationship of mutual benefits can have positive consequences in both economic growth and human development. It also implies that non-interference aid does not mean that African states will abandon their goals of poverty reduction and human development. From a liberalist perspective this can be seen as positive, as increased interdependence globally will lead to growth and development since states deeply reliant on each other through socioeconomic connections have more incentives to help each other and keeping

the peace than engage in conflict. Increasing south-south cooperation will hence further connect nations which will eventually lead to a more peaceful world. From a neorealist theoretical perspective, the relationship has slightly different implications. Neorealist theory is based in the idea that states constantly struggle for power in the anarchical international system. From a neorealist point of view, the “rise of the global south” also implies a new world order with more multipolarity, which will cause instability and potentially conflict in the international system. However, “the rise of the global south” does not seem to be stopping anytime soon, and the international system is changing to accommodate this new phenomenon.

In conclusion, although there was a pattern of increased healthcare and education public expenditure, there is not enough evidence to tie it directly to the influx of Chinese aid. There may be a connection between increasing Chinese aid and increased fiscal freedom, as Chinese non-interference ODA provides the nations with more capital and opportunities to utilize government expenditure freely. Chinese aid brought a sudden influx of a lot of capital, which gave the recipient nations opportunities to allocate public expenditure to prioritized sectors.

I firmly believe that the connection between Chinese aid and the prioritization of human development in recipient nations is very important to understand, as this topic will probably become increasingly important during the rest of the 21st century as developing nations continue to rise and become more powerful in the international system. As for suggestions of future research, a more in-depth study of this topic would be interesting, perhaps by conducting a similar study on Chinese aid recipients globally to see if the results generated here are reflected in nations outside Africa. Another interesting research project could be to expand upon the relationship between Chinese aid and African fiscal autonomy.

6 References

- Adem, S (2012) *China in Ethiopia: Diplomacy and Economics of Sino-optimism*. African Studies Review, 55, 1, pp. 143-160
- AFDB (2018) *Ethiopia Economic Outlook*. African Development Bank Group, [Digital]. Retrieved from <https://www.afdb.org/en/countries/east-africa/ethiopia/ethiopia-economic-outlook/>
- Aglionby, J. (2017) *Ethiopia bids to become the last development frontier*, Financial Times, published July 4th 2017 [Digital] Retrieved from <https://www.ft.com/content/76968dc4-445f-11e7-8d27-59b4dd6296b8>
- Aiddata.org (2018) *China's Global Development Footprint*. [Digital] Retrieved from <http://aiddata.org/china>
- AidData (2017) *Global Chinese Official Finance Dataset, Version 1.0*. Retrieved from <http://aiddata.org/data/chinese-global-official-finance-dataset>
- Akindès F. (2012) *Côte d'Ivoire: State-driven Poverty Reduction in a Context of Crisis— Navigating Between MDG Constraints and Debt Relief*. NCCR North-South Dialogue 46 (Working Paper, Special Research Project 4 – Beyond the MDGs). Bern, Switzerland: NCCR North-South.
- Aluko, M.A.O (2017) *Strategies for Poverty Reduction in Nigeria*, Journal of Social Sciences, 7:4, 255-266, DOI: [10.1080/09718923.2003.11892388](https://doi.org/10.1080/09718923.2003.11892388)
- Ateku, A-J. (2017) *Ghana is 60: An African success story with tough challenges ahead*. The Conversation, March 7 2017. Retrieved from <https://theconversation.com/ghana-is-60-an-african-success-story-with-tough-challenges-ahead-74049>
- Barungi, B, Odiambo, O, Asogwa, R. (2017) *Nigeria 2017*. African Economic Outlook. published in cooperation with AfDB, OECD & UNDP
- Batte Sennoga, E, Wondifraw Zerihun, A, Wakiaga, J & Kibet, H. (2017) *Ethiopia 2017*. African Economic Outlook, published in cooperation with AfDB, OECD & UNDP.
- Baxter, P. & Jack, S. (2008) *Qualitative Case Study Methodology: Study Design and Implementation for Novice Researchers*. The Qualitative Report, 13(4), 544-559. Retrieved from <http://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol13/iss4/2>
- Bond, P. (2016) *BRICS banking and the debate over sub-imperialism*. Third World Quarterly, 37:4, 611-629

