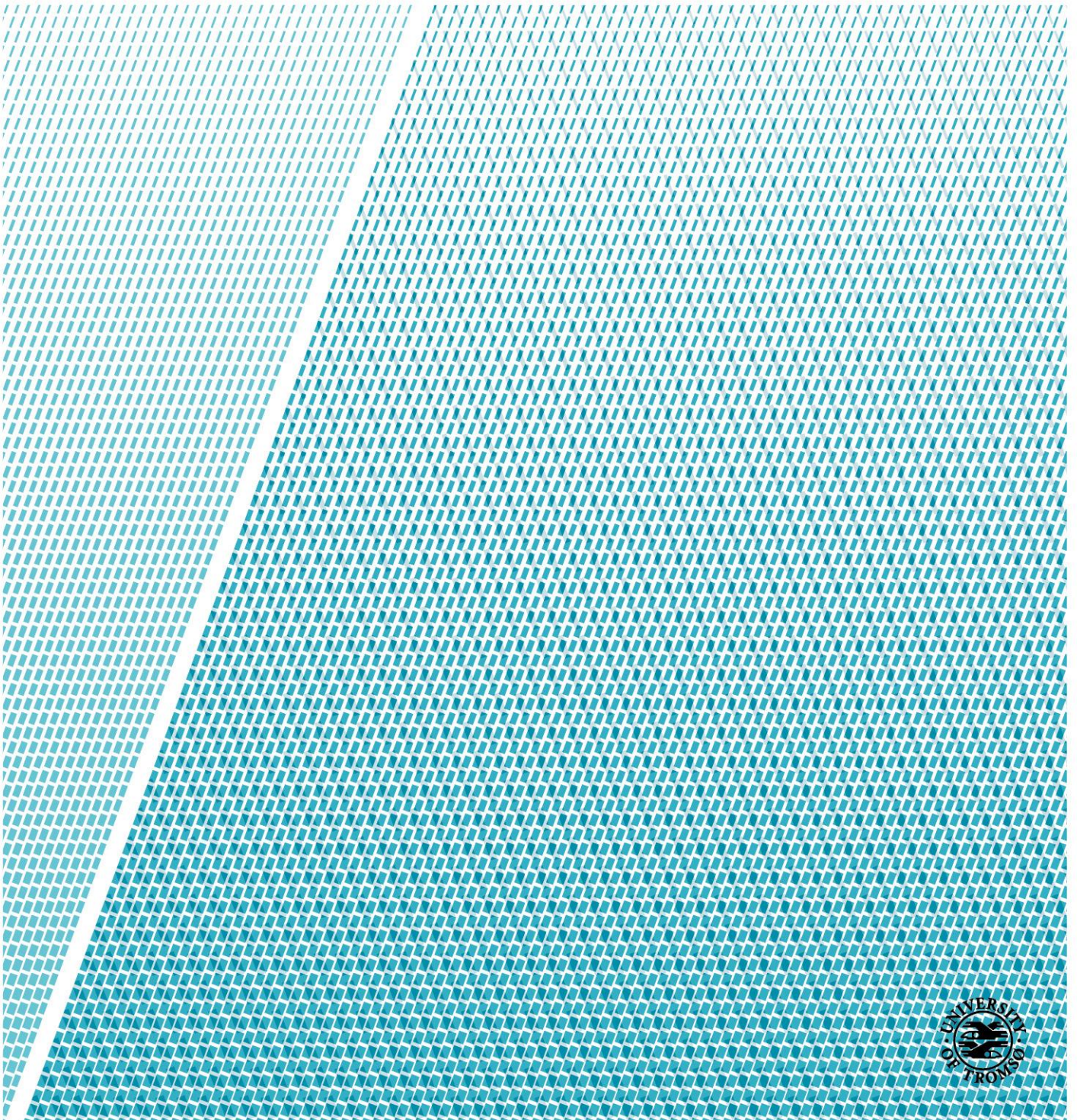


CHINA AND EUROPEAN UNION IN AFRICA: Comparison of China and EU Development Cooperation in Africa

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Abstract

This thesis presents development strategies of the European Union and China inside the African continent. The European long presence in the African continent was challenged by China, the new actor on the international scene. Western system guided by the OECD regulations and demands was confronted by China, the biggest developing country demanding 'win-win' cooperation policy based on mutual benefit and non-interference. Based on the materials collected it seems like African leaders are welcoming Chinese approach, which has 'no conditions' and no demands but with economic and trade opportunities. This thesis compares those two models by looking into Chinese and European Union's their strategy and conditionality.

Key Words: China, European Union, Africa, and Development Cooperation

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List of Abbreviations

AAMS	African and Malagasy States
ACP	African, Caribbean and Pacific states
ACWS	Association of Common Wealth States
CFDP	Common Foreign Defence Policy
CFSDP	Common Foreign, Security and Defence Policy
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
EAS	External Action Service
EC	European Community
EDF	European Development Fund
EEC	European Economic Community
ENP	European Neighbourhood Policy
ESDP	Common European Security and Defence Policy
EU	European Union
FOCAC	Forum on China African Cooperation
GNP	Gross National Product
IBDR	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organization for Cooperation and Development
PRC	People's Republic of China
RMB	Yuan (Chinese currency)
ROC	Republic of China

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CHAPTER 1: Introduction

1.1 Choice of Topic

The international scene has changed in the recent years from the one that was characterized by the supreme rule of the United States of America to the more multipolar system where regional powers like EU and China are gaining more influence. US and the European Union were concentrated more on the “War on Terror” and the domestic matters that were caused by the financial crisis. In the meantime China has quietly re-entered African continent with its newly reformed development model and desire to go global, by creating economic cooperation based on mutual benefit for all.

I come across article on China in Africa during my Bachelor in Development Studies, which triggered my desire to research more about Chinese development model in Africa. During my trip to South Africa I became aware of the presence of the Chinese investments. While researching I have come across a lot of newspaper articles and studies that claimed how the “Chinese way” is different from the “Western way” and how it is offering a new alternative to the African people. Therefore I decided to look more closely into the differences and similarities of the EU and China development model in Africa.

1.2 Objective

This thesis talks about EU and Chinese Development strategies in Africa. Main objective is to analyse possible similarities and differences between the Chinese and European Unions development model. My aim is not to go into great detail about Development theory or to give details of the EU and Chinese foreign policy but rather provide basic characteristics for these models and analyse their implementation in the field. Thesis tries to find out which strategy is more beneficial for the African people.

1.3 Research Problem

Researching development cooperation creates great challenges due to the different understanding of the rules and regulations in the Western World and in the Chinese world. In addition African continent is huge where different countries have different dependant and independent variables that could influence outcomes of developing strategies by foreign actors. Complexity and the uniqueness of the actors involved in the different cases makes it hard to generalize and claim that one is better than the other.

1.4 Research Question

This thesis elaborates on the differences between development strategies used by EU and China in the African case. Also looks closer into efficiency of their implementation and ideological statements in regards to developing strategy in Africa. This thesis will explore the main research question that is:

“How European Union and China implement their development strategies in Africa?”

-How Chinese development approach is different from EU development approach?

CHAPTER 2: Methodology

1.1 Introduction

The research question in of the thesis is “How European Union and China implement their development strategy in Africa”. The first part of this chapter is going to present documentary method as the central method to be used to investigate my topic. Further, it will present information about primary and secondary data as different sort of data used in the research. However the main part of the chapter will be dedicated to documentary review such as content analysis, interpretation approach, critical tradition, discourse analysis, and issues with using statics. Also, it will continue by explaining the data review and sorting already written sources. Furthermore, chapter will talk about the validity and reliability of data used in the thesis. It will present the case study method, since my data analysis chapter present the particular case in Africa that have been used in order to explain the different developmental strategy used by China and Africa. Finishing remarks of the chapter will focus interviews with the scholars in development field who helped to collect relevant literature.

1.2 Doing Documentary Research

This thesis is going to present the topic “How European Union and China implement their development strategy in Africa”. I have used documentary research method as the main research approach to investigate EU and China’s development strategies in Africa. I used documentary research method as the main method of research, because documents are considered as the most reliable research methods practiced in field of academia. Documentary research approach includes archives, governmental records, social statics or environmental reports (Webb, 1984).

The official definition explains document as a physical embodied text and a hand written or printed text on the paper. However, document is also categorized into audio, and visual documents as well (Lewis-Beck, Bryman and Liao, 2004:281). A document is a written text that is produced by individual or group of people as a permanent record or evidence of certain practice. Mostly they are written with a certain purpose and assumptions, which are presented in certain style that is aware of origins, purpose and the original audience of the documents. Because documents are not made on purpose

to fit a research, but rather naturally occurring objects with actual existence that express us indirectly about the social world of the people who created them (Mogalakwe, 2006). Documents that can be use in research are the newspaper, diaries, stamps, directories, handbills, maps, photographs, video tapes, computer files, reports, documents that containing statistical data and etc. (Alasuutari, Bickman, and Brannen, 2008:480). Documents can also range from public through private to personal documents such as government publications, civil society reports, private sector, trade union, and non-government organizations. They can consist of the records of certain meetings, resolutions, advertisements, personal records, training manuals, as well as some more personal information of the private sphere such as medical or finance records (Mogalakwe, 2006). Documentary sources are controlled under the similar general principles as in any other areas of social research, in addition that all of the data has to be managed in a scientific way and with accordingly appropriate approach depending on the source. Documents and statistics are often used in qualitative and quantitative research in order to give general background information; to explain the study; and balance the objectivity. It is believed that documents are more objective and closer to reality because majority of document are based of facts and first hand resources (Henn, Weinstein, and Foard, 2006). However one could also argues that it is the debatable to what extant document data can be considered as fact or replication of true reality. In further paragraph I will discuss the differences primary and secondary data.

1.3 Primary and Secondary Data

Primary data is a first-hand data collected from informant in the field. It is a primary document when the author has personally collected the first-hand data or has direct correlation connection to activity or event that is subject of research. Primary analysis in the study means that the original analysis of data collected in the field presented by author. Depending on the content documents can be called primary or secondary. Primary document are the governmental report and archives, court records, resolution, official letters, original diaries and other reports and records (Henn, Weinstein, Foard, 2009:114). In data analysis chapter, I am using EU and Chinese governmental records as a primary document to present their side of story. I also use different charter and resolutions as to present the commonly excepted laws and regulation. There is the other type of document that I have used, the secondary document, or also known as secondary data.

In contrary, secondary data is when author did not have direct connection with researched topic or did not eyewitnesses the event that is studied. Secondary data is more about providing the reviewed material and written in aftermath of the event. That is why it might include materials like newspaper that is written by other authors and based on other's summary of the event. For instance, Hakim state that "any further analysis of an existing data set which presents interpretations of, conclusions of knowledge additional to, or different from, those presented in the first report on the inquiry as a whole and its main results (Hakim, 1982, Pp.1). By other words the secondary data is a source of information such as books, articles that have already been published other author. Secondary document is also when data is collected someone other then a researcher. In many cases, secondary data is about gathering information online or at the library that is in accordance to the subject of investigation (Bryman, 2008:1009). Secondary data may include the newspaper articles, academic articles, books, statistics, different kind of reports and researches (Henn, 2006:101). Using secondary data is very efficient in cases when author does not have direct access to the event or it is insecure to conduct fieldwork on the ground. In these cases, secondary data collection is a great solution to investigate the topic without personal presence. Also, Bryman (2008) say that the privilege of secondary data is on its web accessibility that makes it much less pricey. I have chosen this method of survey because of limited access (inaccessibility) to political actors who working with development strategy in Africa. Since, I am presenting the development strategies of EU and Chinese officials, it is difficult for me to interview or have direct correction with political actor such as Chinese Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Commerce. Therefore, secondary data was the main tool that enables to investigate the topic that I have a great interest in.

Even though, I have paid great deal of attention to primary sources, I still have gone through many secondary documents given inaccessibility of the actor and given big variety of sources available on web pages. There is big number of secondary data written by researchers and political actors who have been part of the development strategies from EU and Chinese side. Also, give massive scale of time consuming and investments this topic required to write primary based research, I decided it is a bit unrealistic goal given small scale of master thesis. It was more realistic to reach the objective of investigating development strategies of EU in China in Africa context, by

using the secondary data that have already written a lot about. The only challenge that I faced with secondary resources was to analyse large number of the existing data on related my topic. Further chapter, I will talk about the secondary data analysis that helped me efficiently process large number of information.

