THE MYTH OF THE COVID-19 AID TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: A CASE OF KENYA

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Abstract: The 21st century has witnessed renewed political interest on aid issues. The trend is attributed to the realisation that addressing critical problems such as extreme poverty, child mortality, poor education, gender equality, maternal health and spread of diseases like HIV call for increased transfer of resources from wealthy to poor nations. However, the current global pandemic, COVID-19, has led aid donation at its peak as developed states are the most affected leading to the borrowing of loans and grants so as provide for its people. This leads to the question on if the developed nations are borrowing loans from monetary institutions such as the World Bank for survival then how are they still able to send funds to developing states at such a time as this, or could there be a hidden agenda. The purpose of this paper is to present a discussion of these concepts from existing literature on International development assistance, the motives for giving aid; various types of development assistance; foreign aid policies of key developed countries and donor institutions and agencies; the problems and opportunities associated with foreign aid.

Keywords: Aid, Donors, COVID-19, Myth.

1. INTRODUCTION

Foreign aid and development assistance have been fronted as appropriate solutions for the economic development of developing countries, a range of issues form part of different discussions in development assistance literature. One the effectiveness of development assistance is that it led to economic growth in the long term however, with different motives such as driving the donor country's security and economic interests (Sen, 2018).

Concept and Practice of International Development Assistance

According to Wells (2018), foreign aid means financial or technical assistance between governments for the purpose of social or economic development. Foreign aid takes different forms, including financial loans or grants, commodities such as food, transport and health support or technical advice, equipment, and training. The Official Development Assistance (ODA) founded in 1969 on the recognition of the need to help less developed countries in relation to financial, economic and technical assistance. Developed countries were expected to align their assistance with the needs of recipient countries so as to promote the flow of resources from developed countries to developing countries (Hynes and Scott, 2013). Between 2015 and 2017, the top 10 donor countries (aid to Africa) were the United States, United Kingdom, Germany, France, Japan, Canada, Sweden, Norway, Netherlands, and Switzerland (OECD, 2019).

In relation to the global COVID-19 pandemic, foreign aid is especially important to developing countries for such emergency situations (Wells, 2018). For instance, in May 2020 the UK Government announced a £20 million humanitarian support package to developing countries, which would be used by charity organisations in developing countries to fight the current pandemic. Separately, the UK government has also provided the Kenyan government with Kshs. 150 million to support the country's research efforts in the fight against coronavirus (Capital News, 2020).

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Theoretical Basis of Development Assistance

The theory behind aid is founded on the thinking that provision of aid bolsters economic development, whose benefits naturally "trickle down" to the general population. In the process, this is expected to reduce poverty and a source of capital for developing states.

However, Mahembe & Odhiambo (2019) state that there are concerns that foreign aid and development assistance encourages corruption and crowding-out of local enterprises whereby in return it impedes poverty reduction. Nevertheless, there is an understanding that foreign aid addresses poverty reduction in a range of avenues such stabilising the recipient country's economic growth, promoting democracy and economic institutions, and influencing the receiving country's public-sector spending, which influences welfare and human development indicators.

Importance of Foreign Aid and International Development Assistance

Since its establishment, development assistance has become an important development approach in developing countries. Its importance was especially recognised in the MDGs (Millennium Development Goals). Considering the 0.7% development assistance target for economically developed countries, the expenditure of development assistance consistently grew from the 1970s. Due to the failure of the MDG's on 1st January 2016 the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG's) were established under the 2015 UN Summit in September with the main agenda being to end poverty (Yiew & Lau ,2018). ODA contributed to a reduction of extreme poverty from 1,926 million to 836 million in 2015. It has also been associated with improved literacy rates from 83% to 91% between 1990 to 2015 and improved enrolment in primary schools to 91%. Development assistance through ODA has led to improved participation of women in political processes through women empowerment initiatives, reduced child mortality, girl child education, reduced global mortality, and improved global health issues, including malaria, HIV and other types of diseases. Based on the benefits of development assistance, there has been increased efforts to ensure its continuation, which is reflected in the introduction of SDGS that are targeted to be achieved by the year 2030, whereby before then, there will be a need for \$4 trillion that need to be supported by ODA for the goals to be achieved.