- Brian, K. (2008). *From Miracle to Nightmare: An Institutional Analysis of Development Failures in Côte d'Ivoire*. Africa Today, (1), 109.
- Brown, K (2013) *Is China's non-interference policy: Sustainable?*. BBC news, published September 17 2013 [Digital]. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-24100629>
- Brown, T & Teshome, A. (2007) *Implementing Policies for Chronic Poverty in Ethiopia*. Background Paper for the Chronic Poverty Report 2008-09, Chronic Poverty Research Centre.
- Changsong, N., & Jing, L. (2016) *Positioning China's Aid To Educational Development In Africa: Past, Present, And Post-2015*. n.p.: Emerald Group Publishing Limited, Emerald Insight
- Cheng, S, Fang, T. & Lien, H-T. (2012) *China's International Aid Policy and its Implications for Global Governance*. Research Center for Chinese Politics and Business Working Paper No. 29. Retrieved from <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2169863>
- Central Intelligence Agency (2018) *Cote d'Ivoire*. The World Factbook [Digital] retrieved from <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/iv.html>
- Central Intelligence Agency (2018a) *Ethiopia*. The World Factbook [Digital] Retrieved from <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/et.html>
- Central Intelligence Agency (2018b) *Tanzania*. The World Factbook [Digital] Retrieved from <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/tz.html>
- Cheru, F (2016) *Emerging Southern powers and new forms of South–South cooperation: Ethiopia's strategic engagement with China and India*. Third World Quarterly, 37, 4, pp. 592-610
- China's Foreign Aid Information Office of the State Council, People's Republic of China (2011) *China's foreign aid*, white paper, Beijing
- Chun, Z. (2014) *China-Zimbabwe Relations: A Model of China-Africa Relations?*, SAIIA Global Powers and Africa Programme. South African Institute of International Affairs.
- Cogneau, D., Hougbedji, K., & Mesplé-Somps, S. (2016) *The Fall of the Elephant: Two Decades of Poverty Increase in Côte d'Ivoire, 1988–2008*. Oxford University Press. doi:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198744795.003.0014
- Cui, W. (2016) *Comparison between North-South Aid and South-South Cooperation: Based on the analysis of the new development finance institutions*, Journal Of Shanghai Jiaotong University (Science), 21, 1, p. 25.
- Deloitte (2014) *Ethiopia: A growth miracle*. Johannesburg. [Digital] Retrieved from <https://www2.deloitte.com/za/en/pages/strategy/articles/ethiopia-growth-miracle.html>

- Dreher, A, Fuchs, A, Parks, B, Strange, A & Tierney, M. (2017) *Aid, China, and Growth: Evidence from a New Global Development Finance Dataset*. AidData Working Paper #46. Williamsburg, VA: AidData
- Dreher, A. & Fuchs, A.(2011) *Rogue Aid? The Determinants of China's Aid Allocation*. Courant Research Centre Discussion Paper No. 93.
- Emenuga, C, Charle, P & Dhliwayo, R. (2017) *Tanzania 2017*. African Economic Outlook. published in cooperation with AfDB, OECD & UNDP
- Eskinder Eshetu, A. (2014) *Health Care Financing in Ethiopia: Implications on Access to Essential Medicines*. Value in Health Regional Issues, Volume 4, 37-40
- Fambon, S., McKay, A., Timnou, J., Kouakep, O., Dzossa, A., & Ngoho, R.(2016-04-01). Slow Progress in Growth and Poverty Reduction in Cameroon. In *Growth and Poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa*. : Oxford University Press.
- Gamora, G. (2010) *Ethiopia and China Political and Economic Relations: Challenges and prospects after 1991*. Afrology.com Afrique en développement.
- Gerring, J. (2011) *The Case Study: What it is and What it Does*. The Oxford Handbook Of Political Science, Oxford Handbooks Online
- Gray, K, & Gills, B. (2016) *Introduction: South–South cooperation and the rise of the Global South*. Third World Quarterly, 37, 4, pp. 557-574.
- Goodrick, D. (2014). *Comparative Case Studies*. Methodological Briefs: Impact Evaluation 9, UNICEF Office of Research, Florence. [Digital] UNICEF-IRC. Retrieved from <https://www.unicef-irc.org/publications/754/>
- Heritage Foundation (2018) *Cote d'Ivoire* [Digital] Retrieved from <https://www.heritage.org/index/pdf/2018/countries/cotedivoire.pdf>
- Hackenesch, C. (2015) *Not as bad as it seems: EU and US democracy promotion faces China in Africa*. Democratization, 22:3, 419-437, DOI: 10.1080/13510347.2014.1002476
- Handloff, R. E., Roberts, T. D. & Library Of Congress. Federal Research Division. (1991) *Cote d'Ivoire: a country study*. Washington, D.C.: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress: For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O. [Pdf] Retrieved from the Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/90005878/>
- Idun-Arkhurst, I. (2008) *Ghana's relations with China*, China in Africa: Project Report No. 3. South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA).
- International Monetary Fund (2004) *Ethiopia: Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program (SDPRP) Annual Progress Report (2002/03)*. Retrieved from <https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/scr/2004/cr0437.pdf>

