

**IBN HALDUN UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

MASTER THESIS

RWANDA'S RISE OVER THE PAST 20 YEARS

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**THESIS SUPERVISOR
PROF. ERIK IVAR RINGMAR**

ISTANBUL,2021

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MASTER THESIS

RWANDA'S RISE OVER THE PAST 20 YEARS

by

ZEYNEP ÖZDEMİR

**A thesis submitted to the School of Graduate Studies in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in
Political Science and International Relations**

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APPROVAL PAGE

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Political Science and International Relations

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I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

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ÖZ

RUANDA’NIN SON 20 YILDAKİ YÜKSELİŞİ

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Afrika kıtasındaki birçok ülke yıllardır açlık, terörizm ve ekonomik krizlerle mücadele ediyor. Geçmişten günümüze kadar geçen süreçte sanayinin gelişmesiyle birlikte hammadde ihtiyacı artmıştır. Ancak, dünyada süper güç olan ülkeler, 19. yüzyılın sonundan itibaren zengin yer altı ve yer üstü kaynaklarına sahip ve yönetimi kolay olan ülkeleri kendi çıkarları için hedef olarak belirlemişlerdir. Bu tanıma uyan ülkeler çoğunlukla Afrika kıtasında bulunmaktadır. Kendi siyasi ve ekonomik geleceklerini belirleyemeyen bu ülkeler açlık, kaos, ekonomik krizler, terör faaliyetleri ve benzeri olumsuzluklarla karşı karşıya kalmıştır. Ruanda, 1959'da Belçika mandasından kurtulmuş ve 1994'te dünya tarihindeki en büyük soykırımlardan birine tanık olmuştur. Bu büyük insanlık trajedisinin ardından, Ruanda 1996'da siyasi, ekonomik ve kültürel reformlar geliştirmeye karar vermiştir. 2000'de Paul Kagame'nin iktidara gelmesi ve 20 yıldır değişmeden kalması, ülkenin ekonomik ve politik olarak hızla gelişmesini sağlamıştır. Afrika'da birçok ülkenin uyguladığı politikalardan farklı politikalar izleyen Ruanda, hızla gelişen ekonomisi ve gelişmişlik düzeyi ile Afrika'daki birçok ülkeye örnek olmuştur. Bu gelişme oranı Ruanda'nın stratejisini araştırmaya değer kılmaktadır. Daha önce yapılmış olan çalışmalara bakıldığında, Ruanda ile ilgili yapılan çalışmaların birçoğu Ruanda-Burundi'nin tarihi geçmişi ve Belçika ve Fransa sömürgesi olduğu dönemlere ait ya da Ruanda soykırımıyla ilgili çalışmalardır. Fakat Ruanda, şu anda Singapur'un gelişmek için uyguladığı mali politikaları uygulayarak hızla ekonomisini geliştirmeye başlamıştır. Bu çalışma Afrika'da küçük bir ülke olan

Ruanda'nın gelişmesine dikkat çekerek, ülkedeki sağlık, ekonomi, ticaret, eğitim gibi temel gelişmişlik kriterlerine göre gelişme hızını incelemek amacıyla yazılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Afrika, Ekonomi, Paul Kagame, Ruanda, Soykırım.



ABSTRACT

RWANDA'S RISE IN THE LAST 20 YEARS

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Many countries in the African continent have been struggling with hunger, terrorism, and economic crises for years. In the process from the past to the present, the need for raw materials has increased with the development of the industry. Since the end of the 19th century, however, countries that are superpowers have seen countries with rich underground and aboveground resources, and easy management as targets for their own interests. Countries that fit this definition are mostly located on the African continent. Unable to determine their own political and economic future, these countries faced starvation, chaos, economic crises, terrorist activities and similar negativities. Rwanda survived the Belgian mandate in 1959 and witnessed the largest genocide in world history in 1994. After this great human tragedy, Rwanda decided to develop political, economic and cultural reforms in 1996. The coming to power of Paul Kagame in 2000 and remaining unchanged for 20 years enabled the country to rapidly develop economically and politically. While developing rapidly, Rwanda, which follows policies different from the policies implemented by many countries in Africa, has set an example for many countries in Africa with its rapidly developing economy and level of development. This rate of development makes Rwanda's strategy worth exploring. Looking at the previous studies, most of the studies on Rwanda are from the historical background of Rwanda-Burundi and the colonies of Belgium and France or the Rwanda genocide. However, Rwanda has started to develop its economy rapidly by implementing the financial policies implemented by Singapore to develop. This study is written to draw attention to the development of Rwanda, a small country in

Africa, and to examine the rate of development in the country according to basic development criteria such as health, economy, trade, and education.

Keywords: Africa, Economy, Genocide, Paul Kagame, Rwanda.



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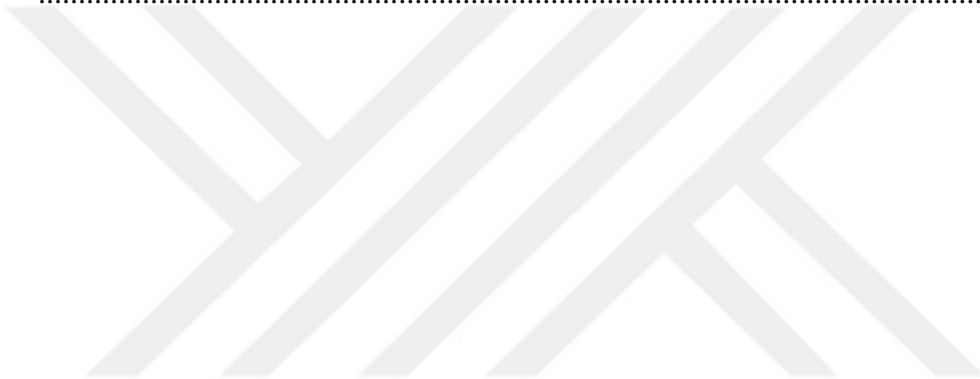


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LIST OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

COVID-19	New Corona Virus Disease
EDPRS	Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy
ESSP	Education Sector Strategic Plan
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HDI	Human Development Index
HDR	Human Development Report
HIV/AIDS Syndrome	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
HSP	Health Sector Policy
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
km ²	kilometer square
NIS	National Investment Strategy
PRS/PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Program
UAV	Unmanned Aerial Vehicle
UNDP	United Nation Development Program

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

According to Abramovitz, only a small fraction of the increase in labor productivity can be attributed to an increase in capital per worker or per human hour. (ABRAMOWITZ, 2005) An extremely large fraction (about 90 percent) is dependent on the progress of total productivity, that is something whose content has not yet been determined and measured. The most important of these is the growth of “human capital” through longer education, on-the-job training, nutrition and health services, and investment in research and development. At the same time, in an article written by Gallup, Sachs, and Mellinger in 1999, the factors that determine the economic growth of an economy in the long run and constitute the subject of growth theories; economic factors (macroeconomic stability, human and physical capital, commercial and financial openness), technological development, natural resources, geography and climate, and political, social and cultural factors (institutions, democracy, rule of laws, habits) can be collected in five group. Combining all these theories, UNDP has defined the data required for the Human Development Index as life expectancy index, education index, and income index. In light of all this data, it is possible to say that in order to measure the level of development of a country, it is necessary to have a lot of data. There are 17 sustainable development goals in the UNDP Development Index in 2020.

Among all these goals, it is possible to see one of the most important factors showing sophistication as health. Health is one of the determining factors in developing countries as well as in underdeveloped countries. Especially, reducing the mother-child mortality rate and increasing the mother-child life rate after birth is a very big factor in the development of a society. In the UNDP Development Index, health comes after poverty and hunger. After health, comes education. A decrease in the number of children who do not attend school in a country, an increase in number of literates, and

an increase in the rate of schooling significantly increases the level of development of a country. The UNDP Development Goals includes gender equality, reducing women's murder, rape, and harassment, and increasing the female workforce.

One of the biggest problems in the world and one of the most important factors affecting development is access to clean water. 71% of the global population, 5.2 billion people, had safely managed drinking water in 2015, but 844 million people still lacked even basic drinking water. (UNDP in Rwanda, 2020) In addition, according to UNDP data, by 2050, 25% of the world's population will begin to experience water problems. Besides water, access to clean energy is also among the problems that can be considered serious in the world. With the development of technology, the need for energy is increasing all over the world. Access to electricity is getting easier and increasing day by day. But still, one out of every seven people in the world does not have access to electricity. For this reason, UNDP also shows access to clean energy among its sustainable development goals. Another goal associated with the development of technology is “Industry, Innovation, and infrastructure”. With the development of technology, innovation movements are increasing rapidly as well as industry and infrastructure needs. Poor technological infrastructure reduces the productivity of enterprises in African countries. In addition, almost half of the world's population still does not have internet access. Especially with the emergence of the Covid-19 global pandemic, a very large part of education and business activities have been moved to the online environment. Because of this, due to people's limited access to the internet, education, industry and innovation activities became difficult every day.