What Type of Aid is Given to Kenya by DFID?

In regard to development assistance, various scholars and authors have classified or divided development assistance into several types. Also, development assistance is not necessarily in form of funds but also technology, training and can be provided in form of a grant or a loan with interests varying from high to low (Chapman, 2016). Chapman states that development assistance can be categorized into three major types as follows;

First, Official Development Aid (ODA), which is the type of assistance given by public sources such as national governments or international agencies that deal with development. Statistics indicate that this type of development assistance accounts for 80% of all the assistance given worldwide. Official development assistance is split into two main types, which are, bilateral assistance – involves states in the developed world giving funds directly to governments, local communities or businesses in the developing world for instance, the recent grant given to the Kenyan government by the United States Agency for International development to combat the economic effects of the Covid-19 pandemic in Kenya, statistics also indicate that 70% of ODA is bilateral, also the Kenya-UK aid giving can be categorized as a bilateral Official Development Assistance. Multilateral Assistance- in this form, a group of states donate funds to international agencies such as the World Bank and the European Commission. There are more than 200 international agencies which provide development assistance to developing states and this accounts for 30% of ODA.

Second, Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) assistance- this is the type of development assistance in which NGOs are considered as independent charities which raise donations from the public. There are many NGOs, some well-known such as OXFAM some not known much. Their focus is on a wide range of development projects including the localized and specific which may consist of a few individuals focusing on a single development issue in one area of a country, the NGOs assistance accounts for 20% of worldwide aid.

Third, Private Development Assistance- This is assistance from international foundations which are usually set up by private individuals or corporations such as the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. And this type accounts for a relative low proportion of international assistance flows.

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However, some other scholars and institutions tend to categorize development assistance in quite a different way by underlining what they name as 'primary forms' of development assistance. That is; Private foreign direct investment, from Multinational Cooperation's (MNC's) regarded as development assistance as they invest and provide jobs and increase life standards in the developing countries that host them. The second primary type is the funds or products given out to combat problems associated with poverty. And the third primary form is foreign trade, as an indicator for developmental progress among poor countries as the index of economic freedom provided by the Heritage Foundation outlines that free trade policies go together with economic freedom and political stability.

Our perspective on the types however, would be that there are only two major types of development assistance, that is the Governmental development assistance which, Chapman (2016) has referred to as ODA and Non-governmental development assistance out ruling the separation between the Non-governmental and private development assistance because even most private foundations like the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation operates as an NGO in most countries where it operates. So, the types are mainly two, those concerned with the governments and those which deal with non-governmental entities.

Why does U.K through DFID Provide Development Assistance to Kenya?

The works written on Foreign Aid, has helped us towards the acquisition of knowledge on why developed countries give aid to the developing countries. According to the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis Review July/August 2013, recent provision of foreign aid, has reflected strategic agendas of developed countries towards the recipients of the aid. For instance, since the demise of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR), Aid has been given with conditions of the developing states adopting the neo-liberal policies of the developed donor states.

According to Dudley (1976), he claims that there are three major motives for giving aids. First being, the donor states expect the receiving states to express their gratitude in the form of support for the donor's interests especially in the sphere of International Politics for instance in pushing the agendas of the donor state by votes within international bodies such as the United Nations General Assembly. The second motive they identify is that receiving states trade more with the donor state therefore the giving of foreign aid furthers the donor state's economic interest, as the recipient state uses the aid funds to purchase the donor nation's exports therefore used as an export promotion tactic, and this is even explained in the DFID Kenya profile as there is a lot of trade and investment between Kenya and the U.K so this is a motive for the DFID to give aid to Kenya. The third motive donor states may be 'caring' to the extent that their aid helps citizens of the receiving states have a better standard of living, which we as a group directly discard as a 'fantasy motive'.