- International Monetary Fund (2010) *Cameroon: Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper*, IMF Country Report No. 10/257
- International Monetary Fund (2013) *Côte d'Ivoire: Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper*. IMF Country Report No. 13/172. IMF. Washington DC.
- Isaac, I. (2017) *Impact of Sino-Africa Economic Relations on the Ghanaian Economy: The Case of Textiles*. International Journal of Innovation and Economic Development, 3(1), 7-27.
- Jules, T. & Morais de Sá e Silva, M. (2008) *How different disciplines have approached south-south cooperation and transfer*. Society for International Education Journal. Volume 5, No 1. The Society for International Education Cambridge University. 2008
- Levin, J., Lofgren, H. and Dessus, S. (2015) *Impact of Aid and Public Spending-A Macro-micro Framework*. Journal of International Development, 27(8), pp.1479-1495.
- Kaplan, SB (2016) *Banking unconditionally: the political economy of Chinese finance in Latin America*. Review Of International Political Economy, 23, 4, p. 643.
- Khan, SA. & Baye, FM. (2008) *China-Africa Economic Relations: The Case of Cameroon*. University of Yaounde II, African Economic Research Consortium, Nairobi ZDB-ID 24695336. - Vol. 16.
- Kiely, R. (2015). *The BRICs, US 'Decline' and Global Transformations*. [Digital] Retrieved from <http://www.palgraveconnect.com.ludwig.lub.lu.se/pc/doi/10.1057/9781137499974.0001>
- Magombeyi, M., & Odhiambo, N. (2016). Poverty Alleviation Policies in Tanzania: Progress and Challenges. *EuroEconomica*, 35(2). Retrieved from <http://journals.univ-danubius.ro/index.php/euroeconomica/article/view/3320/3754>
- Manjengwa, J, Kasirye, I, Matema, C. (2012) *Understanding poverty in Zimbabwe: A sample survey in 16 Districts*. Paper prepared for presentation at the Centre for the Study of African Economies Conference 2012 "Economic Development in Africa", Oxford, United Kingdom, March 18-20, 2012
- McCarthy, Tom (2011) *Assessing China and India's New Role in Africa*. Online. e-International Relations. Available at: www.e-ir.info/2011/07/26/assessing-china-and-india%E2%80%99s-new-role-in-africa/
- Meibo, H, & Peiqiang, R. (2012) *China's Foreign Aid and Its Role in the International Architecture*, Revue Internationale De Politique De Développement, Iss 3 (2012), 3
- Meidan, M. (2006) *China's Africa Policy: Business Now, Politics Later*. Asian Perspective, Vol.30, No.4