1.4 Secondary Data Analysis

Secondary analysis in the research is about re-analyse the existing data on related topic that are not identical. Bryman argues that secondary data has gain central role in social science because of growing number of qualitative data and accessibility of data in wide range of subject. He also adds that the benefit of conducting the secondary data survey is on less time and money consuming and lowers the number unnecessary human resources that might requires during the qualitative research as sampling (Bryman, 2008:1008). However negative part of existing data is that it is challenging to make any changes or to ask clarifying questions, as it would be possible in interviews. It is also take a lot of affords to compare and analyse the big number of available data. Since that data is first hand data is designed with particular purpose and message, it might not entirely match or contain all desired variables. Of course, there are some multipurpose secondary data such as archives or general social survey reports that do not have particular research goal or message. However, other types of sources have original purpose and hidden message they want to deliver via document. This can be counted as disadvantage since it is takes big efforts to find obscure ideas narrative in each and every articles that has related title. Thus, there are advantages from secondary analysis survey as immersive accessibility of data gives privilege to collect accurate data without personal presence on the ground. It is also about being able to evaluate primary data source in regards of survey design and administration and data set limitation. However, it requires creativeness of the author to extract necessary information within particular and across other surveys by combining and incorporating the particular data with other related surveys. It might be challenging to process data in accordance but it is still considered as one of effective to conduct data (Bryman, 2008:1009). I have chosen secondary data analysis since I am doing comparative analysis of two different views on one issue. This secondary analysis gave me an opportunity to compare the Chinese side of the story and European one, who have different implementation strategies in regards to development programs in Africa. As it was mentioned above, secondary data

analysis give an opportunity to have access into highly political events and key actor that would be very hard to take part for a regular Master student.

1.5 Content Analysis Approach

Similarly to secondary data analysis, content analysis is about evaluating and analysing the data presented in the document. In contrary to secondary data analysis, content analysis sees the documents as an objective data in regards to presented theme. Secondary data would be analysing with prejudice, while content analysis looks at document as objective source of information that needs to be understood (Prior, 2011:226). However, there is a similarity of secondary data analysis and content analysis, which tries to understand the author's idea, his position regarding the topic, and his message to the reader. Lasswell argues that it is all about "who says what to whom and with what effect" (Lasswell, 1942:12). The main point of content analysing is 'what does the message say' to the reader, but it is not understanding 'what is the meaning of the message' or 'why author is sending it' (Henn, Weinstein, and Foard, 2006:98).

Hakim brings a good example to explain this type of documentary research, where health service records is used in order to investigate the patterns of committing suicide (Hakim, 1993:138). The other aspect of content analysis is quantitative counting as how many articles are published presenting the same point of view or how much attention is devoted to particular issue. Therefore in many cases content analysis sees that document as objective source of data that needs to be understood and researched (Lewis-Beck, Bryman and Liao, 2004:889).

Critical discourse analysis consists not only of description and interpretation of discourse in context, but also offers an explanation of why discourse important for textual analysis. Critical analysis can be started with deciding which type of discourse is represented in certain text, and to what degree and way that text has been adapted. Texts can be subjected to framing so that content presented can display the view of the writer or the organization. Framing of the text is closely associated with the idea of foregrounding, which points out the concepts and issues important for writer, but downgrades those that are not important for him. It is also significant to have a background knowledge, information about assumptions, attitudes and point of the view

that text is presenting so that the analysis can be more correct. On the level of the sentence in the text, it is important to recognize the topic of the sentences and how has that been used to highlight meaning. There is also possibility of looking at it as who is doing what to whom. Agent-patient relation in the discourse can point out who has the most authority and power in the discourse. At the level of the word or phrase meaning of the certain words and phrases can set the degree of the formality or non formality of the text, as well as, what it might meant to the participants in the text. Usage of the expression with certain attitude and belief can express importance or seriousness to the readers or audience (Paltridge, 2006).

As the part of the 10 years anniversary since the China`s first policy paper on the European Union issued by the Chinese government in October 2003, there was a new policy paper issued in April 2014 by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People`s Republic of China with the title Deepen the China-EU Comprehensive Strategic Partnership for Mutual Benefit and Win-Win Cooperation. Already in the title we can feel the importance of good relationship and need to strengthen the already existing ties between these two actors via the EU-China 2020 Strategic agenda for Cooperation. As part of cooperation, they pledge to promote common ideas and work on the resolving of the problems that might arise. In the first part of the 2014 Policy Paper, it is acknowledged that the world has changed in the last ten years and how:

“Multi-polarity and economic globalization have deepened; cultural diversity and IT application have been enhanced; the overall strength of emerging markets and developing countries has been growing; countries have become more interdependent with their interests more intertwined; and peace, development and win-win cooperation have become the trend of our time. But the world is still far from being tranquil. Destabilizing factors and uncertainties affecting world peace and development are on the rise”. (Chinese policy paper, 2014)

By stating the general view of the situation in the world today, common challenges can be recognized and drawbacks accepted while confirming the importance of EU and China in the multi-polar world and significance of their civilization for the advancing human progress. China, of course has a multiple usage of the phrases “mutual benefit” and “win-win” across the document as they would usually use in other documents and

statements, which only highlight the importance of these for the Chinese government and perception of their current and future partners. Furthermore, I used this approach because it was useful analyse the content of the development strategy reports that presented different statistical data. These statics showed the efficiency of Chinese development strategy while European one was not showing promising results from African prospective.

1.6 Interpretive Approach

This method is used to understand the communication between authors (sender) and the reader (recipient) but in subjective way. Therefore this type of data is not considered as an objective point of view but rather a socially constructed opinion in which author or participant have been influenced from. In a way it reflect how some people see the world and present their side of story. This type of document considered as subjective source of data and it requires interpretation in order to be able to present the evidence given in the document. Content interpretation does not concentrate on analysing exact meaning of data but rather concentrates on essence of document itself, which might require interpretation in order reveal its hidden message (Henn, 2006, Pp.99). For example, in McRobbie (1991) researches the teenager girls via using girl's magazine as subjective source of data for teenager's femininity. While looking at this magazine, researcher does not try understand the literal meaning beauty in accordance with magazine but rather it look what is the hidden message that author is sending to recipient. As a result her investigation she found out that magazine is promotes romantic looks for girls and promotes young girl to follow the traditional gender roles in the family (McRobbie, 1991). This example clearly shows that the content of magazine was not the object of study but rather the hidden message that author is sending to the reading and finding out / interpret what is that hidden message. I have used this method because I have looked at this approach as a source to interpret the image of EU and China in Africa. In theory chapter I have mentions direct quote of Botswana's Prime Minister who said: "I find that the Chinese treat us as equals. The West treats us as former subjects" (Paulo and Reisen, 2010:539). This quote demonstrates that China is perceived positively, while European counterparts are perceived as previous colonial power. Therefore, interpretive approach was useful to understand the African point of view and how they see this development approaches. It also was crucial technique to see the image of China and EU in Africa. Even though, it

would not be right to generalize their image given the small scale of my research, but it was crucial technique to compare and find out their efficiency.

1.7 Critical Approach

Similar to interpretive method, critical approach does not see document as objective source of data, which needs to be investigation. These methods focuses on criticizing the external influences like social order and criticize the big issue of power and political ideology. The good example for this case is the state changing the criminal statics in orders to influence criminal legislation and have more control over the street crime (Campbell, 1957). This method takes into consideration not only the document itself but also the social and political condition in which document was written or published. In other words it critical analysis is about the understanding the process in which document was written and what kind of influence document has to the society. So critical analysis sees documents as statistical report and newspaper articles as a driving force that changes social relationship. One might draw similar lines of critical paradigm with Foucault's discourse analysis, because it focuses on influence of document and the social construction, class relationship, political ideology and power (Foucault, 1980). According to Henn (2006) these aspects have a big influence on author's world's view that is shaped mentality of where author comes from or believes in. I chosen this method because Chinese and European have very different point to view reflected in the documents because they (live in two different world) have very different political system and ideology. Chinese authoritarian government controls publishing of Chinese documents and reports which might exclude critical authors to Chinese model of development. In contrary, Europeans strongly believe in democracy, as the only right way for governance and economic privatization is the only path for development. Therefore, Europeans expect to develop democracy in Africa in exchange for their financial assistance. They also do not consider that one system that works in one country could not blindly be injected into another system.

1.8 Discourse Analysis Approach

Discourse analysis is about analysing the research language in its context and given period. Bloor and Wood (2006) define discourse analysis as "an approach that emphasizes how version of the social worlds are produced within naturally occurring spoken or written discourse. The discourse analytical view is that all features of text perform some kind of action, like exercising power and control over others, and it is

possible to analyse how language is used to achieve that action. It is therefore concerned with how participants construct themselves and other through their discourse and how these participants may be undermined” (Bloor and Wood, 2006:53). Discourse is ultimately changing phenomenon that tries to analyse cross-cultural phenomenon or clash between different understandings of the world. Discourse analysis can be applied in data collection strategy, not only by analysing the content of document but also by analysing the author’s point of view, social and political setting, mentality of the audience and the period text was written. Discourse analysis is form of social interaction that impacts that construction of social setting by questioning how particular language is used in certain social context (Rapley, 2007:2; Alasuutari, Bickman, and Brannen, 2008:432). Different thought and understanding can possible exist in people’s mind, however they have meaning only when practiced by discourse and dialogue. For example, most of people have an opinion about cancer as a disease, but they have very different view on how to describe it. Some people might think that is causality medical failure, while others might see it as God’s will (Bloor and Wood, 2006:54). It does not tries to explain which is one is right and which one is wrong but rather it describes as two different understand about one particular from different prospective or worldview.

Therefore this method was essential I used this methods because Chinese and Europeans have totally different opinion about ‘what is the best development technique to implement in Africa given their different historic, political and ideological background. For example, EU is trying to promote Western values and pressure for economic reforms in Africa. And China focuses on doing business as a mutual benefit while strictly following the right of sovereignty of African states. Thereby, discourse analysis was important aspect while comparing very different development approaches given to their different political and social settings.

1.9 Reliability, Authenticity, Validity and Credibility

Reliability tries to answer the question weather the data given in the document is reliable. In quantitative research, reliability can be investigated via the measuring stableness and consistency of the measuring of results given in the reports. Bryman (2012) explains reliability measurement in three factors as: stability, internal reliability and inter-observer consistency. The first one, *stability* measurement by testing and

retesting if the result remains the same or they are going to change. Being more specific, it means that administering the test and then re-administering the same test later to see if it is stable over the time. This double-checking method provides the certainty that data in document is reliable (Lewis-Beck, Bryman and Liao, 2004:957). I used this strategy in order to be sure about statistical data that I was not confident about. It is this secretiveness that created speculation and can lead to unreliable data. This measurement of stability gives confidence that data is reliable. I have used this method because of Chinese system lacks transparency and official statistical database. The second method is *internal reliability* as a key issue to measure indicator like scale and index presented in the document. In other way it measure the separate respondents' relations to the overall score or index presented in data (Bryman, 2008:150). I used this method in order to double check the statically data in research and compare it with other official sources in order to be sure on reliability of the data. The third one is about the *inter-observer consistency* that pays a big deal at subjective judgment of presented data. Inter-observer consistency is similar to content analysis because it evaluates the content of data. For examples, it droughts the newspaper articles or other sources and tries to check the original text or the respondent for conformation. These three reliability factors are there to test and measure to what extend we can trust and rely on given data. In order to do so, we need to re-examine, test and compare separate variable in order to see if it will lead to given result. It also helps to observe the consistency of the given data by comparing it to the original information. It is important methods that helped me to have in mind and challenge every data I used and be sure accuracy of the data before using it as a source. Similar to reliability, there is concept called authenticity, which shares the same value with reliability.

Similarly, **authenticity** invokes the question, if the evidence is genuine and of reliable origin. It is of great importance for the researcher to be sure of the authenticity of the document in the use, since it will influence outcome of the research. It is common that in some documents the findings are falsify to prove desired hypothesis. For example, there are certain legal documents, diaries or letter that can be falsified, even some of the papers to be attributed to the authors that did not write them. Due to these problems it is claimed that researchers have a great responsibility to be assure themselves that documents they plan to use are of valid origin since nothing should be taken for granted. Platt (1981) has suggested a strict examination of the documents if it has certain faults

such as: when documents does not make sense or has apparent errors; when there are internal inconsistencies in terms of style, content and so on; when there are different versions of the same document; when the version available is from a dubious, suspicious secondary source; and when the document has been in hands of a person with interest in particular result of the text.