In addition to all these, economic factors take the first place among the factors affecting the development of a country. In the UNDP Development Goals, these factors are given under five headings. Poverty and hunger targets, which rank first in this index, can be considered as economic effects. The primary goal of all countries is to fight hunger and poverty. Even health comes after these goals. In addition, Decent Work and Economic Growth, Inequality Reduction, and Responsible Production and Consumption have shown the place and importance of economic developments in development.

According to Gallup, Sachs and Mellinger, "Demographic Factors", which are among the factors that constitute the long-term growth and growth of an economy and the subject of growth theories, and the UNDP Sustainable Development objectives, Sustainable Cities and Communities, Climate Action, Life on Water and Land can be cited. In other words, the urbanization rate of a country, its sensitivity to climate and its seriousness in protecting other living things positively affect both the development and economy of that country (Gallup et al., 1999).

Apart from all these, political, social, and cultural factors are among the factors that affect the country's development. Although these factors differ in the specificity of each country, their approaches to political issues and the partnerships they have established reveals the development level of the countries. The topics such as peace, justice, and strong institutions and objectives, which are the last among the UNDP Sustainable Development Goals provides qualitative data for the study of politics, social and cultural factors.

Some of the data that affect the level of development for Rwanda are health care, schooling rate, economic data such as income, and external factors. Rwanda ranks 8th among African countries according to the African Capacity Index and its value here is measured as 63,3. In addition, the rate of development is stated as "high" in the 2019 Africa capacity report. So, Rwanda is among the fast-developing countries in Africa.

Rwanda made many reforms in terms of economy, health, logistics and culture in order to heal the wounds of the country after the 1994 genocide. After 2000, Rwanda began a major economic development move with the arrival of Paul Kagame as head of Rwanda. Rwanda has a population of 12 million and there are 440 people per square kilometer. Since there are many rural areas in Rwanda, the state has started producing UAVs to serve people who are far from Central settlement in the field of Health. These UAVs can reach a speed of 100 km with a launch mechanism in 0,8 seconds, and when the variable target is reached, they leave the health kit with a parachute and return to the base.

Rwandan President Paul Kagame said in a speech that Rwanda aims to be the Singapore of Africa. Singapore is the shining pearl of Asia. As it is known, Singapore is the 3rd richest and 8th most reliable country in the world. One of the biggest reasons why Rwanda takes Singapore as an example is that it is a small state in terms of

population and surface. In addition, being the geographical center of the African continent is one of these reasons. (Thorslund, 2021)

Rwanda wants to achieve the same success in Africa that Singapore has achieved in Asia. In this context, Rwanda is located at the geographically central point of the African continent, closest to the surrounding business centers. This brings into consideration the ease of transportation to other countries in Africa. If a country has an airline that competes worldwide, it can lead to its capital becoming a commercial center on the continent where it is located. Rwanda knew this, it has bought its own national airline, Rwanda Air, with planes that will allow travel between continents. It now operates flights from the capital Kigali to Dubai, Brussels, London, and the entire African continent. It even announced that it could serve Guangzhou, China's largest trade fair and New York. Although not yet in the status of Transcontinental airlines such as South African airlines, they are growing effectively using their connections.

The priority, as it is known, to attract foreign investors is political stability and the absence of terrorism. Singapore is 100% successful in this regard in the world and has the potential to attract more foreign and direct foreign investors than countries such as the United States and China. In the African average, political stability is 31%, and in Rwanda, it is 48%. (The World Bank, 2021) Rwanda also wants to improve itself on this issue. After the 1994 genocide, they aimed to get the Hutus and Tutsi, the two major ethnic classes in the country, used to living together, especially to reduce terror. For this reason, they placed a family of these ethnic classes in each house built. At the same time, having a president who has not changed in the last 20 years since 2000 also contributes to the gradual balancing of political stability. According to all these developments, one of the largest foreign investors to come to the country was Volkswagen and established a factory in the country with an investment of 20 million dollars.

Another factor in Singapore's success is the ease of doing business in the country, and this is already one of the areas where Rwanda is most successful. The fact that Rwanda ranks 29th in the World Ease of Doing Business Index in 2019 puts it in a much better position among other African countries. The African country that follows Rwanda closest is Morocco, which ranks 60th. Countries like the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Japan fall behind Rwanda on this list. So much so that the capital Kigali is today

recognized as a start-up city. To achieve this, Rwanda has made many economic and legal reforms, creating a business-friendly environment. In cooperation with private investors, the government has built a huge \$300 million Convention Center in the capital Kigali and has started to attract the market abroad to the country. In order to accommodate foreign investors coming from abroad, Rwanda built roads and airports along with the 5-Star Radisson Blu Hotel next to this convention center. In addition, Rwanda has started to attract foreigners who come from abroad for tourism purposes to the country with its capital, safaris, unique coffee, low crime rates, and thousands of years of African culture. It welcomes its guests from abroad in more than 100 hotels. In 2005, only \$10.5 million was invested in Rwanda. In 2017, this value was \$293 million. These investments are increasing every day and the country continues to develop.

In addition, when another development index, Female Employment, is examined, we can see that women in Rwanda are at the forefront of the job market. (The World Bank, 2021) After the genocide in 1994, women's presence in business increased as the number of men decreased significantly, and the weight of women in the upper echelons was felt deeply.

Many of the previous works on Rwanda date back to Rwanda-Burundi and the periods when it was a colony of Belgium and France or related to the Rwandan genocide. But Rwanda is now rapidly developing its economy by implementing Singapore's fiscal policies to thrive. This study aims to examine the development rate of Rwanda, a small country in Africa, according to the basic development criteria such as health, economy, trade, education.

In this study, the developments experienced by Rwanda in the last 20 years, the factors affecting its economic growth, and the economic policies it has implemented in these years will be examined.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this study, using qualitative and quantitative observations, the basic development criteria were determined, and how these criteria in Rwanda have changed in the last 20 years has also been examined. Additionally, this research analyzed whether Rwanda achieved this development by adhering to certain policies and whether or not Rwanda has reached the level of development at which it has aimed. While the area of the research was formed around the reforms and economic developments in Rwanda after the Rwanda Genocide; The sample of the research consists of the economic policies implemented by Rwanda in the last 20 years. The literature study done is explained in this section.

To determine the basic development criteria to be used in the study, the theoretical background has been established first. Moses Abramowitz has worked on growth and development for many years. Abramowitz put forward the convergence hypothesis in 1986. This hypothesis basically has three sources, and the main claim of this hypothesis is that “Falling back under certain conditions creates the ability and productivity to grow faster than the original leader.” (Ceylan, 2010, p. 50) The three main sources mentioned are technological diffusion, globalization, and the neoclassical growth model. According to Abramowitz, as technology develops, countries with low technological development grow faster to keep up with the developing technology. According to the neoclassical growth model, growth occurs more quickly in a bad economy since it is started from scratch, and it is easier to approach the nearest economy. Globalization is also associated with convergence, but how globalization leads to convergence is not clearly explained. At the same time, Abramowitz said that the increase in human capital will not only be due to labor productivity, but much also more will be due to other factors. These factors consist of

factors such as education, health, and nutrition that could not be measured at that time (Abramowitz, 1989). The criteria this study is based on, which will proceed based on the convergence hypothesis, are supported by UNDP Sustainable Development Goals. These indicators are as shown in Picture 2.1.



Picture 2.1 UNDP Sustainable Development Goals (UNDP in Rwanda, 2021)

Source: UNDP in Rwanda, 2021

In the following part of the study, the changes and developments experienced in the last 20 years in the basic fields of the country are examined. In examining these developments, care has been taken to use the primary source in general. In the field of health, it has been studied under HSP II, HSP III, and HSP IV, starting with HSP I, which was created by the Rwandan government in 2005. These programs are the foundation of the country's national health policy and a reference point for those working in the health sector. With these programs, health goals and a road map to achieve these goals have been determined (Rwanda Health Financing Policy Government of Rwanda Ministry of Health, 2009). For developments in the field of education and technology, the programs created by the Ministry of Education were examined. With the ESSP, which was first made in 2004, Rwanda laid the foundations for developments in education. Just like HSP, ESSP has determined the main objectives to be achieved in education and has drawn a road map in this context (Ministry of Education Science Technology and Scientific Rwanda, 2003). All these

programs are created within the scope of Vision 2020 and are determined for the country to achieve its 2020 goals.