- Milhorance, C, & Soule-Kohndou, F (2017) *South-South Cooperation and Change in International Organizations*. *Global Governance*, 23, 3, pp. 461-481
- Moshi, H.P.B. & Mtui, J.M (2008) *Scoping Studies on China-Africa Economic Relations: The Case of Tanzania*. Economic Research Bureau, Dar es Salaam.
- Mosley, P. (2012) *Fiscal Composition and Aid Effectiveness: A Political-Economy Model*. WIDER Working Paper 2012/029. Helsinki: UNU-WIDER.
- Muhr, T. (2016) *Beyond 'BRICS': ten theses on South-South cooperation in the twenty-first century*, *Third World Quarterly*, 37:4, 630-648, DOI: 10.1080/01436597.2015.1108161
- Nayyar, D. (2016), *BRICS, developing countries and global governance*, *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 37, no. 4, pp. 575-591. Available from: 10.1080/01436597.2015.1116365.
- Nordtveit, BH. (2011) *An emerging donor in education and development: A case study of China in Cameroon*. *International Journal Of Educational Development*, 31, pp. 99-108
- O'Mahony, A.C. (2017) *Ethiopia's "economic growth miracle" defies the "one size fits all" approach to economic development* (master's thesis), Leiden University
- ODI (2005) *What can the Fiscal impact of aid tell us about aid effectiveness?* Briefing Paper, Publications, Overseas Development Institute, London
- OECD (2018) *Cote d'Ivoire*. [Digital] Retrieved from <https://atlas.media.mit.edu/en/profile/country/civ/>.
- OECD (2018b) *Cameroon* [Digital] Retrieved from <https://atlas.media.mit.edu/en/profile/country/cmr/>
- OECD (2018c) *Ghana* [Digital] Retrieved from <https://atlas.media.mit.edu/en/profile/country/gha/>
- Ogunkola, E, Bankole, A, Adewuyi, A. (2008) *China-Nigeria Economic Relation*. AERC Scoping Studies on China-Africa Relations. University of Ibadan.
- Okolo, AL. (2015) *China's Foreign Policy Shift in Africa: From Non-Interference to Preponderance*, *International Journal of African Renaissance Studies*, vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 32-47
- Parks, B.C. & Strange, A.M. (2014) *Aid to Africa: Helpful or Harmful?*, *China Economic Quarterly*, 29-33.
- Phillips, K. (2013) *The history of foreign aid*. Australian Broadcasting Corporation, published Dec 17 2013 [Digital]. Retrieved from <http://www.abc.net.au/radionational/programs/rearvision/the-history-of-foreign-aid/5162100>

- Ragin, CC. (1987) *The Comparative Method: Moving Beyond Qualitative And Quantitative Strategies*. n.p.: Berkeley : University of California Press, cop. 1987
- Ramani, S. (2016) *Zimbabwe: China's 'All-Weather' Friend in Africa*. The Diplomat, Published 11 January 2016 [Digital] Retrieved from <https://thediplomat.com/2016/01/zimbabwe-chinas-all-weather-friend-in-africa/>
- Scholte, JA. (2005). *Globalization: a critical introduction*. 2. ed. [rev. and updated] New York: Palgrave Macmillan
- Shen, R. & Mantzopoulos, V. (2013) *CHINA'S "GOING OUT" POLICY: INCEPTION, EVOLUTION, IMPLICATION*. Journal Of Business & Behavioral Sciences, 25, 2, pp. 121-136
- Shinn, DH. (2014) *Ethiopia and China: How Two Former Empires Connected*. International Policy Digest, 1, 6, pp. 29-37
- Seka, PR, Kouakou, CK. (2008) *Relations économiques entre la Chine et l'Afrique: Le cas de la Côte d'Ivoire*, AERC Scoping Studies on China-Africa Economic Relations
- Thakur, M. (2009) *Building on Progress? Chinese Engagement in Ethiopia*. Occasional Paper No 38. Johannesburg: SAIIA.
- The World Bank (2015) *Poverty Reduction in Ghana: Progress and Challenges*. Published October 2015 [Digital] Retrieved from <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/ghana/publication/poverty-reduction-ghana-progress-challenges>
- The World Bank (2016) *Cameroon: Creating opportunities for inclusive growth and poverty reduction*. Published 12th July 2016 [Digital] Retrieved from <http://www.worldbank.org/en/results/2016/07/12/cameroon-creating-opportunities-for-inclusive-growth-and-poverty-reduction>
- World Bank (2016b) *Poverty Reduction in Nigeria in the Last Decade*. World Bank, Washington, DC. © World Bank. License: CC BY 3.0 IGO. Retrieved from <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/25825>
- The World Bank, World Development Indicators (2017a) *Expenditure on education as total % of government expenditure (%)* [Data file] Retrieved from: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.XPD.TOTL.GB.ZS> Adapted from UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) (2017) *Expenditure on education as % of total government expenditure (all sectors)* [Data file]. Retrieved from: http://uis.unesco.org/indicator/edu-fin-total-edu_exp_r_gov_exp
- The World Bank, World Development Indicators (2017b) *Health expenditure, public (% of government expenditure)* [Data file] Retrieved from <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SH.XPD.PUBL.GX.ZS> adapted from World Health Organization Global Health Expenditure database