After establishing the legitimacy of a document, researcher should also check the authorship by checking the name written on a document, since it can happen that authors are incorrectly named or that it could be falsely presented of being written by someone else. In the cases of the government documents where the document was probably written by civil servant or that chief officer who wrote official document with the help from his staff. The name of the author stated on such document should be taken for granted since it is official government document (Mogalakwe, 2006).

In regards to my research, the authenticity should not be a essential issue since the documents and reports that I will be using are the ones that come from the official databases either from official webpage or paper versions that are marked in registry under certain codes and numbers, and have a reference to a certain ministry, department, person, etc. In the case of Chinese and African development cooperation, the best source of English written (translated documents), as well as the updated news and information is the Forum on China African Cooperation (FOCAC, 2006). Here, we have the full overview of the events and projects that have been accomplished between China and African countries in the last 15 years. The confirmations for authentic document such as agreements and projects are proved by the statements of the governmental official visits.

Validity is one of the most important criteria that concentrated on the reliability of the results that is generated from presented data in the document. Similar to reliability, validity also focuses on examine weather the given data is valid or not (Lewis-Beck, Bryman and Liao, 2004:1171 and Bryman, 2008:30). In order to understand validity better, we will divide validity into four types: measurement validity, internal validity, external validity, and ecological validity. *Measurement validity*, also known as construct validity, tries to measure the concept if it really reflects the result without twisting it. By other words, it is about testing hypothesis and how the arguments lead and support it. It reflects does the given measure really represent the result that it

supposed to represent. Therefore, it is important to bear in mind that there is a probability that in some case the final data might be distorted in order to represent a desired hypothesis. By other words, evaluation of the measurement validity presumes that measurement is reliable. Therefore in measurement validity methods, reliable measurement is a key point to evaluate validity of given data (Bryman, 2008:31). This case might also touch upon Chinese lack of transparency in their official documents presented public. Since, it is not a transparent system, it is easy for Chinese officials to distort results because of the desired outcome they want to present. The same thing could be said about African countries that are not well known for transparency. The other one is *internal validity*, which focuses on causality matters and its relations between two different variables. For example, we can suggest that 'x' causes 'y' result and it is important to know that it is x that generated that result and not something else. I chose this method, because it helped me to be independently measure outcomes and helped to question to what extent I can be sure that particular variable fully or partially responsible for present outcome (Lewis-Beck, Bryman and Liao, 2004:1172 and Bryman, 2008:32). I used this technique to measure Chinese investment in African economy via development projects that can boost growth of African economy. It was also important for me to compare to what extent that Chinese aid influences the growth of the African economy. While measuring it, I had in mind that African economy is very complex outcome and there might be many other independent factors that simultaneously could cause the growth.

External validity is about understanding, if the data result can be generalized outside the limits of the given research. For example, if the document presents gender inequality among a particular study group of 469 couples, does it mean that the result of those 469 couples can be referred outside of its scope or it strictly refers to 469 couples only? So this method tries to see if given data/hypothesis is externally valid (Bryman, 2008:33). This method to see how much I could generalize or not given a particular example. Usually, sources present their case and findings to generalize efficiency of EU development strategies in general. By other words I tried to compare a specific case given in one research and see to what extent it could be generalized in a country context or continental context.

Ecological validity is the last but not least important factor of validity is about

applicability of social science into societies' everyday lifestyle in its natural settings. Ecologic validity talks about how academic hypothesis can technically valid; however, it might have nothing to do with everyday life on the ground (Bryman, 2008:33). For example, this tool was helpful to find out about conditionality of Western project that required reduction of the number of employees, decrease of salaries and better budgetary control. Even though it could be necessary steps for the success of the project, in real life setting it was not good for unemployment rates.

Credibility looks whether the evidence is free from error and distortion. Scott (1990) states that the question of credibility should concern the extent to which an observer is honest in the choice of a point of view and in attempt to record an accurate account from the chosen standpoint. Whether the document in use is free from distortions, it is hard to know, but as long as the documents in use is not prepared for the benefit of the researcher meaning that its content were not adjusted to fit the needs. The bigger question is if the researcher has been in contact, have provided honest information or if the consultancy reports were made in accordance to the rules and laws of the company or state. When dealing with newspapers it has been advised to leave out the comments and opinions of the reporter and concentrate on actual facts and the information given by the person-giving interview (Mogalakwe, 2006). It is big a issue in regard to the newspaper articles and other reports that might have some other point in question since it can happen that a reporter or a scientist might have suspicious background or different agenda when reporting. Since there is a lot of media articles about the Chinese work in Africa that would report events or projects as bigger problem than it is. Especially headlines such as 'China a new colonial power' or 'the Chinese immigration is flooding Africa' are the examples of the bad journalism and over reacting to the certain new trends in a country or a region.

Those methods help to bear in mind that not all of the methods are fully valid and reliable. Critical assessment of the documents was important to sort the document to a way so I could present the most credible and objective data. Next paragraph will continue with case study method that helps to focus on particular project.

2.1 Representativeness

Representativeness is more important on some documents than on others since the evidence provided can be of typical origin or if not. More complex documents such as

household income and expenditure surveys that are produced by skilled professionals are done under certain guidelines and since they are official documents it would have been a great loss for the government or the institution if the data were not accurate. Another issue might be if the document is entirely represented or given complete access since administration system of the state might deny access or exclude some information that might be of great importance or have sensitive information (Mogalakwe, 2006). Big challenge with the representativeness is the access to a full and correct data, especially regarding the amount of foreign trade given or received, or how exactly the money was spent. Most of the democratic countries have official transparent budget statistics, where it is possible to see how much money is used for what purposes, where it went, and how it was spent. In regard to the China I have come across statements from academics and researchers about ‘how hard it is to find the official statistics about foreign aid, loans and investments’ since Chinese government is not so transparent and accessible. In addition, the categories and values might be understood and used differently by Chinese officials, which than can be misunderstood by observers.

2.2 Meaning

Meaning explains whether the evidence is clear and comprehensible. Examining the meaning of a document is to get better understanding and significance of the content, which can have a literal and interpretative meaning. Scott (1990) states that the literal meaning of a document gives only its face value meaning, from which its real significance must be reconstructed, while in the interpretative understanding, researcher relates literal meaning to the context in which the documents were produced in order to create better understanding of the whole text (Mogalakwe, 2006). Understanding the proper meaning of the certain document or report is of great importance especially regarding the “typical” wording of the issues China or the EU would use such as: good governance, non interference, mutual benefit, win-win, human rights, developing world. All of these phrases have a specific meaning for the different actors. For example, EU would almost always be using human rights and good governance condition when dealing with countries that have a bad record about those issues. Therefore, it is important for me to understand the meaning of that and the historical context that makes it important for the public and governments of EU member countries and EU as the institution. Also Chinese government would use phrases like non-interference in the other countries internal business and that might be hard to

understand from the Western point of the view, but due to the history of China, conflict with big powers and civil war in the 19th and 20th century, left the mark on the foreign policy behaviour and demand for certain rules when in contact with other sovereign states.

Official documents of the state provide a great deal of information. It is mandatory for the agencies of the state to keep a running record of their areas of activity, making those to become official statistics after years of collecting. In Britain, police compiles data that create a crime rate and the employment service collects data that forms the basis for the level of unemployment. Having access to such a kind of data is a significant saving option in both the time and money. Also since the people included in these official reports are not being asked questions that are part of researcher project, the reactivity problem will be smaller. There is also a possibility of analysing the data both across the sections and certain periods of time due to the huge amount of data provided, as well as it is feasible to do the cross cultural analysis in different states (Bryman, 2012).

Companies and other private organizations also produce a lot of official and unofficial documents that can be used by researchers during their data collection. Some of the data are in public domain such as annual reports mission statements, releases to the press, advertisements and public relations material in printed version or on the World Wide Web. On another hand some documents such as company newsletters, organizational charts, records of meeting, memos, and internal and external correspondences are not available for everyone. The problem of course is that researchers sometimes can only have access to public document in case his request for inside documents is denied or partially allowed. Insight into some of the internal reports among different levels of certain companies can produce interesting results and different views and explanations of certain events by various departments and employees (Bryman, 2012).

Newspapers, magazines, television programs, films and other mass media are potential sources for social scientific analysis. Mass media outputs are used as quantitative form of data analysis like content analysis, as well as its data can be used for the qualitative assessment such as having a search for specific themes in the sources that are examined.

Press is a good place to explore public view and opinions since most democratic societies will have a media that supports and criticizes certain decisions or recommendations from government.

Status of documents is very important for researchers, however it might be tempting to think that documents reveal something about an underlying social reality, so that the documents that an organization produces are seen as the portrayal of the reality of that organization. Such documents are believed to be telling us what goes on inside of the company and that it will help us to discover social and organizational realities. Some of the writers declared scepticism towards this view, and argue that they rather give distinct level of reality in their own right. Atkinson and Coffey (2011) state that document should be examined in the context in which they were created and their implied relationship. This perspective gives meaning for what they were presumed to accomplish and for whom they were written, it is usually written with certain intension and for benefit of the author and those whom it represents. At the end most of the documents are linked to the other documents and situations that give a context or background. They go as far as claiming that looking only at written records we cannot explain fully understand the document. Documents should be accepted for what they are namely as texts written with distinctive purpose in mind and not as reflecting reality (Bryman, 2012). Therefore, it is acknowledged that researcher should be aware of these challenges when reviewing certain documents and try to cross it with other information's, so that reliability of the given document can be checked.

3.1 Case Study

In social research the term case study mostly refers to the rather detailed description of particular location, community, groups of people, organization and project. According to Bloor and Wood (2006:27) the exact definition of case study is 'a strategy of research that aims to understand social phenomena within a single or small number of naturally occurring settings. The purpose may be to provide description through a detailed example or to generate or test particular theories' (Alasuutari, Bickman, and Brannen, 2008:214). The case study mainly associated with qualitative methods such as ethnography, interviewing and observing particular groups, but it is also can be applied in quantitate research method. It is generally presents an intensive and detailed explanation of some cases of projects that give better explanations to given theory

(Bryman, 2008:53; Alasuutari, Bickman, and Brannen, 2008:215). Case study is important to use when the research topic is complicated for an experimental or server research (Bloor and Wood, 2006:27). Since my research theme was complex and did not entail any survey, case study was a good example to approve or disapprove the theory. The research is talking about EU and China's development strategy in Africa, I used case study as tool to narrow down by giving example of the project that I will be elaborate in analysis chapter.

3.2 Interview

Interviewing in field of social science is one of the most important methods of research that is practiced by researchers in contemporary research. Interviewing is defined as 'the elicitation of research data through the questioning of the respondents' (Bloor and Wood, 2006, Pp.104). Interviews can have many different formats as structure and semi-structured. Structure interviews, also known as quantitative interviews, is about is a standardized questioning that is similar to survey format with already framed questions. However, the other type of interview is semi-structured, also known as qualitative interview, is informal type of questioning where interviewer have partially prepared the questions and the interviewee has more freedom to lead that conversation (Bloor and Wood, 2006). Even though interviewing is considered as the main method to collect the data, I have used it only as an additional technique to find relevant literature for my research. During my fieldwork period I have travelled to Belgium at University of Antwerp for development summit, where I have some across many prominent expert in field of development studies. These scholars were my main interviewees that directed me for relevant literature. I tried to get their publications and other relevant reliable literature in regards of my topic. In total, I have interviewed five scholars, three people from academia and two practitioners in the field. Their identities will be anonymous and will not be reflected in the research. The purpose of interviewing them was to collect accurate data and not to use their answers as a source of data.

4. Conclusion

In conclusion, we said that documentary review as the methodological approach to study 'how European Union and China implement their development strategy in Africa'. Document is the most reliable source of data because there is aspects of examination of documents can be validated, since documents mostly used are the ones

made publicly available by governments. Interpretative approach, critical tradition, and discourse analysis are also of great importance, since it is necessary to look at the document with critical eye and to evaluate statements in accordance to the right context. Comparison and analysis of the certain number of documents and policies will provide me with better understanding of the different views and enable me to present more correctly necessary facts for my thesis analysis. Even though, I have conducted five interviews from the expert of the field, their insight was literature guidance rather than primary source of information. Therefore, I argue that primary and secondary documents were the main sources of my data in this research.