Studies on demographic factors were conducted through UNDP and the World Bank. By analyzing the data collected here, demographic factors such as the demographic structure of the country, population structure, life expectancy, population density, population growth, birth, and death rates were examined, and the functionality of the previous studies was discussed. For political factors, the thesis of Gamze Düzler in Rwanda titled "Political Economy of Genocide" (2020) and Mehmet Mahfuz Söylemez's article "Rwanda, the Victim of Racism Victim of the West's Donation to Humanity" (2013) will be examined. These studies, which describe the history and political background of Rwanda, generally examine the 1994 genocide, which was the biggest wound in its history. In the work titled "Political Economy of Genocide", the pre-genocide period (Germany and Belgium colonial period), the independence period, and the recovery process after the genocide is explained, while in the work titled Rwanda, the Victim of Racism, the Donation of the West to Humanity, the genocide period is mentioned. By examining the historical background of Rwanda within the framework of these two studies, the developments in the last 20 years (i.e. after the recovery period after the genocide) will be analyzed more accurately.

For Rwanda's economic policy, primary sources will be used as much as possible. Especially in the framework of Vision 2020, which they created in the early 2000s, how they increased their development level, especially in the economic field, will be examined together with World Bank data. Following the examination of Vision 2020, the economic development programs PRSP (2000-2008), EDPRS1 (2008-2012), and EDPRS2 (2012-2018) will be examined to observe how they are followed. Vision 2020 is a set of goals written on what kind of future Rwanda wants to set for itself after the genocide. While this study was in draft form, it was presented to a wide segment of the society and was finalized by organizing it in line with their requests. Its main goal is to get rid of the effects of poverty and division by giving all citizens a Rwandan identity in order to avoid the effects of the genocide. Vision 2020 expresses the aim of attaining the per capita income of a middle-income country in an equitable way, and the aspiration to become a modern, strong, and united nation, without discrimination between its citizens (Government of the Republic of Rwanda, 2000). Under this long-term program, the Rwanda government has drawn up sectoral plans with partners,

donors, non-governmental organizations, and the private sector. The first of the programs created for economic development is PRSP. Together with EDPRS1 and EDPRS2, which were prepared afterwards, the main purpose of these three programs is to determine the programs required for the 2020 vision of the country in the short term and to draw a new road map in this direction.

While setting their goals, Rwanda's President Paul Kagame mentioned that they aim to become the region's Singapore. In this direction, three separate studies will be examined in order to examine the similarities between Singapore and Rwanda in terms of development. In order to see how Singapore has become a logistics center, the article *Connecting to the World: Singapore as a Hub Port* and Selda Akçay's *Role of Logistics Centers in International Trade* (2019) will be examined. In addition, the *Singapore Country Profile* study prepared by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey will also be included in the study in order to have an overview of the point where Singapore has come to this level and the policies it has implemented.

As a result of all these data, in order to examine whether Rwanda has achieved its 2020 targets, first, the short-term targets will be examined and then the 2019 data will be examined. In order to achieve these results, HDR reports prepared by UNDP and annual data will be monitored via World Bank Databank. Since most of the work will be primary sources, more resources were not needed.

CHAPTER III

RWANDA IN 2020

Rwanda has made great strides in development in health, education, technology, and economy after the great genocide it suffered and healed the country's wounds when Paul Kagame came to power. Rwanda, which prefers long-term investment to short-term work, has mainly tried to adopt Singapore's economic model. The most important reason for this is its geographical location on the continent. Singapore played an important role in Britain's trade with this region because of its natural ports. This process started with Britain, became a logistical hub both in the region and around the world with Singapore's independence by taking advantage of its strategic position. In 1969, it started its first container port and reached the size of 1000 ships at the same time. Singapore took advantage of this strategic position and quickly rose from a situation without the infrastructure to the richest state in the region. It achieved this success with its public policies for the future (Akçay, 2019).

3.1. Developments of Rwanda in the Last 20 Years

Rwanda has also tried to apply Singapore's success in its own country by examining the methods it has implemented. Rwanda has a strategic location on the African continent. By taking advantage of this strategic location, Rwanda is trying to become the commercial base of the region. After the great massacre in Rwanda, it tried to develop by following similar policies as Singapore, both politically and socio-economically. As a result of these plans, Rwanda, which is trying to become an active Trade Center with its investments, has made great progress in the last 20 years, according to UNDP data, and has risen rapidly in the development index compared to countries in Africa. In this part of the paper, the developments in health, education, technology, and economy are explained using the UNDP, World Bank, and Africa Capacity Building Foundation data in the mentioned development index.

3.1.1. Developments in the Field of Health

Rwanda's health care system was mainly based on traditional and faith-based treatments during the German and Belgian colonial periods. Then, before the great Rwandan genocide, it was centralized and had a free health care system. Then, with the first strategic plan for the health sector implemented in 2005, the Rwandan health system began to develop and modernize. After the I. Health Sector Strategic Plan, II. In 2009, III. In 2012, and IV. plan was put into practice in 2018 and today continues to improve the Rwandan health system under these strategic plans.

The level of development of a country's health sector depends mainly on the number of maternal deaths and life expectancy after birth. In 2005, when the first strategic plan for the health sector was implemented, there were 985 maternal deaths per 100,000 births; in 2010, after the implementation period of this plan, this number decreased to 785. Similarly, life expectancy after birth increased from 55,3 in 2005 to 63,4 in 2010 as we can see on Figure 3.1.

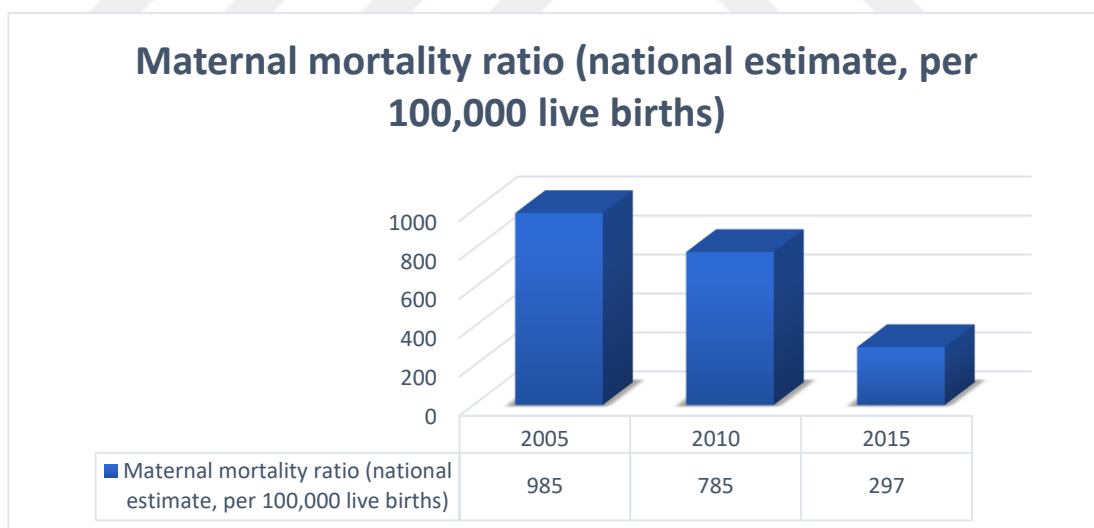


Figure 3.1 Maternal Mortality Ratio (national estimate, per 100,000 live births)
(The World Bank, 2021)

Source: The World Bank, 2021

In addition, HIV/AIDS and malaria were the major health problems in the country

before 2005. At the same time, malnutrition, lack of health infrastructure, and access to health services and medicines were among Rwanda's biggest problems. With the first Health Sector Strategic Plan, which came into effect in 2005, Rwanda set seven goals to address these problems. The goals of this strategic plan are;

1. Increase the availability of human resources,
2. Improve availability of quality medicines, vaccines, and supplies,
3. Expand geographic access to health care,
4. Improving financial access to health care,
5. Improving the quality of demand for services in Disease Control,
6. Strengthen national referral hospitals and research and treatment institutions,
7. Strengthen enterprise capacity

they are listed in the form (Government of Rwanda Ministry of Health, 2005). In line with these goals, the Rwandan government has introduced various training and certification procedures to better specialize medical personnel and ensure that medicines are available at a more affordable price and are more accessible. At the same time, it has established more health centers and expanded health infrastructure in Rwanda where access to health centers is difficult. It has also identified the diseases that cause the most deaths in the country and made plans to reduce the number of deaths or eliminate the diseases caused by these diseases. In addition to all these, many national and international collaborations in the health sector were carried out by 2009. The number of HIV patients per 1.000 uninfected people in the country decreased from 1,6 in 2005 to 1,1 in 2009. At the same time, the number of malaria patients per 1.000 uninfected people decreased from 154.6 in 2005 to 72.0 in 2008 as in Figure 3.2. The decrease of HIV/AIDS and malaria, which are the most important diseases in the country, at this level shows the success of this plan.