- The World Bank, World Development Indicators (2017c) *health expenditure, public (% of GDP)* [Data file] Retrieved from <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SH.XPD.PUBL.ZS?locations=CI-ET-GH-CM-TZ-ZW-NG>
- The World Bank, World Development Indicators (2017d) *Government expenditure on education, total (% of GDP)* [Data file] Retrieved from <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.XPD.TOTL.GD.ZS>
- The World Bank, World Development Indicators (2017e) *Population, total* [Data file] Retrieved from <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL?locations=CI-ET-GH-CM-TZ-ZW-NG>
- The World Bank, World Development Indicators (2017f) *GDP growth (annual %)* [Data file] Retrieved from <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD?locations=CI-ET-GH-CM-TZ-ZW-NG>
- The World Bank, World Development Indicators (2017g) *GDP, Current US\$* [Data file] Retrieved from <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG?locations=CI-ET-GH-CM-TZ-ZW-NG>
- The World Bank, World Development Indicators (2017h) *Net ODA received (% of GNI)* [Data file] Retrieved from <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/DT.ODA.ODAT.GN.ZS>
- Tiyambe Zeleza, P. (2014) *The Africa-China relationship: challenges and opportunities*, Canadian Journal of African Studies/ La Revue canadienne des études africaines, 48:1, 145-169, DOI: 10.1080/00083968.2014.946298
- UNDP (2017) *Human Development Index (HDI) | Human Development Reports*. [Digital] Retrieved from <http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/human-development-index-hdi>
- UNDP (2018) *Human Development Index*. [Digital] Retrieved from HDI <http://hdr.undp.org/en/data#>
- UNICEF (2016) *UNICEF Country Office Annual Report 2016: Cote d'Ivoire*. UNICEF.
- Volodzko, D. (2016) *China in Africa, Part II: The Bad*. The Diplomat. Published June 3 2016. [Digital] Retrieved from <https://thediplomat.com/2016/06/china-in-africa-part-ii-the-bad/>
- Waltz, K. (1990) *Realist Thought and Neorealist Theory*, *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 44, No. 1, pp. 21-37.
- World Health Organization (2018) *Cameroon* [Digital] Retrieved from <http://www.who.int/workforcealliance/countries/cmr/en/>

- Xinhua News (2016) *Les relations entre la Côte d'Ivoire et la Chine se trouvent dans une phase de consolidation, selon des experts*. Published April 18 2016 [Digital] Retrieved from <http://news.abidjan.net/h/589381.html>
- Yemline, P, Diagne, I, Baguia, E. (2017) *Cote d'Ivoire 2017*. African Economic Outlook, published in cooperation with AfDB, OECD & UNDP
- Yemline, P, Diagne, I, Baguia, E. (2018) *Country notes: Cote d'Ivoire*. African Economic Outlook, published in cooperation with AfDB, OECD & UNDP [Digital] Retrieved from <http://www.africaneconomicoutlook.org/en/country-notes/cote-d-ivoire>
- Zhang, J. (2016) *Chinese foreign assistance, explained*. Brookings, published July 19 2016 [Digital]. Retrieved from <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2016/07/19/chinese-foreign-assistance-explained/>