CHAPTER 3: Theory

1. Introduction

This chapter talks about that theory in development study, which in my opinion, relates to EU's and Chinese development strategies in Africa. Firstly, theory chapter elaborates on poststructuralist approach that explains about correlation of politics and economy with their ideological principal. Secondly, it mentions that Official Development Assistance's (DAC) or Western values that has to be promotes along with development aid and projects. Thirdly, it highlights the concept of gift giving, where donor is making favour by providing a development aid. This concept overlaps with north to south and south-to-south approach practices by EU and China. EU's development assistance to Africa presents north to south approach. While Chinese development assistance in Africa refers to south-to-south approach. Last but not least part of theory chapter talks about EU's or Chinese attempt for development cooperation or competition in the project implemented in Africa.

2. Poststructuralist

Poststructuralist brings the attention to the way of the perception about interaction of the states and markets suggest they are autonomous, until the point when they interact. This point of interaction is crucial for poststructuralist and analysis of economic relations, not necessarily the states or the economies. They claim that to understand this we have to understand main features of the categories of politics and economics and the dominant discourses and ideologies. One of the most important tools for poststructuralist is the language since they claim that financial arrangements are under intensive politicization. Language and discourse are seen as very important in analysing relationship and realities between economic and political actors. Post-structuralism unpacks the seemingly neutral language and assumptions and situate the language, which is used to create reality within its own discourse. Discourses are negotiated and constructed through the interplay of language, ideas and action. For example idea of the Good Governance is seen as the discourse of the EU, IMF and World Banks, used to support neo-liberal political and economical conditionality for reforms in African countries, which will be discussed in the analysis chapter. Africa's problems have been described as the "crisis" of the governance, and this discursive construction of the problem, which Africa faces has been used as a mechanism to open the road for the

introduction and promotion of the Western neo-liberal agenda, democracy and macro-economic reform as key to the social and economical development (Savigny and Marsden, 2011: 214-215).

3. Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) – Official Development Assistance (ODA)

The Development Assistance Committee (DAC) defines ODA as “those flows to countries and territories on the DAC’s List of ODA Recipients and to multilateral institutions that are: provided by official agencies, including state and local governments, or by their executive agencies; and each transaction. This transactions are: a) is administered with the promotion of the economic development and welfare of developing countries as its main objective; and b) is concessional in character and conveys a grant element of at least 25 per cent (calculated at a rate of discount of 10 per cent).”

Over the years the DAC has continuously refined the detailed ODA reporting rules to ensure fidelity to the definition and the greatest possible consistency among donors. The boundary of ODA has been carefully delineated in many fields, including:

1. Military aid: No military equipment or services are reportable as ODA. Anti-terrorism activities are also excluded. However, the cost of using donors’ armed forces to deliver humanitarian aid is eligible.

2. Peacekeeping: Most peacekeeping expenditures are excluded in line with the exclusion of military costs. However, some closely defined developmentally relevant activities within peacekeeping operations are included.

3. Nuclear energy: Reportable as ODA, provided it is for civilian purposes.

4. Cultural programs: Eligible as ODA if they build the cultural capacities of recipient countries, but one-off tours by donor country artists or sportsmen, and activities to promote the donors’ image, are excluded, ‘non-DAC donors’, a group of donors that sits outside the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development’s (OECD) Development Assistance Committee (DAC) member group, has gained great prominence and has generated much interest within the international development community (OECD, 2010).

These donors are often referred to as ‘new’, ‘emerging’, ‘non- traditional’; ‘non- Western’ or ‘non-DAC’, but the labels applied to them simplify a very complex and diverse group. I have presented this DAC and OECD’s development concept, because it requires its’ members to follow on ideological belief that OECD promotes. For instance, if member state is the donor to development project, it should promote the general belief of the OECD such as human right, free election and etc. On the other hand, China is neither member of OECD nor DAC, which does not require them to similar obligations and restrictions in development project they provide.

4. Concept of Gift-Giving

According to the Marcel Mauss (1990) there are three elements about the relationship between the giver and receiver: Giving is believed to establish the social bond, receiving means accepting the gift and relationship that comes with it, and reciprocating is to return the “favour” and demonstrate one’s own honour, wealth and standing. This must be done on voluntary, disinterested and free, even when it might be expected to produce some obligations later in the process. Gift economy has the main purpose of social function and it is distinguished from other resource allocation forms like economic exchange and redistribution.

5. North to South Development Strategy

Tohomisa Hattori (2001) analyses the official foreign aid from North to the South and observes that international relations theory provides three answers in general about it: 1.Political realist see it as a tool of foreign policy; 2.Liberal internationalists see it as means of promoting development in recipient countries; and 3.World system theorists see it as the means of securing on-going uneven capitalist accumulation. He also states that the grant element of the official aid should be categorized as the gift rather than economic exchange or redistribution. It should be also understood that the gift of aid is unreciprocated and that grants unlike loans are not paid back, making it exempt from the obligation to return something to the giver.

Marshall Sahlins (1972) typology of giving includes category of “negative giving” in which the norms of reciprocity are suspended. Therefore, social relationships are created and maintained by the gift giving is one of the superiority and inferiority rather than a competitive interplay of honour, dignity and status.

It is claimed by some of the researchers that the persistent unreciprocated receiving allows social inequality to be naturalized as the normal order of things. In the case of the foreign aid it creates the dependency because individuals, institutions and political systems may come to be dependent on aid rather than other resources, as their compliance with the demands of the international aid regime is rewarded or as their attempts to assert more autonomy and independence are enervated or undermined. Ilan Kapoor (2008) claims that there is impossible to have a “free gift”, because giving can never be dissociated from assumed obligation and therefore can not qualify as the pure present. Foreign aid allows the visible display of apparent generosity such as the branded sacks of grain being distributed, while negative impacts, self-interest and pay back are hidden. Da Silva (2008) uses the case of aid system in East Timor as the example where the penetration of the multiple donor rules and values are visible in all spheres of the financial, political and judicial system of the state. It compliant recipient status allows the donors to pursue their material and geopolitical interests, hidden under the symbolic regime of generosity and altruism. Benedict Korf (2007) discusses about the private aid donations, which are seen as the free gifts due to their anonymous and distancing nature. He argues that aid agencies worked to ensure visible displays of giving, receiving and gratitude after the natural disasters. While local people were disempowered, treated as the passive recipients of the Western generosity. Need for the projects to be made visible in the media created a situation where some areas were forgotten or received very little help due to their low access to public view. Analysts have used gift theory to prosecute the dominant symbolic regime of Western foreign aid and that it is free and therefore charitable. Although in the recent years aid community has increasingly used the language of partnership, public imaginaries remain heavily tied to the notion of aid as ethical, charitable giving. I have chosen, ‘North – South’ concept to explain a general perception of EU aid in Africa, where aid and development project presented as a humanitarian gift with no return. Although, EU has a hidden agenda of expecting pay back via neo-liberalizing domestic economy or democratization politics.

5.1. South to South Development Strategy

South-South development cooperation consists of different actors of various sizes, capabilities and strengths in both political and economic sense as well as cultural. Nonetheless, it is possible to identify some of the common aspects to their discursive

positioning of development cooperation. The great deal of what goes under the term compromises of commercial transactions. For example, loans may be given under low interest rates or long repayment, but everyone understands that it is commercial loan; or that resources may be used as the equity in securing finances. Brautigam (2009) states that many western commentators merge together development cooperation with foreign aid and then criticize Southern donors for lack of charity. While there might be grey areas in understanding what exactly development cooperation might consist of, the one thing is obviously present and that is the commercial aspect. In addition, development cooperation also includes elements that more closely appropriate to Western definitions of ODA. These include grants, loans that meet the DAC definition of ODA, technical assistance, debt relief, educational scholarships and training, and other benefits. It is also stated often that South–South development cooperation is discursively constructed and performatively embodied around four key claims. These are:

1. The assertion of a shared experience of colonial exploitation, postcolonial inequality and present vulnerability to uneven neo-liberal globalization, and thus a shared identity as ‘developing’ nations.
2. Based on this shared experience, developing status, and some geographical commonalities (such as tropical/monsoonal climates), a specific expertise in appropriate development approaches and technologies.
3. An explicit rejection of hierarchical relations, and a strong articulation of the principles of respect, sovereignty and non-interference.
4. An insistence on ‘win–win’ outcomes of South– South development cooperation and mutual opportunity (Mawdsley, 2011).

The issue of the reciprocity is explicit since the view of the recipient/partner being more of an equal, and willing and able to offer counter-gifts. This symbolic regime is propagated through statements, speeches and declarations, and in the ritualized performances of respect and equality in various high-level meetings and forums. This includes the commercial transaction element, which produces goods and benefits for the investor/buyer, as well as those that fall more properly into the category of gift. But in contrast to the DAC/Western donors, in which (apparent) charity unreciprocated giving from the generous rich to the needy poor) constitutes the dominant symbolic and

performative regime, in South–South development cooperation, partner countries are constructed as sites of promise, offering counter-gifts of diplomatic solidarity and economic opportunity.

The insistence on the mutual benefits establishes the receiver’s ability to reciprocate, and therefore the status this affords. Gift theory suggests that the social bond this creates and maintains is not the inferiority that is naturalized over time by the endless cycles of unreciprocated aid, but that of equals. As already mentioned, some Western commentators tend to mistake the commercial element of development cooperation for ‘aid’, and critique it for its moral deficiency compared with charity (Mawdsley, 2011). However, even when it comes to more comparable elements of development cooperation, some Western commentators fail to comprehend the positive valence attached to discourses of reciprocity. It is claimed that there is much evidence to suggest that countries that have for decades been humiliated by colonial exploitation, and then by demeaning postcolonial foreign aid relations, are appreciative of the social relationship this helps construct. To take just one of many possible illustrations, Paulo and Reisen (2010:539) quote the Prime Minister of Botswana: ‘I find that the Chinese treat us as equals. The West treats us as former subjects’.

China has perhaps done more than any other non-Western donor to set its development cooperation within a formally articulated set of foreign policy principles that insistently envision an alternative set of social relations between states. Chinese views on development cooperation and relationship between different partners can be understood via four main elements. The first is the assertion that the present world order is unjust and inequitable, and that under these circumstances, ‘globalization currently presents more challenges and risks than opportunities to the vast number of developing countries. The second element is the right to national self-determination, a rejection of the right of other countries to meddle in internal affairs. Third, China urges greater South–South economic cooperation, with mutual benefits arising from investment, agreements, joint ventures, banking, and technology transfer among other things. Finally, China claims a commitment to peaceful multilateralism, endorses peaceful negotiation of international disputes, nuclear non-proliferation, and the control of the illicit light arms trade. The discourse of development cooperation is framed by claims to mutual benefit and solidarity rather than charity and benevolence. Due to the

Southern development partners foreground claims to expertise based not on inherently culturally superior knowledge and institutions, but on their own domestic challenges and experiences, something that invokes long-standing discourses of mutual learning (Mawdsley, 2011).

North-South and South-South approaches have differences on their political ideology and implementation of development projects by EU and China. Due to difference approach examined by Chinese counterparts, it is seen as equal and realistic while EU's projects are more impossible to reach and hegemonic. This could possible explain why African states authorities have support more and more Chinese development project then European one. In analysis chapter I will elaborate more on why they Chinese model favoured and how different are the EU and China implement their project. One is clear that difference of their implementation gives different results and might create possible tension. However, some scholars believe that it also can lead to their trilateral cooperation between EU, China and Africa.

6. Cooperation or Competition?

Deutsch (Johnson, D; Johnson, R; and Tjosvold, 1981) proposed a theory that comes out of the experiment and the outcome of the cooperation and competition and the processes that would affect these outcomes. Cooperation and competition are referred as the kind of interdependence of goals, not to whether persons are in conflict, have high aspirations or are attracted to each other. These points can be systematically organized in following four points.

1. *Expected and actual assistance*: in a cooperation agreement partners are expected to help each other to perform effectively to achieve their goals and provide help if necessary. Those in a competition will suspect each other and will not provide help in achieving their goals or might even try to obstruct others in order to gain more benefit.
2. *Communication and influence*: communication is believed to be honest and requests accepted in cooperation deals since the identification of the problem is common interest as well as the giving of the help. Competition tends to bring a suspicious relationship among actors, which can create misleading actions against others goals.
3. *Task orientation*: In a cooperation agreements tasks are divided and there is a mutual encouragement to complete them since that will lead them all closer to their goal.