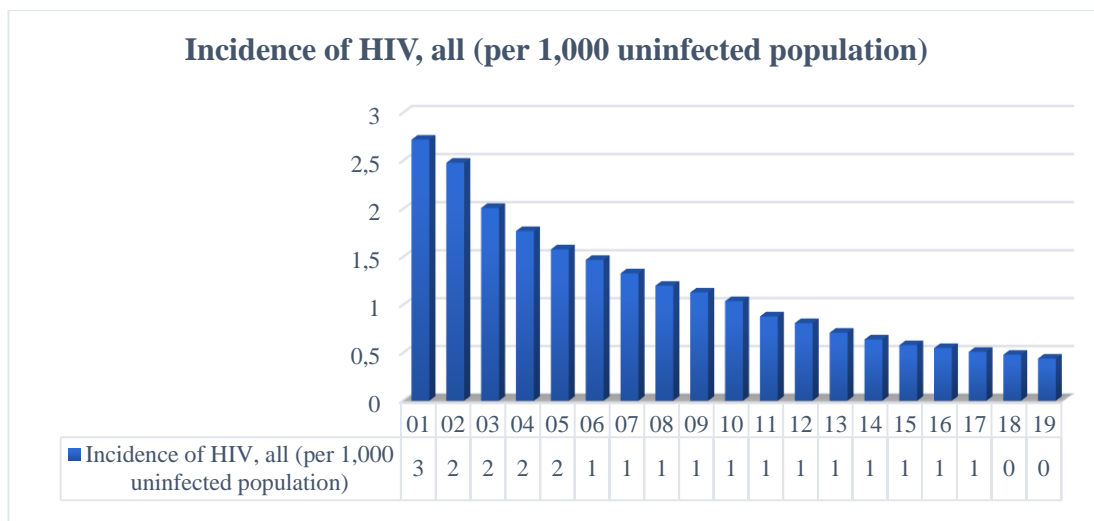


Figure 3.2 Incidence of HIV, all (per 1,000 uninfected population) (Government of Rwanda Ministry of Health, 2005)

Source: Government of Rwanda Ministry of Health, 2005

By 2009, the foundations of the country's health care system were in place. In this context, a new strategic plan for the health sector was prepared. II. Strategic Plan for the health sector includes a four-year process like the previous one. This plan identified the same seven strategic objectives as the first plan, and by these objectives, the health system continued to develop. Life expectancy was 62,1 years in 2009 and 65,4 years in 2012. HIV decreased from 1,13 to 0,81 and malaria from 153,16 to 71,46. Rwanda reducing its major health problems in line with these strategic plans thus provides a higher quality of life.

III. Health Sector Strategic Plan in 2012. Last one six years and IV. Health Sector Strategic Plan in 2018. In the III. Health Sector Strategic Plan, access to health services was prioritized and care was taken to stay within the Millennium Development Plan. In 2016, the use of drones for urgent needs, such as blood transfers to places where adequate transport to health services was not possible, was discussed and was taken action in a short time. Thanks to the launch mechanism, it can reach a speed of 100 km every 0,8 seconds, and when it reaches the desired destination, it leaves the health package by parachute and returns to base. In this way, health care can be delivered to the most inaccessible places in a short time.

As for the IV. Health Sector Strategic Plan, created in 2018 as part of Vision 2020, the main health problems have now been solved and serious progress has been made. Four main objectives have been identified in this health plan. These are;

1. Full implementation of major health programs,
2. Strengthening the building blocks of the health system,
3. Strengthening service access to all levels,
4. Ensuring effective communication of the sector.

listed in the form (Government of the Republic of Rwanda, 2000). In 2018, life expectancy after birth increased to 68,7, and the rate of becoming a mother at a young age decreased to 38,9 per 1.000 women. HIV/AIDS diseases decreased by 0,48 per 1.000 people. But despite all this, malaria increased to 486,49.

In the worldwide Covid-19 outbreak in 2020, Rwanda has achieved far more than expected. The total number of cases seen in the country so far are only 8.955, while the number of deaths is 110 (The World Bank, 2021). Technology has been used to prevent the outbreak, and in collaboration with UNDP, with health robots' high measures were taken in May. They also have a separate success story in terms of ease of access to the test. They started using the machines they had previously supplied and used for HIV/AIDS virus detection for Covid-19 and received the result of the investments they had made over the years in the global pandemic. Rwanda keeps the number of daily cases at 150, adding to its success every day.

3.1.2. Educational Developments

The right to education is a fundamental right that every person should receive. For society to develop and move forward, the level of education needs to develop. To improve the educational situation in the country and to give this fundamental right to every citizen, the Rwanda Government has identified the shortcomings in the country and adopted certain goals. Education also identified the main factors for development as human resources, sustainable economy, and social environment. In this way, Rwanda will initiate the development move and reduce poverty.

The main objectives of the designated education and training are as follows;

1. All Rwandan citizens to gain the skills and values necessary to become good citizens, regardless of women, men, young and old.
2. The goal to improve the quality of human life at all levels so that education can go further by formal or informal means. (Ministry of Education Science Technology and Scientific Rwanda, 2003)

During the colonial period, Rwanda caused much class discrimination due to the educational policies implemented by decision-makers. This negative situation has shaken public confidence in the education system. In addition to all this, there has been inequality between men and women and the limitation of women's right to read. In Rwanda, as a result of a study of 2000 houses, these inequalities were also observed numerically. According to the data found, the literacy rate in men was 58,1%, while in women this rate was 47,8% (The World Bank, 2021).

After Rwanda declared its independence, it carried out administrative work to improve the level of education and enacted laws by regulating general education. In this reform movement, which began in 1979, the desired success was not achieved, and as a result, Rwanda did not achieve the level of education that it aimed at. Class discrimination and gender inequality in society were further advanced due to mistakes made during the colonial period. Instead of healing the wounds of the past, these mistakes have led Rwandan society to lose its cultural values and to lose the patriotism of society. All these negative developments experienced by the state in education led to bigger problems in the future. As one of the causes of the genocide in 1994, education can also be cited as the cause of these problems.

After the genocide, the country first began work to reform its education system. All sectors and citizens that exist in the country must comply with the principles set out in the Vision 2020.

To fix the education system, which had eroded from the colonial era until 1994, the government emphasized the importance of this issue at every turn. Aiming to restore the country's deteriorating cultural values to its society, the Rwanda Government has emphasized scientific and technological knowledge to support the development of basic education and access to higher levels of education. In this way, every individual

living in Rwanda would learn the true history of the country and be able to do community-benefit work to achieve a high level of prosperity.

3.1.3. Technological Development

With the public introduction of internet use in 1985, the pace of development of states and individuals began to gradually increase. Sharing of information has multiplied, and access to information has become much easier than before. In developed countries, internet use is intense, while in underdeveloped or undeveloped societies, this ratio is far behind others. On the African continent, most countries are undeveloped, and most countries of the world have access to many opportunities that these states or societies there cannot reach. One of these important sources is the internet. Currently, the internet is the source that directs most of the world's economy. However, the impact of the internet is increasing globally. Rwanda is aware of this resource that directs the economy and is striving to become the leader of its knowledge-based economy on the African continent. The government believes that the use of information and communication technologies plays a key role in the development of the economy. At the same time, it believes that the internet is an essential need not only to develop but also to adapt to changing conditions.

In some statements, President of Rwanda Paul Kagame says that he has started working to become the leader of ICT in Africa. Paul Kagame notes that Rwanda needs to move along this path and that they are making ambitious plans to speed up the process. Kagame noted that to achieve this goal, other states and government leaders in Africa have begun negotiations for decisive progress, and everyone must make efforts to make this goal realistic. Rwanda aims to improve social and economic development and increase the level of prosperity to raise the country's level of development by 2020. They described the goals they set as efforts to increase the level of well-being. Emphasizing the importance of ICT to realize its plans, Kagame noted that the increase in the level of education is only directly proportional to the development of ICT. (Government of the Republic of Rwanda, 2000, p. 4). We can understand that Rwanda cares about technology and development in ICT with the following 5 considerations are;

1. Preparing an environment conducive to the development of ICT, adapting the institutional and structural framework to ICT integration.
2. To encourage private enterprises in the communications sector (telecommunications, ISP (internet sales)).
3. Developing the state's skills in the use and management of ICT in the right direction.
4. Ensuring the transfer of technological cooperation to Rwanda through ICT.
5. Develop communication tools. (National ICT Strategy and Plan NICI 2011-2015, 2011)

The government believes that when it achieves its Vision 2020 goals, it will accelerate development in ICT and raise scientists that can acquire the needs of the economy. These experts will both ensure that Rwanda will be a technological center on the African continent and contribute to the growth of the country with the technological developments it brings.

Rwanda, which has made great strides in healthcare with UAVs developed since 2015, has once again turned to technology to quickly meet the blood needs of its population. Although they have greatly reduced the mortality rate thanks to the structure they have developed, they have been able to save the lives of many people through timely intervention. In interviews, health workers say that after this system is developed, interventions can be done much earlier. However, the Rwandan government has opened new opportunities in computer science, computer technology, and electrical engineering for children who have started their schooling. In the developed education system, children reached knowledge much faster. It is not known if Rwanda will achieve all its technological goals over time, but its activities are bringing them one step closer to its goal.