7 Appendix

7.1 Data on other variables

		Public health expenditure (% of GDP)	Education expenditure (% of GDP)	Population	GDP total	GDP growth	Aid (as % of GNI)	HDI
Ethiopia	1995	1.2%	-	57.3 mil	7.6 bil	6.1%	11.5%	-
	2005	2.5%	-	76.7 mil	12.4 bil	11.8%	15.6%	0.346
	2014	2.9%	-	97.3 mil	55.6 bil	10.3%	6.5%	0.441
Cote d'Ivoire	1995	1.6%	4.3%	14.5 mil	11.1 bil	7.1%	12.1%	0.388
	2005	1.3%	4.1%	18.3 mil	17 bil	1.5%	0.5%	0.413
	2014	1.7%	4.7%	22.5 mil	35.4 bil	8.8%	2.6%	0.466
Cameroon	1995	0.9%	-	13.4 mil	9.6 bil	4.1%	4.9%	0.436
	2005	1.1%	3.1%	17.4 mil	17.9 bil	2.3%	2.4%	0.456
	2014	0.9%	-	22.2 mil	34.9 bil	5.9%	2.5%	0.514
Ghana	1995	1.6%	-	16.7 mil	6.5 bil	4.1%	10.3%	0.473
	2005	2.9%	7.4%	21.5 mil	10.7 bil	5.9%	10.9%	0.510
	2014	2.1%	6.1%	26.9 mil	38.6 bil	4.0%	3%	0.575
Tanzania	1995	1.4%	-	29.9 mil	5.2 bil	3.6%	17%	0.368
	2005	3.0%	4.6%	39.4 mil	16.9 bil	8.2%	9%	0.446
	2014	2.6%	3.5%	52.2 mil	48.2 bil	7.0%	5.5%	0.519
Nigeria	1995	0.7%	-	108 mil	28.5 bil	-0.3%	0.8%	-
	2005	1.2%	-	139 mil	112 bil	3.4%	6.5%	0.466
	2014	1.0%	-	176 mil	568 bil	6.3%	0.5%	0.525
Zimbabwe	1995	-	-	11.3 mil	7.1 bil	10.4%	7.2%	0.465
	2005	2.7%	-	12.9 mil	5.7 bil	-5.7%	6.8%	0.408
	2014	2.5%	8.4%	15.4 mil	15.8 bil	2.8%	5.4%	0.507

Source: The World Bank 2017c, 2017d, 2017e, 2017f, 2017g, 2017h, UNDP 2018

7.2 Data on public expenditure, period 1995-2014

Health expenditure as % of total government expenditure

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003					Average 1995-2003	
Ethiopia	6,97	7,01	7,28	7,67	6,92	9,35	9,74	9,71	9,22					8,207777778	
Cote d'Ivoire	6,83	8,31	9,17	9,02	9,01	10,03	8,04	7,61	7,38					8,377777778	
Cameroon	6,1	5,92	6,57	4,85	5,02	6,08	6,78	7,94	8,2					6,384444444	
Ghana	10,83	10,78	10,97	11,02	9,89	7,84	9,33	8,45	8,33					9,715555556	
Tanzania	9,23	9,23	9,23	9,23	9,23	9,23	15,37	18,07	20,01					12,09222222	
Nigeria	6,08	6,08	6,08	6,08	4,45	5,92	4,49	3,72	5,89					5,421111111	
Zimbabwe	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..					n/a	
	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	Average 2004-2014	Difference		
	10,11	11,16	11,45	12,51	11,85	14,15	19,83	19,01	18,53	15,94	15,74	14,57090909	increase +6,36%		
	7,72	6,99	7,65	7,53	7,47	8,48	8,22	8,86	8,52	8,2	7,34	7,907272727	decrease (slight) -0,46%		
	7,07	7,66	7,4	6,76	5,575	7,33	8,53	6,41	5,45	4,62	4,26	6,460454545	increase (slight) +0,07%		
	12,58	15,07	13,98	16,15	13,14	16,44	14,92	14,02	9,31	10,58	6,81	13	increase +3,28%		
	18,09	18,95	28,19	18,17	15,29	11,52	10,93	13,89	15,92	13,44	12,31	16,06363636	increase +3,97%		
	8,81	7,29	8,64	9,19	7,62	7,36	5,71	7,42	7,43	6,47	8,17	7,646363636	increase +2,22%		
	..	10,96	8,25	7,5	6,4	10,57	7,47	7,59	9,69	9,59	8,48	8,65	n/a		