Competition makes no sharing of the tasks and might even lead to the one side trying to sabotage the other.

4. *Friendliness and support*: Cooperation creates positive value among partners, which in the end creates a positive attitude towards each other. Competition makes actors to dislike others and see them as competition (Johnson, D; Johnson, R; and Tjosvold, 1981).

Here we can conclude that EU and China have similar goals in regards to Africa, but they have differences in ideas and implementation their development project. Chapter shows that there are many development theories that can explain different between Chinese and European approaches. It also elaborates that these differences could lead for their competition and dislike of each other or mutual effort to develop Africa.

CHAPTER 4:

European Union's Development Cooperation

World War II left European countries in ruins and led to the great need for the states to work together in the upcoming long process of healing and recovery. Affected by the East-West conflicts or the so-called 'Cold War', as well as with the new relationship with the colonial territories and/or former colonies were essential for the creation of the European Community. Treaty of Paris in April 1950 led to creation of the European Coal and Steel Community with 6 member countries: Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands and Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany). A further development in 1957 led to creation of European Economic Community (EEC) with Treaty of Rome (Mold, 2007:11-13), which had idea of common market where goods, capital, services and people would be able to move with no restrictions. European colonial background is believed to have had a great impact on early beginnings of the European Community, due to the huge demand for the raw materials and the expansion of the export market. Early beginning of the European Community and negotiations in Treaty of Rome were under strong influence from the France and General De Gaulle who threatened to break of negotiations if there was no agreement for the 'association' of the French Overseas Countries and Territories with the EC. After the agreement, colonial relations were put on a new level where now we had 'association' between European Community and Overseas Countries and Territories and all the other European member states had an equal trade access and rights. In addition there was made agreement for preferential trade and aid supply between European Community and 17 African countries and Madagascar so called Associated African and Malagasy States (AAMS) in 1963 in Yaounde, Cameroon for a period of five years. Also Treaty of Rome led to creation of European Development Fund (EDF) with decision to share collectively the costs of financial assistance to the colonies outside of the official budget of European Community, but with common administration (van Reisen, 2007:34-36).

Demise of the European Colony Powers after devastating World War II led to interest of the United States of America for the newly independent states and their natural

resources. US experts explored most of the African continent in search for mineral wealth and tried to direct aid for supporting of these ventures. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBDR, later World Bank) was created to administer these projects mostly funded via Marshalls Plan. This shift of power from European countries to US also led to the creation of the new “language of communication” with the newly independent countries in Africa and rest of the world (van Reisen, 2007:31). Terms like ‘development’, ‘cooperation’ and ‘partnership’ were used by the United States to distance themselves from the European colonial past. Not strangely, France and other European countries followed this new ‘trend’ in dealings with old colonies. For example France declared that they have desire for cooperation with the rest of developing world, not just with old colonial states. In the 60s Great Britain had a desire to join EEC but due to the great influence of France and General De Gaulle, they were vetoed (van Reisen, 2007:33). However EC stated shortly after French veto that any country, which had economical format comparable of the AAMS and wished to join the Yaounde Convention is welcomed. This was believed to be the signal for the Great Britain to accept the new reality of decolonization, which would eventually lead to smaller British influence in former colonies, and increased international influence of the integrated European Community. As the attention on Africa by EEC increased, it led to Arusha Agreement in 1969 and signing of the association agreement between former British colonies- Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda and the European Community (Mold, 2007:18).

First published in 1970s, policy documents on the European Community aid tried to defend only Africa focus and affirm that European Community has nothing with colonial era but looks to diversify European aid relations in the globalized world. The Treaty of Rome (Art.238) allows the association agreements with other countries, union of states or international organizations with the same rights and obligations, joint actions and special procedures. The same article can be used also for new member countries since it was believed that other European countries might join the community. The EC policy towards the Mediterranean region became of great importance after the oil crisis in 1973 where there was obvious that European Community had to secure their access to the oil and gas supply. There was a initiated a Euro-Arab meeting in July 1974 in order to try to develop more closer relationship between Europe and Arab World. Due to the issues regarding the United States and Israel in the Middle East it

was hard to come to certain agreements. However, European Communities Summit in Paris in the December 1974 reaffirmed the importance of the Mediterranean agreements, which in turn led to European Commission to reorganize bilateral agreements of the member countries into the 'Global Mediterranean Policy' for the common benefit (Holland, 1995:34-38; Adebajo and Whiteman, 2012:140-145).

Expansion of the European Community with acceptance of the membership from United Kingdom, Ireland and Denmark led to major changes for the EC development policy. Due to the British Commonwealth which was created in 1931 as a compromise between British Empire and 'white' dominions that would give more autonomy. However this was changed 1949 by including all the willing parties wanting to join Commonwealth (van Reisen, 2007:39-40). As the UK was getting ready to join EEC, discussions started with the members of the Association of Commonwealth States (ACWS) in 1971 as well, but on a very different basis than the Treaty of Rome states. It was a hard to find a way to make all the countries satisfied with the possible choices and this eventually led to the deal that was against Treaty of Rome principles especially in the reciprocity context. Developing countries expressed their concern over how are they are going to be able to build and protect economic potential if they are not protected from competition that might come from Europe. In return the Commonwealth associate had to accept decreased access to European market in regards to certain agricultural products, which was in contrast to the free market access with British Empire. Second achievement is the creation of the plan for export stabilization called STABEX, which had a main idea to protect countries dependent on export of basic commodities from the possible changes in price and demand that might happen (van Reisen, 2007:39-40). Lome Convention was signed in 1975 with 46 countries in order to make cooperation with developing countries in sensitive areas more beneficial, ACP countries ended up with much better deal than expected (Adebajo and Whiteman, 2012:32-33).

Due to the Lome Convention, the European Development Fund (EDF) was much bigger than under Yaounde Convention. The European Parliament in 1979 decided that there should be more 'global approach' for the European Aid and demanded that European Development Fund should be part of the Community budget. Although this happened at the same time when second Lome Convention was being signed between EC and 56

ACP countries, it did not help since the parliaments request was denied by European Council (van Reisen, 2007:42). Table 1 presented by van Reisen, (2007:41).

Table 1 Value of EDF Financial Aid Allocation to Associated Countries, in Million ECUs/Euros¹¹

	Rome Treaty 1957	Yaoundé I 1963-9	Yaoundé II 1969-75	Lomé I 1975	Lomé II 1979	Lomé III 1984	Lomé IV 1990-1995	Lomé IVbis 1995-2000	Cotonou 2000-2020
	EDF1	EDF2	EDF3	EDF4	EDF5	EDF6	EDF7	EDF8	EDF9
Year	1957	1963	1969	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
EDF	569	730	887	3,053	4,207	7,882	11,583	13,151	14,300
% ACP countries	-	18	18	46	58	65	68	70	77
% EU countries	-	6	6	9	9	10	12	15	15
EDF/per capita current prices	10.5	9.7	10.5	12.3	13.5	17.9	21.9	21.3	20.7

New member countries UK, Ireland and Denmark inside European Community led to growth in cooperation with associated countries as well as with non-associated countries which were believed to be able to make damage to the European agricultural and industrial market. Development Council approved two resolutions in April and July 1974 with regards to the technical and financial aid with non-associated countries, as well as signing of the cooperation agreements with India, Uruguay and Brazil. Although budget for the non-associated countries from Asia and Latin America were very limited, it did still become part of the ‘official budget’ in 1976 (Holland, 1995:35-39).

It is during 1970s that European community progressed from the development aid era to that of cooperation. The oil crisis was one of the indicators to the EC that there needs to be a better standing relationship with developing countries in order to be able to withstand any international market changes. Europe is highly dependent on the energy and raw materials from developing world, while at the same time they need export market for their products. Agreement with Mediterranean countries and Lome Convention made sure that African continent has a strong partnership with Europe, but at same time relationship with Asia and America became important as well. Also in

1973 European Council ratified different resolutions and conclusions with the aim of harmonizing national and community policies, while at the same time member countries agreed to increase the official development assistance, aiming at the UN objective of 0.7 per cent of GNP (van Reisen, 2007: 43-44).

Economic crisis and tighter budgets for many countries in world due to the new increase in oil prices in 1979 as well as the war between Iran and Iraq in 1980 had pushed global supply of oil to the crisis. Improved relationships with Turkey and other Mediterranean countries became of great significance, even to the point of maybe exploring energy reserves inside of Soviet Union. All of this had a great impact on the development cooperation and available budget, but after acceptance of Portugal and Spain inside of European Community, Latin America gain more importance with pressure from Iberian Peninsula for increase in aid programs towards them. Eventually there has been proportional increase of aid budget, which was either geographically or thematically oriented. Also external cooperation became main area for budget negotiations between the Parliament, the Council and the European Commission in the 1980s (Mold, 2007:45).

After the fall of Berlin Wall and unification of Germany, the official European Union was established by Treaty of Maastricht in 1992 led to even bigger internal integration of EU members. Main areas of integration were common foreign, security and defence policy, the European Monetary Union and other additional necessary agreements, like a closer and shared obligation for EU development cooperation. Further definition of the EU responsibility was inside of Maastricht Treaty from 1992 and in Amsterdam Treaty from 1997, where principles of for C`s come in existence (van Reisen, 2007:47):

- *Coherence* between policies that have impact on third countries and the objectives of development cooperation;
- *Complementarity* between member states and Commission activities in development;
- *Coordination* of actions between member states and the Commission;
- *Consistency* between the policies of the Common European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) and development cooperation.

Main goals of the Maastricht Treaty were first of all promoting social and sustainable development, fight against poverty and helping third world countries to become members of the world economy. Under the so called 'second pillar' or intergovernmental level, EU has received authority for Common European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP), while development cooperation was given under the authority of the European Community or so called 'first pillar' to the European Commission to control (van Reisen, 2007:47-50). Later updates introduced a Common Foreign Defence Policy (CFDP) to the wider EU military affair. Due to the reasons such as financial and public support, there has been a close link between development cooperation and emergency action with the common foreign and military policies of the EU, which in turn created less distinction between policy sectors. Treaty of Nice signed in February 2001 had a main caption on the cooperation with the Third Countries, even though it became more like a legal base for the assistance given to the countries of that were under Iron Curtain. Further difference between developing and non developing countries was reaffirmed with the EU Constitutional Treaty in 2004. However, moving forward with the Common Foreign, Security and Defence Policy (CFSDP) was a long process for the European Union, due to the unwillingness of the member states to share their sovereignty. Eventually, Javier Solana was appointed as the high representative for the CFSDP in 1999, after the Treaty of Amsterdam allowed for creation of that post (van Reisen, 2007:50-52).

Due to the end of Cold War and geo-political changes after 1989, there has been a shift inside EU's development cooperation programs from the poorest countries in the world to the newly 'independent' and democratic countries of the Eastern Europe. Top five countries receiving EU aid in 1989 were among the poorest while in 2000 five tops were from the neighbouring countries. This trend continued further on, even after a 'great' expansion of the EU in 2004 and many of the new members were still receivers of EU help via the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), and later established European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI). Despite the extensive ten-year agreement with ACP countries signed in 1989, amount of the EU aid to the low-income developing countries fell from 70 per cent in 1990 to the 38 percent in 2001 (Soderbaum and Stalgren, 2010).

After the establishment of the European Monetary Union and increase in member countries, there was internal public pressure for a more independent, global European engagement around the world. One of the institutional changes was the creation of the Common Service for External Relations that would be a mutual unit for different Directorate General (DGs) foreign affairs. In this way development policy now managed by the Directorate General of Development was separated from the development programs. Appointment of Javier Solana as Secretary General of the Council and high representative for ESDP was believed to be a way to strengthen the EU unity, but it created confrontation with European Commission (Mold, 2007: 52). It was upon Romano Prodi leadership of Commission from 1999 to 2004 to achieve bigger influence in external relations. In the end there was a great confusion between different Directorate General and their responsibilities to the point that Commissioner for Development had no administrative power for implementation but was politically responsible, while Commissioner for external relations had a responsibility for the implementation of the development policies. Eventually the new organizations called Europe Aid replaced the Common Service for External Relations, which in the end left the Commissioner with no power over the development policies. A rivalry between European Commission and the Council for external relations, intensified with the appointment of Javier Solana, who was both part of the CSFP and decision making of the Council. Therefore Commission was seeking greater influence in external relation since they had control over the resources. As a result Development Council was dissolved in 2002. Arrival of the new leader of Commission Jose Manues Barosa in 2004 led to even bigger negative changes for development institutions. Europe's Aid was closed and everything went under the rule of Directorate General for External Relations, which had a full control over policies towards Asia, Latin America and neighbouring countries and implementation in all the countries. Directorate General for Development cooperation was left with limited operation mainly in regards to the humanitarian assistance. As a final step, negotiations between Commission and Council have been an inter-institutional agreement on creation of EU External Action Service (EAS), which would be managed by both parties (Mold, 2007: 53-56).