3.2. Factors Affecting the Development of Rwanda in the Last 20 Years

Countries have set many development goals for themselves in order to live in good conditions. These development goals differ from time to time. However, after World War II, common development goals started to emerge around the world. With the establishment of the United Nations, countries began to be divided into three as underdeveloped developing and developed countries. For a long time, economic growth has been called development. With the increasing poverty in the 1970s, economic growth and development began to be used more closely. The faster the economic growth of a country, the more developed it has been seen. Per capita income is still at the forefront in the development of a country.

There are many factors that affect the development of a country. Although the most important of these factors is seen as the economic factor, there are also many factors affecting the economy. While demographic factors such as the population of a country, geography, education level and ethnicity affect the development of the country, many political, social, and cultural factors also affect this economic development. Natural resources of the country, technological developments and the needs and desires of the citizens of the countries are among the factors that affect the development of that country.

Countries set development goals by taking these factors into consideration. The effectiveness of these factors may vary depending on the geographical location and strategic situation of the country. In this part of the study, economic factors, demographic factors, and political and socio-cultural factors of Rwanda will be mentioned in line with the development goals.

3.2.1. Demographic Factors

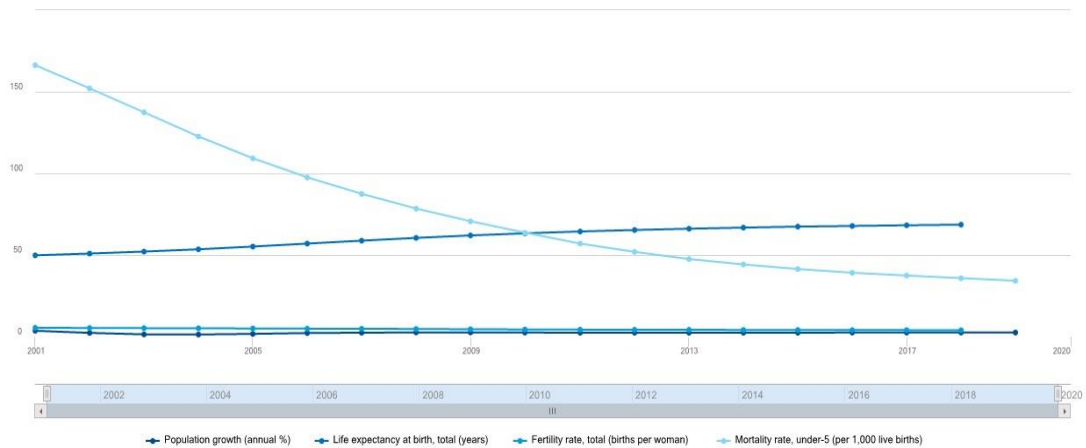
Rwanda experienced the worst massacre of the 20th century in 1994. In this massacre, according to official figures, 800.000 Rwandans were killed in 100 days. There are three ethnic groups in the country: Hutus, Tutsi and Twa. In the identity of the

Rwandan people, ethnicities were written from the colonial period until 2002. This distinction was lifted in 2002 when Paul Kagame came to the administration of the country.

According to World Bank data in 2020, the population of Rwanda is 13 million. The Hutus constitute 85% of the country's population, 14% Tutsi and 1% Twa. The ratio of children under the age of 15 to the population in the country was 40,6% in 2015 and 39,8% in 2019. The ratio of individuals between the ages of 15-64, who are seen as the working population, to the population reached 57,2% in 2019, while it was 56,7% in 2015. The proportion of individuals over the age of 65 increased from 2,7% to 3,03% from 2015 to 2019.

In Rwanda in 2001, the life expectancy of men was 49 and the life expectancy of women was 50,8. Over the years, as the country has increased its level of development, the life expectancy has increased in the same way. In 2010, life expectancy for men increased to 61,7 and 65,1 for women. According to the latest data we could reach in 2019, the life expectancy of men was 66,8 and 71,1 for women in Rwanda. It is shown in the Picture 3.1.

Rwanda is one of the most densely populated countries in the African continent. In fact, according to Gerard Prunier, one of the reasons for the Rwandan genocide in 1994 may be population density (Prunier, 2001). While the population density of Rwanda was 333,65 per km² in 2001, it reached 498,66 in 2018.



Country : Rwanda
 Source: World Development Indicators
 Created on: 01/28/2021

Picture 3.1 Population Growth, Life Expected at Birth Rate, Birth Rate, Under 5 Mortality Rate (The World Bank 2020)

Source: The World Bank, 2020

Population growth in Rwanda decreased from 3,9% in 2001 to 2,6% in 2019 (Figure 3.3). Life expectancy at birth has increased from 49,9% to 68,7% (Figure 3.4). While the population growth rate decreases, the increase in the life expectancy at birth shows us that the development of the country is in a positive way, while at the same time, an increase is observed in the distribution of national income to the population. Likewise, the significant decline in the fertility rate and under-five mortality rate shows that the health sector has developed. It is not possible for the health sector to develop without economic development.

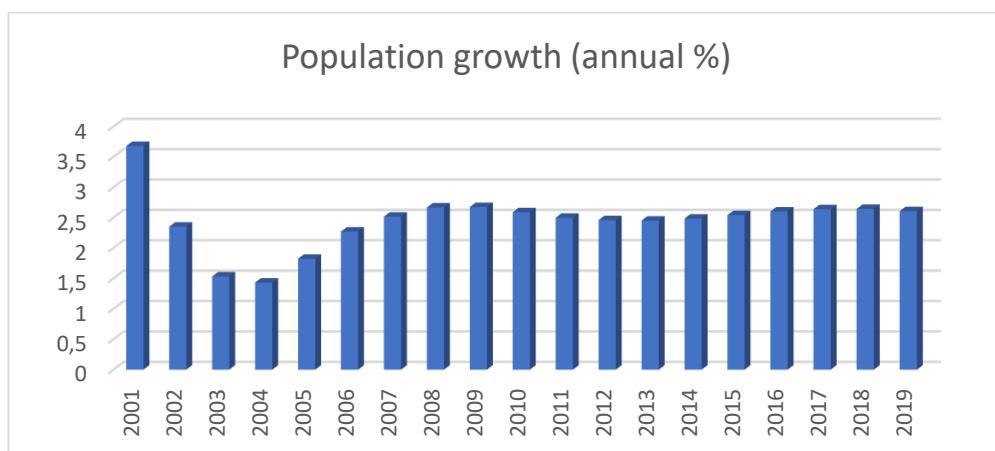


Figure 3.3 Population Growth in Rwanda (The World Bank, 2020)

Source: The World Bank, 2020

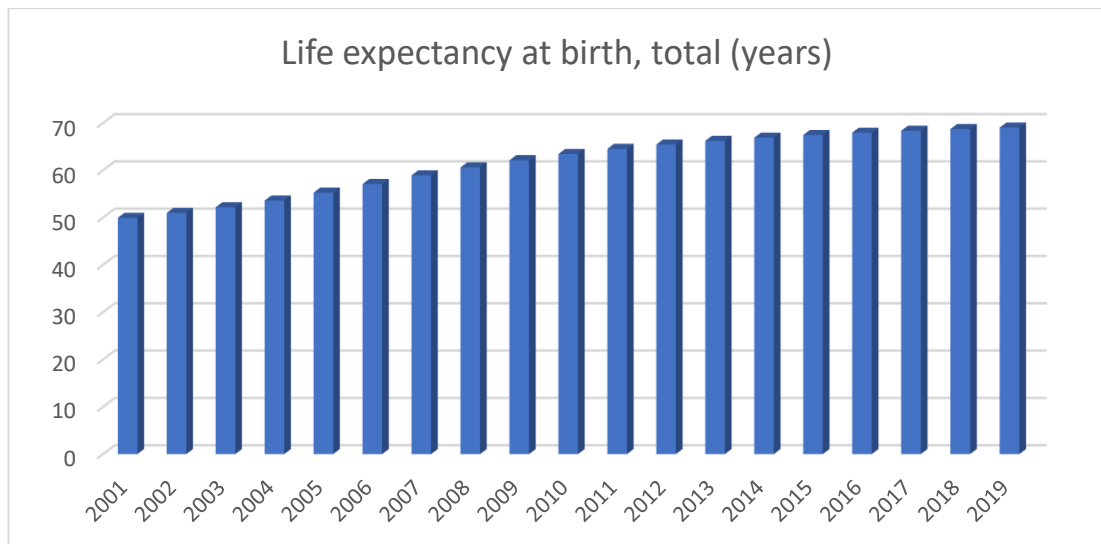


Figure 3.4 Life Expectancy at Birth in Rwanda (The World Bank, 2020)

Source: The World Bank, 2020

In addition to these, the schooling rate in demographic data, the rate of living in the city and the immigration situation of the country are also important in demographic factors affecting the economy. When we look at these data, the school enrollment in primary schools of Rwanda was 109,9 % in 2001, but it was only 131,3 % in 2019. The school enrollment in secondary schools was 11,7 % in 2001 and 44,3 % in 2019. Also, the school enrollment in tertiary school was 1,7 %. 2001 and 6,2 % in 2019 (Figure 3.5). This ratio shows us that Rwanda lags far behind in schooling. In addition, a serious decrease is observed in the rate of urban population growth from 9,5% to 3,2% (Figure 3.6). This shows us that urban and rural life is the same for the citizens of the country and even living in the countryside is preferred. Rwanda is a country that constantly emigrates. However, although it still has immigration, 72,601 immigrants were made in 2002 and this number decreased to 44,998 in 2017. This situation has shown us the decrease in the number of people who want to leave the country.