Education expenditure as % of total government expenditure

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003					Average 1995-2003	
Ethiopia	..	13,04	14,86	..	..	14,9	14,46	16,18	..					14,688	
Cote d'Ivoire	..	..	19,22	18,81	21,67	20,8	23,2	22,59	22,64					21,27571429	
Cameroon	..	..	..	..	..	11,68	15,73	..	21,44					insufficient data	
Ghana	..	..	..	..	14,89	..	15,74	..	..					insufficient data	
Tanzania	..	12,5	12,62	11,79	..	..	..	..	..					insufficient data	
Nigeria	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..					n/a	
Zimbabwe	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..					n/a	
	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	Average 2004-2014			
	..	..	23,97	24,69	26,35	23,58	26,3	29,67	30,53	27,02	..	26,51375	increase +11,82%		
	22,1	21,84	19,94	21,66	21,41	22,19	22,77	22,42	20,85	21,57	21,76	21,68272727	increase (slight) +0,40%		
	20,84	21,37	20,31	21,56	15,58	19,77	18,75	14,86	15,17	13,8	..	18,201	insufficient data		
	22,37	23,42	24,16	22,31	25,56	22,57	20,93	29,99	36,73	21,2	21,01	24,56818182	insufficient data		
	19,49	18,14	15,01	19,43	18,77	17,41	19,64	..	..	..	17,29	18,1475	insufficient data		
	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	n/a	n/a		
	..	..	..	..	..	..	8,72	..	29,19	28,66	30	24,1425	insufficient data		

7.3 Data on Chinese ODA to Sub-Saharan African states, period 2000-2014

Chinese ODA to African nations

Country	2000-2004		2004-2014		total aid	education	health
	average no of projects/year	average amount of USD/year	average no of projects/year	average amount of USD/year			
Ethiopia	3	88792474 (89 mil)	5.4	302731252 (303 mil)	3658737782	32 116 848 0.8%	19 265 218 0.5%
	total amount of projects	total amount of USD	total amount of projects	total amount of USD			
	12	355169896 (355 mil)	59	3330043769 (3.3 bil)		12 projects	7 projects
Cote d'Ivoire	0.25	20480136(20 mil)	2.45	353232698(353 mil)	3967480229	0 0%	106 073 031 2.7%
	total amount of projects	total amount of USD	total amount of projects	total amount of USD			
	1	81920545(81 mil)	25	3885559684(3.9bil)		1 projects	4 projects
Cameroon	1.75	17516611 (17 mil)	4.7	302939034 (302 mil)	3 403 395 824	30 219 329 0.8%	9 100 258 0.3%
	total amount of projects	total amount of USD	total amount of projects	total amount of USD			
	7	70066446 (70 mil)	52	3332329380 (3.3bil)		5 projects	17 projects
Ghana	2.75	122564290(122 mil)	5.9	190532481 (190mil)	2 586 114 445	41 286 783 1.6%	30 577 579 1.2%
	total amount of projects	total amount of USD	total amount of projects	total amount of USD			
	11	490257159(490 mil)	65	2095857290 (2.1bil)		10 projects	17 projects
Tanzania	4	54137692 (54mil)	6.4	255197090 (255 mil)	3023718761	1468126 0.04%	18718593 0.6%
	total amount of projects	total amount of USD	total amount of projects	total amount of USD			
	16	216550768 (216mil)	70	2807167993 (2.9bil)		11 projects	23 projects
Nigeria	1.5	119498351(119mil)	2.2	236922398 (236mil)	3 084 139 779	14 358 745 0.5%	34 240 363 1.1%
	total amount of projects	total amount of USD	total amount of projects	total amount of USD			
	6	477993403 (478mil)	24	2606146378 (2.6bil)		5 projects	8 projects
Zimbabwe	4	45635196 (45mil)	7.7	311947135 (312mil)	3606462312	13854521 0.4%	218361584 6%
	total amount of projects	total amount of USD	total amount of projects	total amount of USD			
	16	182540785(182mil)	85	3431418489(3.4bil)		12 projects	17 projects