Our perspective on the motives would be that of a realist. Most authors on the motives of giving foreign aid however have outlined the motives in the same way Dudley and Montmarquette have done with slight differences in explanation but same context. Most of these authors have not stressed enough on the primary motive of giving aid. In our perspective we therefore outline strategic national interest as the primary drive for giving aid by most donor nations. National interests vary from political, economic, military and other aspects, usually outlined by the foreign policy of a state. For instance, "America first" which is a popular slogan by American leaders, which shows the selfish nature of states and also shows the real intention is their country's interests are the priority even when they give grants through their agencies. A country like France during colonialism fulfilled their national interests through the assimilation system of making the colonies and the people of the colonies want to be like the French in every aspect of life, this has been the case even after independence, therefore the colonial ties with significant strategic factors can also be a motive but built heavily on the national economic interests France has over her former colonies. The same applies to British colonies like Kenya, whereby it can be seen the British ties never died and the domination is as alive also indirectly through investment and Multinational Cooperation's (MNCs), the strategic national interest of the donor nations mostly to stay dominant over the receiving states socially, economically and even worse politically is what has been driving the flow of foreign aid into developing nations and especially the sub-Saharan states.

Are the Foreign Aids Received by Kenya Genuine?

The sincerity of the Foreign Aid received by Africa during the COVID-19 pandemic has raised questions on African politics. The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) measures its members' aid contributions using ODA. Despite of the fact that USA is the hegemonic power and its currency is the global currency and it leads in dollar amounts of aid flows to developing countries, the United States often ranks low when aid is calculated as a

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percentage of Gross National Income (GNI). However, according to ODA, Norway gives the most aid per capita while Sweden gives the most aid as a percentage of \national income (A. Gurría, 2015).

According to Alonzo.F (April 27, 2020) the current global pandemic COVID-19 has re-defined foreign aid as a domestic aid. The UK Aid press stated that healthcare systems are highly threatened and at risk with the spread of COVID-19 with the possibility of it re-emerging in the new future. In this sector we look closely into the foreign aid relation between the UK and Kenya. Kenya being a member of the Commonwealth and a former British protectorate, as a nation colonial ties play a big role. Analysing UK's Foreign Aid policies will enable us to know the odds against us or the gains we have secured. For instance, the UK's National Health Service which is aligned to World Health Organizations (WHO's) core principle of Universal Health Coverage allows people essential services regardless of their ability to pay. Through this, UK advocated for the gathering of political leaders, innovators, experts-by-experience, policymakers and civil society during the 2019 Global Ministerial Health Summit.

In addition to that, UK has given WHO flexible funding such that WHO can allocate funds when and where they are needed. Between 2018-2019 UK generously donated US \$ 52.2 million to WHO's Core Voluntary Contribution Account thus making WHO finance and implement underfunded priority programs. This makes Kenya at an advantage of aid funds but the motives behind the funding is it worth it, is it beneficial for all or the elite or is it all about national interests (WHO, 2019).

Nonetheless, should we as Kenyans rejoice at this knowing that WHO also receives its funds from the Gates Foundation which strategizes towards a *depopulation agenda*. Bill Gates as an individual has a net worth of a higher value compared to the total GDP of UK's economy leaving him with the capability of being influential to UK's politics. Which is worse, knowing that we are running after our former colonial masters portraying mental slavery in the 21st century or knowing that the very colonial masters are owned by billionaires such as Bill and Melinda Gates, who are in a rush to promote a 'COVID-19 Vaccine' with a bid to reduce the global population. This is of concern because just after America withdrew from funding WHO the Gates foundation remains faithful to accomplish their agenda.

Britain's Foreign Policies

i)The Advance Market Commitment policy: The UK also provides financing to the Advance Market Commitment (AMC), which aims to create a market for vaccines in developing countries by creating incentives for pharmaceutical companies "to invest in research, development and production capacity for new vaccines that serve the poor.

ii)Religious Workers and Scholarships policy: Individuals may enter the UK to pursue religious work on a visa for up to two years especially once enduring persecution in their native land. To add, DFID, which offers scholarships to students from developing Commonwealth countries.

iii)Emergency Aid policy: Emergency aid is essential as savings are required as a result of budget cuts across the whole government. The UK has this policy set for its Commonwealth member states when they have hit their melting point economically.

iv)Debt Relief policy: Through the Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative the UK is committed to reducing developing countries' debt by providing over US\$200 million in debt relief. Through using soft power, UK has a strong record as a development and peacebuilding aid donor, through its Conflict, Stability and Security Fund (CSSF).