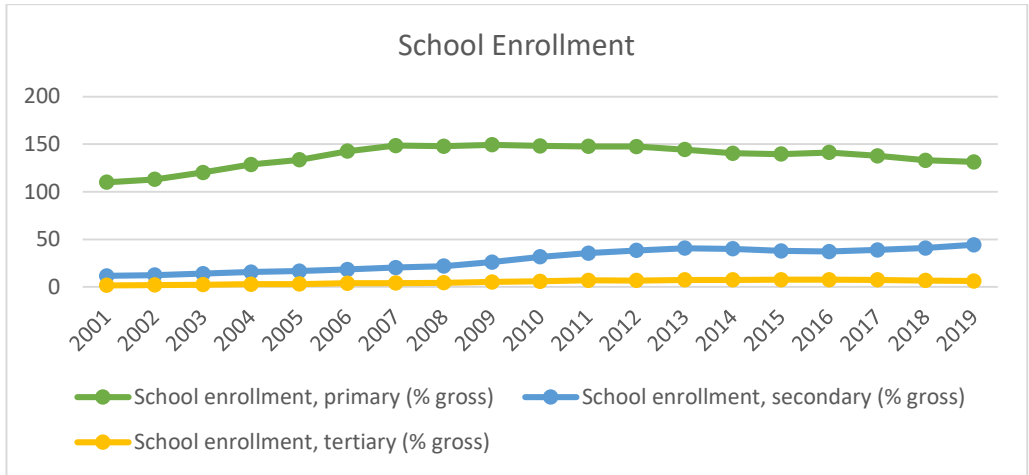


Figure 3.5 School Enrollment (The World Bank 2020)

Source: The World Bank, 2020

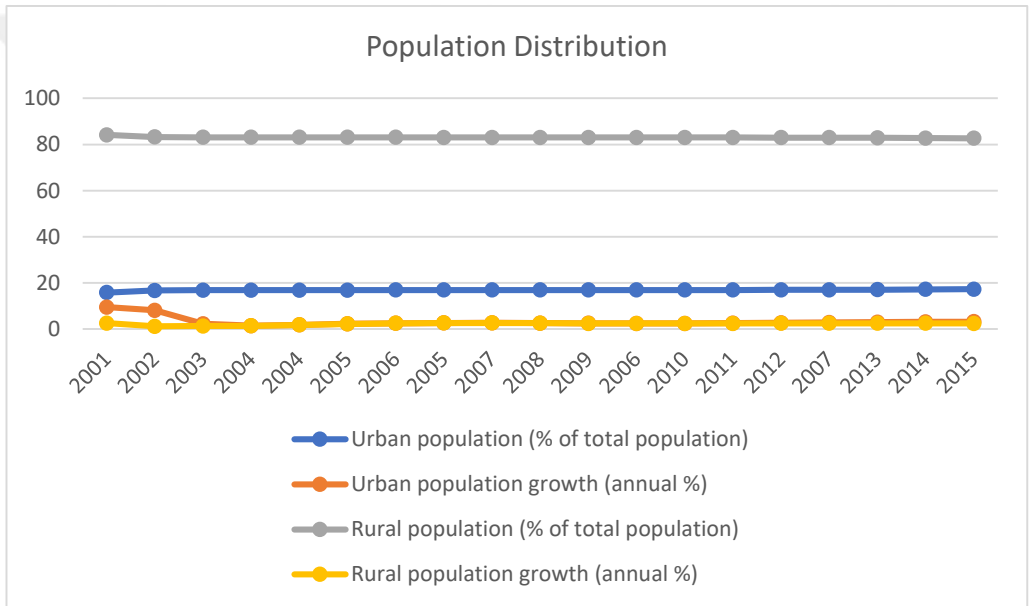


Figure 3.6 Population Distribution in Rwanda (The World Bank 2020)

Source: The World Bank, 2020

3.2.2. Political Factors

The factors affecting the country's economy the most are political factors. After the genocide in Rwanda, it has entered a stable period with Paul Kagame coming to power. Unlike other African countries, the country's economy developed rapidly, with the absence of any underground resources, its geographical location in the middle of Africa and the disappearance of ethnic divisions after the genocide.

Because Rwanda is in a mountainous region, the country has been named the “Land of a Thousand Hills”. The country was ruled by Mwami (king in Rwanda) until the end of the 1880s. The ethnic groups mentioned in the previous section, unlike other African countries, have the same culture as well as speaking the same language. The country was colonized by European states in the 19th century after the Mwami, the kingdom period. First, the German colony, then the Belgian colony (Düzler, 2020). Even though they passed to the German colony in 1895, the kingdom and hierarchical order continued. With the World War I, the country passed into the Belgian colony. During the Belgian colonization period, Rwanda-Burundi was ruled together. Until 1926, the country continued as a partial colony. Later, the country became a full colony of Belgium. Due to the scarcity of underground resources, Rwanda is not a country that attracted much attention in terms of being a colonial state. Therefore, the hierarchical structure of the country has not been intervened with too much.

By the 1950s, Tutsi began to feel uncomfortable with Belgium's presence in the region. As a result, Belgium started to support Hutus who were in a more controllable and untrained situation. In 1959, the Hutus revolted against the Tutsis, and in that time the Belgium in power and carried out the revolution called “Social Revolution”. (Söylemez, 2013) This situation also worked for Belgium, which started to support Hutus, and they brought Hutus to the state administration by making a referendum in 1961. With the withdrawal of Belgium from the region in 1962, the independent Republic of Rwanda was established.

The tension between Hutus and Tutsi started in colonial times. Tutsis have always been in the executive positions of the country, and they have always held a privileged position despite being a minority. At the same time, while Tutsi received European-style education, Hutus received local education. In addition, Hutus could not enter higher education and therefore could not work in the ranks of the state. While there was no difference between the two communities before the colonial period, a distinction started with the German colonization and accelerated during the Belgian colonization period. With the independence of Rwanda, the tension between Hutus and Tutsi began to increase. Tutsis, who worked in administrative positions for years, were extremely disturbed by the Hutus domination.

In 1990 they founded the “Rwanda Patriotic Front”. Tensions reached the highest level when the plane of Juvenal Habyarimana, who had been the head of the country since 1973, was shot down in Kigali in 1994. From 1990 to 1994, many peace talks were held in Rwanda. In fact, the Arusha Peace Treaty was signed in 1993 and the parties to this agreement requested assistance from the UN. The process leading to genocide accelerated after the plane, which included the President of Rwanda and the Chief of General Staff, was shot down with two missiles fired from Kigali airport in 1994. Rwanda experienced one of the biggest genocides in the world in 1994 as a result of the tension between Hutus and Tutsi. According to official data, 800.000 Tutsi and moderate Hutu, corresponding to 10% of the population, were killed by extremists (According to Tutsi, this figure reached up to 1 million.) (Banyanga et al., 2017). As a result of this massacre, millions of people took refuge in neighboring countries, became homeless and were killed.

In the recovery period after this genocide, priority was given to the Hutus and Tutsi to live together. One of those who fled to neighboring countries as refugees is Paul Kagame, who has been in power for 21 years. With the coming to power of Paul Kagame in 2000, the country has entered a more stable period. As a result of these factors, the economy of the country started to develop rapidly. Many investments have been made, airlines have been developed and serious attention has been paid to the health sector.

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMY POLICY IN RWANDA

During the Habyarimana period, many steps were taken regarding economic development, and aid was received from the UN in this context. Despite this, aid and development plans have not worked. Because these aids remained under the monopoly of the rich. Rwanda's economy was also seriously affected by the genocide it experienced in 1994. After the genocide, economic activity in the country decreased by 50%. Thanks to the coalition government established in 1994, peace was achieved and 8 million refugees who migrated from the country returned to the country. But the country's economy was extremely fragile during this period. In 1997, the government set out a transitional economic plan for the recovery of the economy (Rwandese Authorities in Collaboration with & the Staffs of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, 1998).