CHAPTER 5:

Chinese Development Cooperation

In contrast to the European contacts with African Continent, Chinese interaction was rather limited. Between 1418 and 1433 there have been several visits to the Eastern Africa by the Ming Dynasty ships under the leadership of the Admiral Zheng He. Although impressive size of the fleet, they did not attempt to settle in the area but rather exchanged goods and gifts until they finally left. Due to the complex tributary system of the Chinese Empire, there was a long-standing tradition of the exchanges with smaller nations that were under the sphere of the Empire. After acknowledgment of the Emperor gifts would be given and treaties signed. Some of these old customs are claimed to be still using, especially gifts during the high level visits and after major agreements. Chinese aid system is still shaped by the foreign policy framework created in the 1950s where the non-interference in the internal affairs is strictly followed. They also follow different set of core ideas about developments that does not necessarily follow western ideas. Being a developing country and at the same time receiving aid gives them better understanding of the challenges. Most of the aid has a regional context where foreign aid has been used as one of economic tools used to foster trade and promote Chinese multinational corporations (Brautigam 2009:23-25).

After decades of civil war and end of the Second World War, People's Republic of China (PRC) under the leaderships of Mao Zedong regained control of the Mainland China after pushing leadership of the Republic of China (ROC) to the island of Taiwan. People's Republic of China participation and help provided to the Northern Korea against Southern Korea in the 1950s led to more than 20 years of economic embargo towards the Mainland China, as well as, to the recognition of the government in Taiwan as a legitimate Chinese leadership. During the peace dialogue with India over the Tibet issue in 1954, China's Premier Zhou Enlai presented five principles of coexistence (Men and Barton, 2011:248-250)

- Mutual respect for sovereignty and integrity of the territory
- Mutual non-aggression
- Non-interference in internal affairs
- Equality and mutual benefit
- Peaceful coexistence

Later, the Non-Alignment movement in Bandung (Indonesia) has adopted these five principles. Usage of the “One China Policy” argument claims that PR China is the only true representative of the Chinese policy that has been seen as clashing with the five principles, while PRC has looked at it as internal problem (Chaturvedi, Fues, and Sidiropoulos, 2012: 137).

Revolutionary and independency movements across Africa that have risen after the World War II have gained sympathy and support across the world. Chinese government did as well send funding and advisers to various movements such as Robert Mugabe’s in Zimbabwe. However, their first official aid project in Africa was cigarette and match factory in Guinea. Due to the departure from the Soviet Union partnership in the 1960s and Cold War dynamics, China understood the importance of Non-Alignment movement and African countries. During the visit of African countries between December 1963 and February 1964, the Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai released eight principles of Chinese foreign aid. It would be based on the five principles of the coexistence in addition that loans would be unconditional, either interest free or low and possible to reschedule; high quality materials would be used for projects which in turn would provide quick results and improve self-reliance. Chinese officials helping will deliver their expertise in full and while visiting live at the same standard as the locals. In general being a first developing country to have an aid program gave them better understanding of the challenges that newly independent states are facing. Therefore, mix of urgent and long term loans were provided so that countries could faster develop industry and agriculture needs for their people (Brautigam 2009: 31-33).

During the 1970s long lasting desire of the People’s Republic of China to gain permanent seat at the Security Council of the United Nations instead of RO China or Taiwan finally was possible due to the strategic diplomacy with newly independent African countries. China had at that time increased number of countries receiving aid in Africa. Core Chinese development ideas were taken from their own development path with planned interventions to boost production, health sector and infrastructure. They were building roads, bridges, power plant, and ports and as unwritten rule some popular “prestige” project such as stadiums or government building that would be presented as the gifts to the people. The whole aim with these projects was to provide

the receiving countries with enough capabilities and not to make them dependent on Chinese help (Brautigam 2009: 33-35).

One of the earliest huge Chinese projects in Africa was the building of the Tanzania-Zambia railway that stretched for 2000 kilometers from copper mines of Zambia all the way to the coast of Tanzania was finished in 1975, almost two years before deadline. Around that time State Council was arranging five different conferences on the foreign aid where it was concluded that China has limited economic capabilities and that aid spending has to be put under limitation. However, 470 projects were completed in seven years and more than 74 countries were receiving aid by 1978 (Brautigam, 2009:40-42).

During the 1980s, China was slow and cautious when moving from state led economy towards the market economy. They explained it as crossing the river by keeping their feet on the bottom and feeling the stones. Plan of modernization across 10 years was announced in 1978, which would move Chinese society from agricultural to more industrial (Chaturvedi, Fues, and Sidiropoulos, 2012: 138-139). The best partner for this achievement was seen in Japan who would transfer technology and knowledge to China while they would repay it in resources and commodities. This is understood as “win-win” situation, which would eventually become a trademark of China’s foreign development cooperation due to the immediate benefit for both sides (Brautiagam, 2009: 45-50).

Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyand went on a four weeks trip in December 1982 visiting 11 countries on his path to strengthen the south-south cooperation. While in Tanzania he proclaimed four principles that would guide China in their economic relations with different actors. Those principles are equality and mutual benefit; demand for practical results; diversity and progress in general. Improved economy cooperation is seen as better alternative to aid and more useful for African countries. On his way back to China discussions started about necessary changes on reforming the aid system as well as operational procedures such as stricter economic analyses of the feasibility of future projects long before they are started (Chaturvedi, Fues, and Sidiropoulos, 2012: 140-142). Also capabilities and knowledge of the local receiving country needed to be improved by providing scholarships and trainings to their people as well as including previous projects into the trading patterns (Brautigam, 2009: 53-55).

Investment overseas were not so easy thing for a communist country at the start of its own transition, therefore Chinese leaders established trial guidelines for overseas joint

ventures in 1984. So linking aid to investment could make them address all three goals at one and those are a growing backlog of unpaid aid loans, consolidation of former aid projects and experience for China's new corporations (Brautigam 2009: 62-66). First strategy was that Chinese companies would come to rescue and lease or privatize former aid project in exchange of some sort of payment. Second was the joint venture strategy where country would give up shares in certain business for a debt relief from China. In addition they have also started with tripartite cooperation projects since they were low-cost, had quick results and they stretched China's aid resources, which lead to the bigger contributions to the United Nations and more projects with different partners. China started also to use state controlled Red Cross to channel some humanitarian aid in disaster situations (Harris, 2014: 46-51).

After more than 20 years of not being part of the United Nations, Mainland China managed to gain back Security Council seat and full membership in 1971 due to the diplomatic recognition from the newly independent African countries. However, rivalry between China and Taiwan did not end with this change, over the years some of the African countries have used it to gain economic and political benefits from both sides. This gave the introduction of the "One China" policy that would be visible in political agreements and deals between Beijing and African countries (Chaturvedi, Fues, and Sidiropoulos, 2012: 137). Economic and trade liberalization as well as the Chinese application to the World Bank would bring changes both the Chinese internal system and Chinese engagement with Africa. Firstly, more competition was encouraged, which in turn led to creation of more instruments and institutions that would help to manage all the different aspects of foreign aid and economic cooperation. Secondly, even though Africa was looked upon as the failed continent by Western counterparts, Chinese saw it as a place of opportunity. In general Chinese have accepted to "go global" by deciding to do well by doing good, therefore making emphasizes on the mutual benefit cooperation (Brautigam 2009: 67-70).

The new level of China-Africa cooperation was reached in 2000 with the creation of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC). Foreign ministers and those responsible for economic spheres of forty-four African countries were present at the summit in Beijing. China has agreed to establish new programs that would help with

debt relief, training programs and investment funds that would strengthen economic cooperation with Africa (Wouters, 2012:109-110).

Trading companies and economic cooperation corporations were even more separated from Chinese government control during the 90s. They become more independent and responsible for their profit and loss, which in turn led to the closing of some large state owned companies as well as to the privatization of small and medium size companies. Also in 1994 three policy banks were created, China Development Bank, China Export Import Bank and China Agricultural Development Bank that were still under the state control and influence (Brautigam 2009:79).

The State Council or the Chinese cabinet led by Chinese Premier has the oversight role as well as the approval right for the annual aid budget, grants that are above 1,5 millions of US dollars, all aid projects that are over 100million RMB (Yuan), aid to countries with sensitive political situations and any other demands that are out of the official budget. Ministry of finance is the one responsible for the grants to the multilateral organizations such as UN agencies as well as responsibility in management of debt cancellation owed to China. Three main central institutions involved with aid are the Ministry of Commerce, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and China Eximbank (Chaturvedi, Fues, and Sidiropoulos, 2012: 143-151). Ministry of Commerce is located in central area of Beijing; it consists of several departments essential for foreign aid, with most important Department of Foreign Aid. This department is responsible for all the zero interest loans and grants, outlines aid budget and aid regulations as well as managing of the Foreign Aid Joint Venture and Cooperation Fund, and coordinates with Eximbank on concessional loans. The Department of Foreign Aid is very small in comparison to the Western counterparts, however it can ask for help from all of the branches of Ministry of Commerce as well as from different regions. Foreign Aid does not have offices abroad but Chinese Economic and Commercial Counselor's office at the embassies will assign a person to the project if needed. Executive Bureau of Foreign Economic Cooperation is responsible for tenders and bids for aid projects, as well as managing the evaluation and control of the projects and expert staff involved. Department of International Economic Cooperation manages some parts of support for Chinese companies looking to do business abroad, also the coordinate with Exim Bank export buyer's credits (Brautigam 2009:106-110).

Ministry of Foreign Affairs is a diplomatic core advising the Chinese leadership on the amount of foreign aid for every specific African country. However they have to have coordinate with the Ministry of Commerce so that both commercial and political views are taken in consideration. The annual plans for aid budget are done together in cooperation between ministry of foreign affairs and department of aid inside Ministry of Commerce. Rivalry between these two offices can be intense but some studies show that Ministry of Commerce is more relevant due to their business views and benefits that put aside foreign affairs (Brautigam 2009:110-111).

China Eximbank is the one of most important policy tool of the government (Hsu; Wu; and Zhao, 2011:115-116). It has been created to anticipate not to make a profit but not to need regular subsidies. It is the important tool for going global policy of the state; therefore more than 60 per cent of its portfolio is export seller's credits. Concessional loans given by Eximbank are the only part of their operations that can be seen as foreign aid because they are specifically issued to promote economic development and improve living standards in developing countries (Brautigam 2009:111-114).

China Development Bank does not give official development aid as it provides non-concessional development finance. They provide loans to the state owned companies mostly for domestic infrastructure projects. However creation of the China-Africa Development Fund was seen as the investment opportunity for projects in Africa (Brautigam 2009:115-117).

In regards to the so called "Cash Aid" or budget support is rarely given by China, if given it is usually small amounts in the state of emergency or national disaster. There is a tight chain of accountability for cash aid that must be approved by Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Commerce and Ministry of Finance if amount is less than 1,5 million US dollars and if over that amount, State Council must give final verdict. Most of the grant aid has been given via Chinese goods and services. The best way to understand difference is that all in kind gifts are given in RMB (Yuan) value, while cash grant are normally announced in US dollar value (Brautigam 2009:124-125).

CHAPTER 6: Analysis

1. Introduction

History chapter demonstrates how EU and China have developed different development policies and approaches in Africa. The main fundament of the EU and Africa relations are based on their previous colonial history as well as developed donor-recipient relationship model. While Chinese share similar history with Africa because China has been under similar pressures and conflicts with European nations in the past. Therefore, one can say that China and African countries understand the needs of the developing countries much better and are more willing to cooperate with each other. Bilateral relationships are based more on their shared perspective, especially when it comes to political principles such as sovereignty and independence.