Therefore, it is important to interrogate the aid policies UK has set in place for Kenya as nothing comes in easy or cheap without conditions set by the donors.

UK and Kenya's Relation during COVID-19 Crisis

The UK has enhanced the global heath security by being the third top donor to The Contingency Fund for Emergencies that enables fast release of funds for emergencies. For now, there is no explicit indication from London that such a false choice between internal and external priorities should be made (WB, April 2, 2020).

The Republic of Kenya recorded its 1st COVID-19 victim on March 14, 2020 in which the government adopted a number of containment measures, including social distancing and heightened restrictions in most non-essential social spaces to gatherings. The World Bank Group Board of Directors approved in March \$50 million in immediate funding to support Kenya's response to the global COVID-19 (coronavirus) pandemic under a new operation - the Kenya COVID -19

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Emergency Response Project. The need for the emergency funding was for medical diagnostic services, surveillance and response, capacity building, quarantine, isolation and treatment centres, medical waste disposal, risk communications and community engagement as well as for strengthening of the country's capacity to provide safe blood services.

Moreover, on 20th May 2020, the World Bank approved a \$1 billion budget support operation for Kenya, which helps close the fiscal financing gap, while supporting reforms that help advance the government's inclusive growth agenda, including in affordable housing and support to farmers' incomes (WB, May 20, 2020). Kenya was credited with \$750 million from the International Development Association (IDA) and a further \$250 million loan from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD).

Outcomes

Britain's Prime Minister, Boris Johnson, in June stated, 'the coronavirus pandemic has shown the distinctions between diplomacy and overseas development are artificial and outdated. We give as much aid to Zambia as we do to Ukraine, though the latter is vital for European security. We give ten times as much aid to Tanzania as we do to the six countries of the Western Balkans, who are acutely vulnerable to Russian meddling.' This has raised eye-brows in the UK's parliament as despite it being ranked third globally on its huge aid budget, foreign aid served its own interest (Farand ,16 June 2020).

With such understanding, we, the documented authors, have come to question where all these funds go into. COVID-19 is a serious pandemic as it is real and not a myth but where are the records on the finances that can be accounted for to the public. On social media platforms such as Twitter, Kenyans have the same query such as is this all a strategy to get funds for the year 2022 Presidential Elections. As the authors with a common background of Kenyan citizenship know that anything is possible with cashless money.

National interest plays a huge role when it comes to international relations and politics. On April 25, 2020 Kenya sent 300 banquets of flowers to the UK in solidarity to its COVID-19 victims and the high death toll (Obura, 25th April, 2020). To many, this seemed absurd but Kenya's diplomats had to play their cards well so as to get the vote as the new members of the UN Security Council (UNSC). This was a huge achievement as they won the ballot against Djibouti. However, wasn't this just after the billions of funds that the World Bank had credited to us, not to mention Jack Ma's aid donations and the 2nd donations from the Chinese government on the 24th of April and yet our hospitals lack the facilities and the right equipment.

Assessing Boris Johnson's statement, he tried to put across the point that the UK is sending too much foreign aid to nations that are at peace compared to the warzone states. From a socialistic point of view, his statement makes sense however, looking at it from an angle of political science Tanzania just recently discovered gallons of crude oil worth Trillions on its land while Zambia is a chief global producer of semi precious gemstones and cobalt. While at the moment, Kenya being a temporary member of the UNSC attracts donor states for their own interest on our coastline. This also gives a higher opportunity for Kenya to win the Maritime feud with Somalia. All this explains as to why Kenyans are tuned in to believe what the media and government says without having their own perspective of the matter.

Is development Aid a Myth or a Reality?

The effectiveness of foreign aid remains controversial. A large literature study show how aid is spent (Werker et al., 2009); how it is absorbed in the domestic economy (Temple & Sijpe, 2017), how much it ultimately stimulates growth (Dalgaard et al., 2004), improves human development outcomes (Boone, 1996), and reduces poverty (Collier & Dollar, 2002).