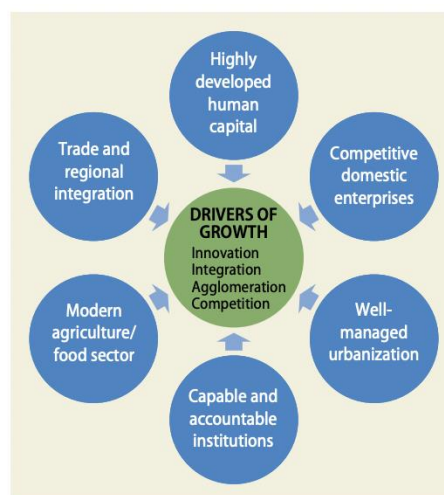
Rwanda has created many development programs for economic development after 1994. The first program was developed in 1994 under the state of emergency to escape the effects of the genocide. The main focus of the program created at that time was security, rebuilding the economy, transportation to food, road construction, providing homes, education of children, providing a health system, and justice. After this period, GDP increased rapidly. GDP, which was 5,9 % in 1992, declined to -50 % with the genocide. With this state of the emergency development program, Rwanda's GDP rose to 8.5 % in 2001 (The World Bank, 2021).

In this part of the study, the economic policies implemented by Rwanda under the chairmanship of Paul Kagame and how these policies contribute to the numerical data of the country are examined and the effect of economic policy on economic growth is explained.

4.1. Economic Policy of Rwanda from Past to Present

Rwanda has established many development programs since 2000, including short-term, medium-term, and long-term. These programs have been supported by many institutions of the state, especially UNDP and World Bank support. These programs were first created in 2000 under the name of "Vision 2020" to develop the economy that collapsed in the genocide. This study aims to develop Rwanda into a middle-income country by 2020. There are four basic elements in the growth strategy of Rwanda within the scope of Vision 2020. These; innovation, integration, agglomeration, and competition. It is planned to take steps in six main areas to support these elements. These areas are;

1. Human capital development
2. Export dynamism and regional integration
3. Well-managed urbanization
4. Competitive domestic enterprises
5. Agricultural modernization
6. Capable and accountable public institutions. (World Bank Group, 2020)



Picture 4.1 Future Drivers of Rwanda's Growth: Innovation, Integration, Agglomeration, and Competition (World Bank Group, 2020)

Source: The World Bank, 2020

Within the scope of Human Capital Development, it covers prevention of stunting, improvement of access to and quality of basic education, increase in enrollment in higher education, and building of innovation capacity. Measures have been taken in these areas for human capital development, which is the first target within the scope of Vision 2020. Progress in stunting is more difficult than predicted. But when this development is achieved, Human Capital will develop much faster in a positive way. In terms of improving education, when Vision 2020 was created, a very high number of students still had difficulty understanding what they were reading when they reached third grade. At the same time, many of the teachers did not know exactly English, which is the language of instruction. For this reason, it was planned to give language training to teachers. Increasing the higher education reading rate, which is low in the country, is also part of this plan. Innovation in the country was at low rates just like education and human capital. Since the students should be directed to engineering fields in order to develop innovation, education in these areas has been given more focus.

Within the scope of export dynamism and regional integration, they have progressed rapidly with development assistance. However, as the income level increases, the speed of the effects of these aids and assistance is likely to decrease. Trade is one of the factors that will accelerate the growth best. Exports will provide foreign exchange to purchase the much-needed investment in equipment, high-technology goods, intermediate components, and product varieties and will foster productivity by allowing firms to exploit increasingly large economies of scale (World Bank Group 2020). The contribution of Foreign Direct Investors to the country's economy is at least as great as trade. Developments in these areas have an important place in attracting foreign direct investors to the country. The labor force in Rwanda is generally on agriculture. This makes it difficult to grow. Therefore, the development of Information and Communication Technologies has been focused on. Rwanda has serious potential in this area. As a result of these initiatives, it is aimed to decrease coffee and tea exports and increase the exports of services and new goods.

Urbanization is an important factor for countries to reach upper-middle status. Few countries have managed to achieve this status without the urbanization. Urbanization is a structural transformation that activates the infrastructure of the productive sectors of a country. As a result of this structural transformation, countries will switch from

less productivity to more productivity, so country development becomes easier and production gains different qualities. If the urbanization process is managed well, an increase in scale economy is achieved and specialization is achieved. Therefore, companies will have a lot of production potential as it will increase economic density. Rwanda's urban population has more than doubled since 2002, and Kigali has become one of the fastest-growing African cities (World Bank Group, 2020). Since this structural change in Rwanda will positively affect the amount of production, income level differences in the country may also vary.

In order for a country's economy to develop, it should be easy to do business in the country, new businesses should be established in the private and public sectors, and thus unemployment should be reduced. For this, Rwanda tried to develop competitive domestic enterprises in its economic plans. In this way, it has reached high levels in the ease of doing business index. By paying attention to implementing well-targeted public investments, strengthening bureaucratic capacity, withdrawing gradually from productive activity while enhancing its regulatory and facilitation functions, and developing capable and accountable market institutions, the state can correct the market. When these improvements are made, the share of the private sector will be much greater than that of the public sector, thus increasing the competitiveness and innovation of the sectors.

Agriculture has been an important source of employment for the Rwandan state. The agricultural sector constitutes a large part of the country's employment. The Rwandan government has implemented many reforms to improve agriculture. Among these, it has taken many measures such as increasing the efficiency of agricultural cooperatives, determination of agricultural areas and increasing irrigation areas, encouraging the use of fertilizers, and improving seeds. It has mobilized most of its resources in this area to increase the demand for local goods. Especially in 2007-2008, studies were carried out in this area. The contribution of the improvements made to the country's economy will be seen over time and they plan to contribute to the employment of the country by this means. Rwanda is located in a geographical location that receives irregular rainfall and production efficiency varies due to these precipitations. Therefore, the Rwanda state attaches importance to qualified production in order to eliminate the production difficulties caused by these precipitations. The state provides incentives for farmers to specialize in the production and produce qualified products. It aims to develop with

mechanical solutions in production by using certain labor-saving tools such as tractors and combines. The management of this situation in agriculture should be managed well in the political field and the producers should be protected by the state, and the measures should be taken in advance by the state in adverse situations such as famine, change in rainfall, or increase in diseases. If these measures are taken and the objectives are acted upon, there will be no obstacle for Rwanda to develop in the agricultural field.

The accountability and capacity of public institutions play an important role in development as much as the economy. After the genocide, the Rwandan government made serious efforts to strengthen national identity. It has made many local initiatives for this. The first and most prominent of these is the community work program called “Umuganda”. Thanks to this program, all citizens still meet once a month to do social work and work in harmony with each other. In addition, social courts called “Gacaca”, and mediation services called “Abunzi” were established in order to ensure social justice. Like these examples, it has implemented many social cohesion commissions. Thanks to all these efforts, government efficiency, rule of law, and control of corruption have been increased. This has noticeably increased the development level of the country (World Bank Group, 2020).

4.1.1. Vision 2020 and PRSP

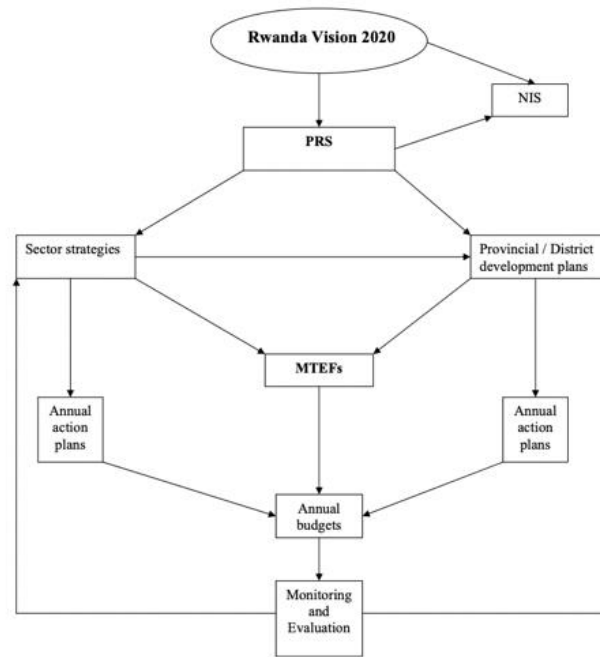
Vision 2020 was created in 2000 and aims to make Rwanda a middle-income country by 2020. Short-term, medium-term, and long-term programs have been prepared within the framework of this report. These programs have been prepared within the framework of priorities for the development of the country.

In the short-term program, it is aimed to reduce dependence on incoming aids by developing the private sector. Within the scope of this program, it is also aimed to reduce foreign borrowing. With the decrease in foreign aid dependency and the decrease in foreign borrowing, it is aimed to attract foreign investors to the country and to expand the tax base. At the same time, in this short-term program, anti-export policies in public policies will be eliminated.