In this chapter, I will present the arguments that I found very interesting. Even though EU and China have different development approaches in Africa, one thing that they can agree on is that Africa is being an emerging market, which is one of the main reasons why they are interested in launching different projects. Therefore, my first argument is that both China and EU have economic benefits from launching development projects in Africa due to the economic preconditions of the projects such as hiring their companies and experts, as well as importing their products. The paradox here is that EU calls its development projects as a part of official '*aid*', which are seen as a direct help or a charity without the conditions. But today's EU aid policy includes political and economic conditionalities that might benefit European companies and endanger local political and economic security. The conditionalities vary from project to project but mostly EU development projects include either political or economic reforms and in some case both conditionalities. The latest policy is a direct budgetary support that leads to the direct control of a recipient budget expenses as well as bigger influence towards EU important concerns. On contrary China considers development '*aid*' as a two-way economic cooperation without any political preconditions attached to it (Ling, 2010:6). Further, I will analyze in details the difference in conditionalities and principles behind Chinese and EU's development aid in Africa.

Before we discuss different principles of the Eastern and Western actors, it is important here to clarify what conditionalities mean in this context. Ling (2010:6) defines it as preconditions in form of regulations, settings, goals, or methods of executions that donors might impose to the recipient country. In some cases, they are mutually agreed,

but in some cases recipient countries are pressured by the donors with threat of stopping the project funding. Therefore, before agreeing in project, the recipient country usually needs to be sure that by the given deadlines, they will accomplish the donor's prerequisite such as democratic reforms, protection of human rights, liberal economic reforms etc.

2. Political Conditionality vs. 'No Conditions'

This paragraph will be devoted to the political promotion of the EU to the recipient African countries as a precondition to their projects. Histories of the EU and Africa relations have always had political implication in their relationship. Since the creation in 2000, the EU-Africa partnership represents the most valuable forum for political discussions regarding their co-operations. This has influenced EU development policies which resulted in 2007 Lisbon EU-Africa summit that created a framework for EU-Africa relations via Joint Africa and EU Strategy. As a result of these summits, EU has made changes towards more political promotion through its development projects. By 2015, EU has a goal to promote political changes in recipient countries that will lead to promotion and strengthening of peace and security, democratic governance, human rights, fundamental freedoms, gender equality, sustainable economic development, and to ensure implementation of all the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

In short it can be said that peace and security; governance and human rights; and regional integration and key development issues are the focus for this partnership projects. Over the years' principles have been modified with different agreements and protocols that I mentioned in the EU history chapter. The main characteristics and goals are all the same with some minor differences that were reflexive of the time and situation when it was discussed and agreed. The main factors taken into consideration by EU development policy are development aid, debt relief and aid for trade, which can be beneficial to indebted recipient countries. However, it would be more beneficent for recipient countries in Africa to implement impartial trade with EU countries. But EU's protective policies do not allow impartial trade route where they could import cheap African products to EU market because it could harm the EU farmer and other producers (Wu, 2012:107-109). Based on these selective policies, one can make an

assumption on the willingness of the EU to develop Africa. Later in the chapter, I will discuss the economic principles of the cooperation between EU and Africa.

Political conditionality is a crucial factor that influences the EU or China to implement economic projects. It also can influence to what extent the different projects are successful or have reached their goals. As it was mentioned above EU and China have very different principles when it comes to the development projects in Africa. For instance, EU's political conditionalities for their projects require exercising good governance by the recipient countries, policy changes, participatory objectives of recipient government, and value-based objectives that include democratizations of the political system, human rights, gender equalities, environmental protections. For example, the EU project for "democracy" assistance in Ghana had for aim to support fragile democratic system of Ghana and its political reforms. The help was given in the form of financial and technical support in the areas of democracy, human rights and good governance. But the reality was that there was a limited funding from the EU agencies, just some electoral support during countries elections and training of the local government personal. Focus was more on the traditional Development Assistance programs like rural development and the macro-economic support. However, after 9/11, EU's development strategy has changed from democracy via economic development towards democracy via security and stability. They have favored security strategy because better protection is believed to lead to long-term functional democracies and the other way around. Therefore, the other goals like economic liberalization and free market trade can be seen as undermining factors for a democratic society, which wants to promote popular control over public decision-making (Mold, 2007:176-185). This shows that the constant changes of the internal political course of the EU has impact on the shift of their co-operation principles, which presents EU as unstable and self-centered actor before the African leaders.

In contrary to constant change of the political objectives of the EU, China has rather stable policies when it comes to their cooperation with Africa. For example, the forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) created in 2000, became major institutional framework for political exchange, economic and trade cooperation and cultural exchange between China and African countries. It is organized on ministerial level every three years, while head of states meet every six years. Ministerial conference comes up with the three-year action plan for future co-operation between countries. Although FOCAC is multilateral event with substantial number of African countries

meeting with Chinese officials, it is more a Chinese public relations platform than it is a negotiating forum. This is because most of the project deals and agreements are done bilaterally before the official meeting takes place (Wu, 2012:109-111). China sees this forum as the way of strengthening South-South cooperation between biggest developing country China and Africa as the continent with the biggest number of developing countries. So, there is a political and bilateral diplomatic dialogue between China and African countries, but Chinese authorities claim that their projects in Africa does not have political conditionality and only focuses on the mutual economic benefits. According to Chinese special envoy for Africa Liu Guijin states that “we do not attach political conditions. We have realized that the political and economic environments are not ideal. But we do not have to wait for everything to be satisfactory or human rights to be perfect.” According to this argument, Africa is not in a position where it can fulfill political and economic conditionalities, which could be one the reason for their ‘no political and economic condition attached philosophy.

However, Wu (2012) argues that the reasoning behind the Chinese ‘no conditions attached’ policy is the five principles of the Chinese Foreign Policy. The Chinese principles of Peaceful Co-Existence are: mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity; mutual non-aggression; non-interference in each other's internal affairs; equality and mutual benefit; and peaceful co-existence (Wu, 2012:109-111). These principles are visible in agreements and co-operation of Chinese government. In other words, the political conditions of their co-operation with Africa builds on ‘no interference’ and ‘no aggression’ but just mutual economic benefit. Since these strategies are convenient for authoritative rulers of the African countries, the West mostly criticizes the Chinese ‘no conditions attached’ policy. They said that financial support of the dictators in Africa would degrade African economy and process of democratization. For example, in the statement of the chairperson Chris Smith of the US Congress House Sub-Committee on African region said:

“China is playing and increasingly influential role on the continent of Africa and there is concern that the Chinese intend to aid and abet African dictators, gain a stronghold on precious African natural resources, and undo much of the progress that has been made on democracy and governance in the last 15 years.” (Srinivasan 2008:57)

There are many similar shared views and concerns across EU and rest of the Western world about China’s investments in African that might empower African dictators.

However, if we look at the case of oil-rich Cameroon, we can see that the dictator president Paul Biya, who has been ranked by Freedom house as fourteen worst country leaders on political and civil liberties, have got 1.7 billion USD of aid only in 2006. And other favored dictator of the Western donors is Ethiopian with similar low estimates of civil and political liberties, received 5.6 billion USD in 2004 and 2006 (World Bank, 2007). There one might argue that when rhetoric of the West meets their reality on the ground, suddenly Chinese case of supporting the donor becomes not so far apart (Brautigam, 2009:285).

However, we should not forget that in reality, China is more open to the development cooperation with the countries and governments that EU perceives as risky or undemocratic. First, this might be because of its own experience as a developing country but also due to the peaceful co-existence principles that China is using in their foreign affairs. Mutual respect for each other's sovereignty, territorial integrity, and non-interference in each other internal affairs are the "holy grail" of the Chinese Foreign policy. This is mostly due to its own experience after the end of its civil war and World War II, where Taiwan became recognized as the official representative of the Chinese people, while mainland China was forgotten due to its communist rule. Even though, Mainland China managed to win back the UN Security Council seat after the voting in general assembly in 1970s with the votes from the newly dependent African countries, it is still sensitive about question of Taiwan and very preoccupied with 'One China' policy (Ampiah and Naidu, 2008:285 -287).

Chinese officials would always point out that China does not want predominance in the world affairs, but rather a peaceful world, which is necessary for the development of China and the rest. They are supporting the multipolar international system and they are big contributors to the United Nations and its agencies. In case of Africa they support African Union (AU) and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), so much that China has built a brand-new African Union headquarters in Addis Ababa in Ethiopia worth a 200 million US dollar. China's most senior political adviser, Jia Qinglin, attended the opening of the new headquarters, where he stated "The towering complex speaks volumes about our friendship to the African people, and testifies to our strong resolve to support African development." (BBC News, 2012)

This symbolism and statements about brotherhood from Chinese government officials just strengthen the view of equality and cooperation among “equals” or the relationship between biggest developing country and a continent with the biggest number of developing countries. It speaks of the mutual benefit and developing cooperation for everyone willing to participate in dialogue. By other word, the main intention of no political interference policy of China is driven with the good intentions of economic development and mutual benefit. However, the reality shows that in some cases, such as in authoritarian countries, the benefit from the projects not always go to the development of economy but sometimes it goes to personal enrichment and empowerment of the authoritarian countries. In this case, one could possible ask if China could improve the economy without damaging or supporting the authoritative countries? It is indeed a difficult and controversial question that is hard to find a satisfactory answer to due to the ‘no political involvement’ policy of China. But there are examples where China has bended its ‘no interference’ principles and intervened into internal politics of Sudan (Srinivasan 2008:59-60). This case presents how Chinese principles and desires to have a good relationship with both African countries and Western countries were put to the test before Olympic Games in China. Chinese have a long-lasting relationship with the Sudan since 1959. During the 1970s, China sent some arms and development and technical assistance to the socialist government, but it was in the 1990s that official agreements on economic and technical assistance, as well as cultural exchange were signed. Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir is a controversial person, who is not very well liked by the West due to its support of Saddam Hussein in the 1990s and of course the accusation for the Darfur war crimes in 2000s.

However, China continued diplomatic and economic relationship with Sudanese government, despite criticism from Western countries. Arms sales and military cooperation between China and Sudan were part of much longer relationship than the oil cooperation. Chinese investments in oil exploration started in the 1990s with activities of the China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) and China Petroleum and Chemical Corporation (Sinopec) together with Sudan’s National Oil Corporations (NOCs). Sudan was the important beginning for the Chinese Oil Diplomacy development, since China was involved in the whole production in oil industry. They have been part of both oil exploration, pipeline building, refinery building, railroad between Khartoum and Port of Sudan and the port infrastructure (Srinivasan 2008:57). Despite this long lasting and complex relationship, China was receiving enormous

pressure and critique for having a business with the corrupt regime and human right violator- the al-Bashir.

The conflict in Darfur and accusation of the war crimes and genocides created unfavorable situation for China, the pressure was increasing and Sudan was on the verge of having a long-lasting conflict, which would influence all the development and improvement done in the country. China did not want Sudan to become the issue for relationship between China and USA, but also did not want to go over its own principles, especially interfering another state. However, a quite discussion between Beijing and Khartoum led to a political engagement and eventually saved Sudan from major sanctions but also managed to show to the world that China listens to the concerns and has interest to sustain peace that would help further development. The peace agreement from 2006 regarding Darfur conflict was a long struggle between different direct and indirect actors involved in finding peace solution (Srinivasan 2008:65-70). Even though, China was pressuring Sudanese government to find a solution and be part of negotiations, China did not want to support anything without Sudanese government officially accepting to be part of negotiations. In the meantime, China has been a big contributor towards UN peacekeeping force in the region, as well as the AU peacekeeping operations, which are the legitimate actors to intervene in African situations.

Due to these pressures China received from the West, it managed to influence Sudan's president al-Bashir to cooperate in Sudan's peace negotiations. This case particularly demonstrates that Chinese 'non-interference' principles can be bended, if there is a pressure from the UN and the Western governments. This also demonstrates that China can (if they want) impose a political precondition on African states, but the problem is that they usually choose to distance themselves from internal politics because they do not want others to intervene in their internal affairs. Maybe it would be more effective if the West pressured China to introduce realistic political conditionality to their development projects with Africa. The key word here is 'realistic' political conditionality, since EU is known for setting unrealistic goal of immediate political reforms.

This case presents the exceptional example where China makes deviant decision, which is paradoxical with their foreign policy. In addition, this case also shows paradoxical

case of EU's foreign policy where they preferred their economic benefit over their belief in democracy and no cooperation with the authoritarian leaders. For example, EU has chosen a policy of constructive engagement with Sudan, even though the West was against Sudanese regime, because EU wanted an opportunity for the many European Companies that are in the oil business, which in a way gave support to the end of UN sanctions against Sudan in 2001 (Srinivasan 2008:63). This is the perfect example where the economy and trade had a significant impact on the official EU policy, even though, they have strict rules and regulations for business with "rogue" regimes, EU was still open to take it in consideration in spite US's disavowal.