In light of existing evidence, some scholars assert that aid plays a pivotal role in promoting economic development in the poorest countries (Sachs, 2005) while others are highly skeptical (Easterly, 2006). For instance, Kenya's elite siphoned Kshs 328 billion of World Bank aid payments to offshore accounts in two decades. The news comes as the European Union prepares to sanction Mauritius, a tax haven, over money laundering and terror financing.

Elite Capture of Foreign Aid: Evidence from Offshore Bank Accounts published in February, offers details of how the Kenyan ruling elite connive to enrich themselves by wiring foreign aid money meant to help the vulnerable people to foreign offshore accounts" (Olingo, 2020).

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The Politics of Foreign Aid in Kenya

There was a strong economic and political argument for helping poor countries as in the mid-20th century, economists widely believed that the key to triggering growth whether in an already well-off country or one hoping to get richer was pumping money into a country's factories, roads and other infrastructure. Therefore, in the hopes of spreading the Western model of democracy and market-based economies, the United States and Western European powers encouraged foreign aid to smaller and poorer countries that could fall under the influence of the Soviet Union and China.

2. CHALLENGES OF FOREIGN AID IN KENYA

Popular Hiding Spots

Part of the loot is banked in non-tax havens such as Germany, France and Sweden, according to the report issued by the World Bank in 2010. The money is usually carted away to tax havens such as Switzerland, Luxembourg, Malta, the Cayman Islands and Singapore whose legal frameworks emphasize secrecy and asset protection. Kenya has been fighting to recover some of the money stashed in tax havens. In 2018, President Uhuru Kenyatta signed an agreement with the then President of Switzerland Alain Berset to help recover assets stashed in Swiss banks. As a matter of fact, nine other countries pose a financial risk to the bloc because they are linked to money laundering and terrorism financing. Mauritius has become a favourite destination for Kenyans out to hide their wealth from the taxman (Olingo, 2020).

Tax Benefits

Some of Kenya's wealthy individuals have registered their companies through subsidiaries in Port Louis in Mauritius, due to its favourite tax regime. Countries on the list "pose significant threats to the financial system of the European Union", the EU draft document in 2010 says. Under EU laws, banks and other financial and tax firms are obliged to scrutinize clients who have dealings with countries on the list. The Kenyan elite have also registered firms in Mauritius amongst other countries because of tax benefits (Olingo, 2020).

Foreign Aid Generally does not Promote Economic Development

Atakpu (2004) states that governments in developing countries have become dependent on aid, reducing their efforts at market reforms and tax revenue in the rest of the economy. These governments do not utilize the potential of generating their own potential, they become complacent with the assumption that they will receive foreign aid, which as mentioned earlier on wired to offshore accounts.

Economists have long observed that countries that have an abundance of wealth from natural resources, like oil or diamonds, tend to be more unequal, less developed and more impoverished. This is also known as the **resource curse**. Evidence overwhelmingly demonstrates that aid to Africa has made them poorer, and the growth slower.

The insidious aid culture has left African countries more debt-laden, more inflation-prone, more vulnerable to the vagaries of the currency markets and more unattractive to higher-quality investment. This raises the question, do developing countries need foreign aid? Is it a myth? Do we need development assistance or not? These are critical questions that the governments in Africa should ask themselves. This foreign aid does not add value to the common people, as it only benefits a few elites who are essentially individualistic in nature, and self-centered.

Structural Adjustment Programs

Structural Adjustment Programs were introduced by the World Bank and IMF in the early 70's. This was meant to control economic development of the newly independent countries of the continent whereby for a country to qualify for foreign aid, there were some adjustments within their economical spheres. For instance, they were required to remove tax exemptions for any agricultural imports coming from foreign countries hence this created a ready market for farmers in foreign countries yet the local farmers cannot compete with their counterparts because they have to pay taxes. This ended up killing the Agricultural sector in Africa.

Kicking away the Ladder

The article kicking away the ladder by Hajoon Chang, published on the 19th August 2010 has explained how developed countries did not use the process developing nations are currently using to develop to get to the top, instead they used other means to get to the top, and after they got there, they kicked away the ladder for poor nations not to catch up with them. Kicking away the ladder is simply a metaphor used by the author to show the reader what the developed nations deliberately did to dis empower the poor nations. Ironically, the developed nations put the poor nation's pressure to

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establish proper economic reforms that will make them catch up with the rich nations, however, those policies are not and cannot be tenable.