3. Economic Conditionality of the EU and China

Even though, the EU is trying to promote democracy in Africa and China is trying to promote economic cooperation, it is still important to mention that both actors are interested to provide economic support to their own companies from extracting resources and providing services. This section of the chapter will talk about the economic conditionalities of the EU and China.

As it was mentioned above in the section of political conditionality, EU has been changing its focus of aid from economic to political. In 1980s the aid conditionality was economic reforms. Later, in 1990s EU changed their economic focus to the political one, while today they are combining both economic and political conditionality to their projects. The purpose of economic conditionality is about the usage of the aid for the promotion of economic orthodoxies like adoption of the neoliberal macro-economic policy and other economic reforms. The main criteria for EU's economic governance are the investment progression and macroeconomic performance, which measures the capacity and the willingness of the recipient government to implement structural reforms (European Commission, 2007:17; Ling 2010:7).

It is important to mention the EU's trade preference and regulations that raises an issue of the protective market of the EU member countries. It is done because African agricultural products might be a threat to the European farmers (Carmody, 2011:139-150). Some scholars argue that if Africa would enter impartial or fair trade with the EU or China, African economy would be much more stable now. So, one might ask if EU and China have similar objective to develop Africa, why they do not enter impartial

trade? The likely answer would be that both EU and China have concerns about their own economy and African development may be on the secondary role.

In contrary to the EU's economic conditionality, China presents itself as a country that does not impose conditionality onto sovereign country but it is true in the on the ground? The reality presents that Chinese 'no conditions attached' might be applicable to the political conditionality, (but not always followed, of course), however it is hard to make identical claim about the economic none conditionality. This claim is made based on the contradictory factor to Chinese 'no conditionality' principles have conditions. For example, most of the Chinese co-operation projects with the partner country have agreement contract about the regulations of execution of the projects. So, contract regulation is some form of conditionality for Chinese development projects. Therefore, we can surely argue that Chinese 'no condition attached' has the conditions. In fact, Chinese conditions for their contract usually have demands that the implementers of the projects must be Chinese companies and certain percentage of the products should be obtained from the Chinese market. These contract conditions are small, but occasionally they are considered as a form of economic conditionality. So, the contract conditions can be considered as conditionality, we should highlight here that majority of the EU's contracts have similar preconditions that requires the European experts to be deployed as part of the package. Therefore, when it comes to relatively small contract conditionality, EU and China share similar principles and techniques of execution, where they privilege economic benefit of their own companies, products or labor force.

Nevertheless, it is important not to be confused by contract conditionalities that require the import of the donor products and experts (the small conditionality) and conditionality of the macroeconomic reforms of recipient country (the big conditionality). China has only contract conditionalities (small conditionality), while EU has both the contract (small conditionality) and macro-economic conditionalities (big conditionality).

The other relevant economic principle that China has is 'win-win' principle, which is very different from the EU's conditionality method. This strategy talks about the mutual economic benefit both for China and Africa. China claims that they are not sending grants or aid to Africa but making mutual benefit (Brautigam, 2009:3; Ling, 2010:7).

So, Chinese officials are open that they get benefit and profit from having projects in Africa, while EU does not claim that they are getting the economic benefit from sending aid to Africa. As it was mentioned before, EU claims that their aid is one-way instrument that advocates good governance and sustainable development in Africa but not personal benefit from their aid (Pollet, 2011:21).

China and EU implementation of their development strategies in Africa, as mentioned earlier, are coming from distinct positions. The EU and its member countries are viewed as the part of the old colonial history and later as a part of Donor-Receiver relationship, which is full of conditions, expectations and demands. The challenge for the EU is to take into consideration all the various aspects of EU development strategies, where EU and OECD goals need to be followed, as well as needs of receiving country which might not always be on the same page. Also, there are different actors and levels in relationship between EU and African country, meaning that EU can have projects that are both aiming at the government and institutions as well as the local NGOs and groups that do work with a more local based area of influence. Problems might occur when the receiving government or some parts of it do not agree with the changes or developments planned. Most of these projects also come with the army of experts from the EU that might come with the limited knowledge of the situation on the ground or that would use up a big part of the budget on the salaries and upkeep. The amount of reports and assessment needed to be delivered by some countries to their donors or different agencies from EU can take enormous resources and time from the actual needs. Reality is that EU has interests both in the infrastructure and oil projects as well as the human rights situation and state of democratic society. These interests can cross over from cooperation to the teaching lessons and demanding improvements which receiving states might not be willing to accept.

On the other hand, China comes from a different position as a developing country with a huge population that has gone through the many of the same processes African countries are going through. Many African leaders welcome the official statements of need for 'win-win' cooperation, non-interference to internal affairs and respect to its own internal dynamics. This so-called South-South cooperation or cooperation among developing countries is differently understood even though it still requires dialogue and planning. However, in this case it is done directly between Chinese and African officials so the process is much shorter and more efficient. China is strong believer that

trade and economic progress is the only way for a society to develop and improve overall situation. China uses its own example when discussing with African countries, meaning that African countries do not have money but have natural resources and China is willing to transfer knowledge and technology which in turn will produce quick and efficient exchange. Also, China provides a great deal of loans and trade agreements with a concern for every specific country since most deals are done bilaterally with ‘no conditions attached’. So, African reality presents typical case where EU’s good governance and transparency conditionality stopped the project, while China’s ‘no condition’ conditionality prevailed in case of Angola.

Due to the poor levels of governance and lack of transparency Angola experienced difficulties in securing public financing in 2004. At the same time China was becoming more significant partner for the African countries and more open for dialogue without any “usual” conditions. Chinese increase in demand for the oil and Angola’s demand for the reconstruction of the war-torn country led to the loan agreement backed up with oil resources. Chinese Exim Bank was the main provider of the credit line. Additional loans were provided which in turn led to agreement in which 70 per cent of all the public tenders for the construction and civil engineering aimed for Reconstruction will be given to the Chinese companies that are approved by the Chinese government. The rest shall be given to the local private sector as an encouragement for the local effort in reconstruction. Since the loan is the government to government and not the private investment different rules have been used meaning that loan falls under a Program of Public Investments which is in turn shared between different government sectors of Angola. Since the loan is constructed as a fund where different sectors apply for funding which gives choice to the Angolan government to decide which project they want to present to the joined committee consisting of Angolan Ministry of Finance and Chinese Ministry of Foreign and Commercial Affairs (MOFCOM). In addition, bilateral trade between China and Angola has been constantly increasing reaching 11.6 billion in US dollars from which 10,9 billion US dollars’ worth of resources were exported from Angola to China (Ampiah, and Naidu, 2008:208-219). It is believed that the usage of the Chinese imported goods is much higher but due to the different middlemen and traders from other African countries, it is not registered or considered as a direct import from China.

Even though most of the Chinese companies entered Angola via government to government agreements and do not classify as the private investments, some of them have ventured to register in Angola and tried to offer their services to the private market. Biggest interest was in the telecommunications where Angolan Telecommunication Company has made agreement with the Chinese ZTE Corporation International to acquire equipment and other necessary improvements. One of the most important China-Angola commercial cooperation projects is the creation of the common oil and Gas Company called Sonangol-Sinopec International (SSI) (Ampiah, and Naidu, 2008:208-219). This joint venture owns different oil blocks and reserves in Angola that have in the end increased total production of the country.

There have been concerns that Angolan participation in the projects funded by China is lower than the 30 per cent promised due to the low interest of local companies as well as the low interest of Chinese companies to enter joint venture with local actors. Another concern is Angolan workers who are usually low skilled and protected by the different rights according to the local laws, even Angolan companies are considering importing Chinese workforce. However due to the relationship development and dependency of China on the oil from Angola, government of Angola is having a better negotiations position in any future agreements where better education and training of the local workforce is demanded. And this presents that African leaders are looking for the project that fulfills their needs. Today, China's 'no condition' conditionalities are more popular, but the case also shows that Angola is keeping its options open by maintaining their partnership relations with the EU and joining OPEC. This is an indicator that African countries are trying to protect their interests and are looking to have various international and regional actors that offer development co-operation. I believe, the diversity of option in the African market can be beneficial to its development. Therefore, we can conclude that the political conditionality of the EU might not always be beneficial for the African countries, at least on the short term of development.

It is important to highlight that the partial characteristics of the making business is interest for the companies, but it also means that there are benefit for economy national economy. So, having different options of the actors or having competitions is an important characteristic of potential success.

4. Future Consideration

Considering urgent need of poverty reduction need, it is possible that making business in Africa is a solution. And Chinese business strategy might not be the worst solutions, having in mind the fair ‘no conditions attached’ principles. The EU’s economic and political conditionality is very hard to reach in relatively short period and in framework of small projects. Therefore, many African leaders question if EU is demanding in accordance of what it is offering in its aid and projects?’ I believe, there is much more EU can do for the improvement of their conditions and offer fair and realistic conditionalities for what they offer. The main concern of inefficiency here is on the EU’s methods of projects execution. EU’s main principle of imposing democracy, economic liberalization, human rights protections, security, and economic benefit for their companies, is a high prerequisite or aid conditions for the relatively small projects they offer to Africa. I believe, their aim of developing and democratizing African countries is important, but it will be very hard for Africa to be democratic without improving the critical situation of poverty. The main claim here is that EU should continue promoting democracy and political reforms in ‘long term’ and without threatening the recipient country with terminations of project or stopping the aid. Instead of trying to impose fast political and economic reforms conditionality into the projects with limited budget, they should continue imposing conditionality of economic reforms (which is the matter of urgency in Africa) and continue with advocacy of human rights, security and other short-term (realistic) achievable conditionality that will help to reach the long-term goal of democratic Africa. As old proverb says, ‘Rome was not built in one day!’

CHAPTER 7: Conclusion

The main aim of this thesis was to find out how the European Union and China implemented their development strategies in Africa and if Chinese approach is different from EU one. The purpose of this research was to find out possible similarities or differences between Chinese and EU development model as well. I have tried to analyze these two models by drawing a historical timeline of development of their strategies.

Researching China and EU's involvement in Africa was incredibly interesting to me. However, this interesting topic comes with its own challenges. I have decided to use documents as the main source of data due to the limitations of the master thesis as well as limited access to data, especially from Chinese projects. After doing preliminary research of given topic I found out that there is enormous primary document and secondary researches are already done on this topic. Therefore, my research is mainly based on various types of documents as primary and secondary data that could provide accurate information. In addition to document, I have also conducted five interviews from field scholars and practitioners who helped to give guidance on valid literature. Since document was the main researching methods I have paid attention on reviewing documents properly and using various techniques to test their reliability. I have used different approaches as: content analysis, interpretation approach, critical tradition, discourse analysis, validity, authenticity, reliability credibility, representativeness and meanings to process the document and get as objective as possible.

In the next chapter, I have written about some of the theoretical tools that can help to explain some of the reasons for different development cooperation principles that China and EU are using in Africa. Further two chapters gave more detailed information and explain separately the developments methods of EU and Chinese development cooperation principles that is a perfect introduction for the analysis.

Regarding analysis chapter, I focused on the differences and similarities of the EU and China development cooperation in African countries. The transitions of those principles into project have introduced different conditionalities that recipient countries had to fulfill before receiving the aid. Political and economic conditions from the EU were compared with Chinese view on 'no conditions attached' policy and mutual benefit from economic cooperation. Having different examples as well as various statements,

I could discuss different views and understandings of the EU and China development cooperation in Africa. Common conclusion is that China has a capacity to improve the poverty issue and influence to political improvements, if they would step away from no interference policy and probably will have to do it sometimes in order to protect their interests. While EU has to be more aware of the realistic situation on the ground and more adaptive to the specific countries in order to have a bigger impact and more willing parties for cooperation with less conditions that can stop things even before starting.

In the end, it can be concluded that even though EU and China development strategies are implemented in different ways, they still share similar goals and desires for the world peace and end of poverty. Since the Chinese way of implementation is more flexible and directly agreed between governments, without extra attached conditions, it seems to be more desired as a welcoming alternative to the EU one. Hope remains that China and EU will cooperate much closer level that could eventually help to end poverty in Africa.

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