In the educational sector, governments offered free education to all citizens but due to foreign aid policy, African countries were required to remove the exemptions in the educational sector so as to create room for donor money to fund the sector hence this created job opportunities for foreign expatriates. This killed the educational sector since most citizens could not afford education.

There was an economy of imbalance whereby developing countries were only allowed to produce raw materials and exported them to European Nations to service their industries and in return the finished products were sold back to Africans which was a raw deal to Africans.

This is evident in international politics, as despite of the fact that the United Nations being the most powerful organ in the world, all of these developed countries do not wish well for the developing nations.

There is no democratization of the Security Council, the powerful nations impose their interests to the rest of the world and particularly the developing nations. This is because they have the power to veto critical decisions in the Security Council and to precisely hinder the poor nations from progressing and catching up with them. They create a permanent situation where the poor nations will always receive the so-called foreign aid. This aid is always come with conditions as mentioned. So long as the international system is structured this way, then the poor countries will always stagnate and not develop.

However, all is not lost, some of these donations have yielded fruits in some projects, developing nations can take advantage of these grants and utilize them for the benefit of their people regardless of the conditionality's because either way, the aid is left for them to control and inject in projects meant for the public good. Some of the opportunities are:

3. OPPORTUNITIES ASSOCIATED WITH FOREIGN AID

Poverty Reduction

Foreign aid has seen many Kenyan students get government funded scholarships to Europe and North America to further their education. They are able to study and acquire the necessary skills in many diverse fields and many of them are able to come back to Kenya and develop their countries, while others are able to get jobs and are able to sustain their families. For instance, the scholarship program started by the British Council courtesy of the UK people has seen many Kenyans go to the UK and further their studies.

Health Improvement

Foreign aid has seen many hospitals built in various parts of Kenya particularly the semi-arid regions of Kenya like Marsabit, Samburu and Garissa. The hospitals have significantly led to a decrease of mortality rates as mothers in that region are able to seek more civilized healthcare services thus a plus to foreign aid. Some of these mothers are also provided with supplements in order to enable them produce milk for lactation to their infants.

Good Governance

The Western nations have the position that with democracy, governments are able to achieve good governance, and achieve prosperity. For instance, the Department for International Development (DFID) has been able to fund many democracy related programs in Kenya especially during the election period. For instance, the Election Observation Group popularly known as ELOG receives a huge amount for observing and monitoring elections, and reporting on the entire election process, there is also National Democratic Institute(NDI) receives a huge amount for women programs, that has carried out many programmes empowering women in political participation and building their capacity to be great leaders and impact their societies. DFID funds a lot of money to such programs, and hence foreign aid has positive impacts on good governance.

4. CONCLUSION

Foreign aid can be viewed as both a myth and a reality. The huge chunk of this aid is remitted by a few cartels to offshore accounts instead of doing the work it was supposed to do. This aid benefits a few individuals at the expense of the majority which beats the purpose of which it was intended for. This does more harm than any good to the people as some may argue that the same cartels bring back the same money to the economy which again benefits a handful of individuals.

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On the other hand, one would argue that it is a reality here is also evidence that this aid has been used to promote development. In Kenya for instance, the NDI usually gets most of its funding from DFID for women and youth empowerment programs. The financial year of 2019/2020, NDI was allocated a subtotal of 1 Million Great Britain Pounds for a period of 12 months. The fund was meant for the Kenyan women members of the county assembly's capacity building program. The reality of this is that the Members of County Assemblies (MCA's) female representatives from Samburu County, and Garissa County were able to hold their respective county governors accountable for misappropriation of funds. Currently, both governors have a case to answer at the High Court of Kenya on charges of embezzlement of funds. The women MCA's cited that because of NDI's initiative of training them on conducting an inquiry and interrogation where they used the skills they got to hold their governors accountable up until intervention was done by the graft agencies such as Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission, Directorate of Criminal Investigations and currently the governors are facing corruption charges. This was highlighted as a success story by NDI. This is a credible achievement given that for a long period of time, women were excluded from Kenya's political landscape therefore that was a good success story to hear for a developing country like Kenya.

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