The mid-term program focused on the development of agriculture, services, and industry. No matter how much agriculture is developed, it will not reach a sufficient level on its own. However, if the foreign dependency on agriculture is over, it will be easier for other sectors to develop. Therefore, developing the service sector and industry after agriculture is included in the medium-term program. Rwanda should focus on a feature that can distinguish it from other countries within its mid-term program (this feature has evolved as the transformation of the region into Singapore, that is, the transfer center of Africa, and the capital Kigali as a center for meetings to be held and a business center where a comparative advantage can be established by providing the convenience of establishing the business.) the service sector will be the most important source of the economy of the region in the medium and long term. For all these goals, first of all, the infrastructure of the country should be developed. Since the number of qualified personnel to work in these sectors to be created is low, increasing the number of qualified personnel by improving education and health standards is among the medium-term goals. In the long-term program, the main goal is to transform the country from an agricultural economy to a knowledge-based economy. This was possible with development in science and technology.

In the long-term program, it will be important to follow developments in banking, insurance, and information technologies, not just by stimulating the private sector. In the meantime, Gender Equality, Natural Resources, and The Environment, Science, Technology, and ICT had been mentioned in the Vision 2020 program. Developments in these areas will also contribute to the development level of the country. Therefore, attention has been paid to these areas as well.

A roadmap has also been determined in order to realize this program. Within the scope of this road map, medium-term programs have been determined in order to achieve long-term goals. These programs are National Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS) and the National Investment Strategy (NIS). The implementation process of these programs will be as shown in the Picture 4.2 below.



Picture 4.2 Converting Vision 2020 into the Reality (Government of the Republic of Rwanda, 2000)

Source: Government of Republic of Rwanda, 2020

PRSP is the first economic program of the Rwandan government to alleviate poverty. Its main purpose has been to focus on areas that need urgent correction and improvement. In addition to the aid made in the agricultural field, the main target of this program is to increase the human development index as in all economic programs. Many goals have been determined with this program in order to create the economic infrastructure. EDPRS 1 and EDPRS 2 programs were later created for the goals that this program could not achieve.

4.1.2. Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy 1

With EDPRS 1 prepared in 2007, Vision 2020 targets were accelerated. The first EDPRS is prepared to accelerate the realization of medium-term strategies for economic growth. This program, covering the period between 2008-2012, was created to support Rwanda's long-term strategy, 2020.

By 2007, Rwanda was now a stabilized society. Necessary steps were been taken to realize Vision 2020 and many economic measures were been taken within the scope of the PRSP program. However, by 2007, it was observed that these were not sufficient

and EDPRS 1 was prepared accordingly. In this context, four priorities have been determined.

1. **Increase Economic Growth:** In this context, infrastructure investments should be made, incentives for the development of the service sector should be increased, the private sector should be developed and agriculture should be modernized.
2. **Slow Down Population Growth:** In this context, infant mortality should be reduced, family planning should be done, improvements should be made in health and education, especially for girls.
3. **Tackle Extreme Poverty:** In this context, food safety, targeted job creation, and social protection programs should be prepared. Developing new employment programs is seen as one of the most urgent actions.
4. **Ensure Greater Efficiency in Poverty Reduction:** In this context, coordination between sectors and the government should be increased, activities should be determined clearly, services for the poor should be improved, private sector mobilization should be increased, and monitoring and evaluation mechanisms should be used more effectively (The Republic of Rwanda, 2007).

Within the scope of EDPRS 1, firstly, the location of the country was observed for Vision 2020, and then the things to be done and the areas to be reviewed were determined. Improvements, road maps, and targets to be made in these determined areas are shown in EDPRS 1.

4.1.3. Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy 2

It was accelerated with EDPRS 2, which was prepared in 2013. The second EDPRS Vision 2020 targets were prepared in order to adapt to the current conditions of the period. This program, covering the period between 2013-2018, was created to support Rwanda's long-term strategy, 2020. Within the scope of this strategy, the primary development area is the private sector. In the EDPRS 2 framework, attention has been drawn to four key areas.

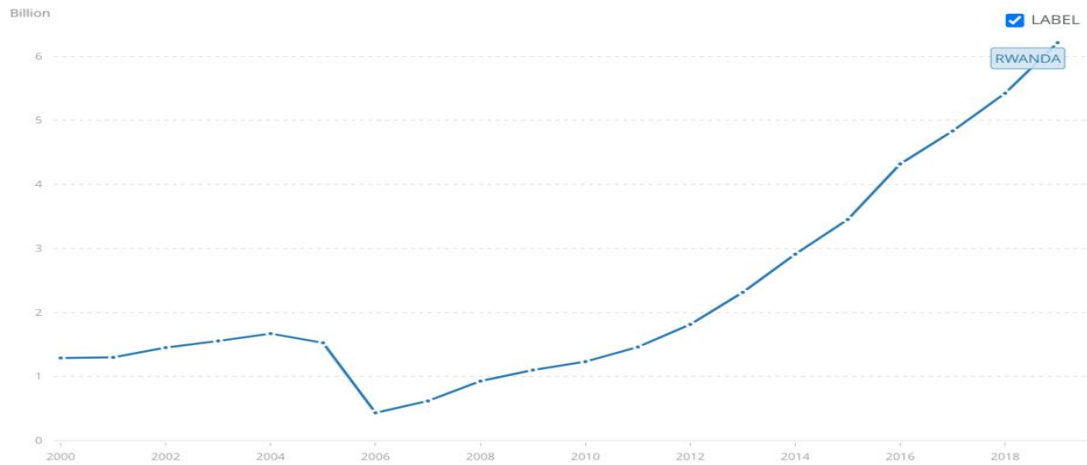
1. Economic Transformation: The primary target in this area has been the development of the service and industry sectors. Five priorities have been determined for this. These priorities are to increase the domestic dependency of the Rwandan economy, to increase the external connections of the Rwandan economy and exports, to develop the private sector, to make Rwanda an economic geography, to focus on the “green economy”. In this context, to develop infrastructure, to facilitate the private sector's access to public goods, to develop RwandAir, the Rwanda airline, to establish regional railways, to take measures to increase long-term savings, to make tax regulations for the development of medium and large enterprises, to encourage urban life Supporting the development of sustainable cities and villages is necessary to achieve economic transformation.
2. Rural Development: Four priority areas have been determined to increase rural development. An integrated approach to land use and human settlements, these four priority areas are increasing the productivity of agriculture, getting rid of extreme poverty, connecting rural communities to economic opportunity. To improve these areas, allocating land for general land use and establishing a decentralized management style, increasing the production of leading agricultural products, increasing literacy, services, and financial assistance for the poor, and increasing the use of information and communication technologies.
3. Productivity and Youth Employment: Four areas are determined to increase productivity and youth employment. Developing skills and attitudes, developing technology with a focus on accelerating innovation, promoting entrepreneurship, access to finance and business development, and intervening in labor markets. In order to develop these priority areas, to develop the education curriculum and to encourage education, to develop information communication technologies by developing the internet and mobile phones, to encourage business development and non-agricultural employment (Integrated National Employment Program was created in addition to EDPRS), employment in service It is necessary to build a bridge between the worker and the employer through the and Career Advisory Centers. This will reduce youth unemployment and increase the productivity of labor markets.

4. **Accountable Governance:** Developments in this area are necessary for more citizen satisfaction. Although two areas have been determined for this, many improvements are required under these areas. Its main objectives are to increase citizen participation and increase accountability and improve service delivery. Under these headings, it is supported by eight sub-headings that EDPRS 1 aims and achieves success. These are; macroeconomic stability, demographic issues, food security and malnutrition, literacy, early childhood development and basic education, quality, demand and accessibility of primary health care, rule of Law, unity, and reconciliation, security and stability, strengthening the effectiveness of public finance management, consolidating decentralization. (The Republic of Rwanda, 2013)

The effectiveness of these policies and their effects on the development of the country will be examined in detail in the next sections.

4.2. The Effectiveness of Rwanda's Political Economy

Six basic targets have been determined within the framework of the economic programs prepared by the Rwanda government since 2000. When we make an examination within the scope of these targets mentioned in Section 3.1, short, medium and long-term indicators were examined within the framework of Vision 2020. One of the short-term goals of Vision 2020 is to reduce foreign borrowing. After the studies conducted in this context, External Debt Stock was \$1.299 billion in 2001 and decreased to \$928 billion in 2008 after PRSP and rose again to \$1.851 billion in 2012 after the publication of EDPRS 1 (Picture 4.3.). With the publication of EDPRS 2 in 2013, as the investments made in the country increased, borrowing increased, in 2019, it reached \$6.211 billion. The external debt stock reached its lowest level in 2006 with \$433 million (The World Bank 2020).



Picture 4.3 External Debt Stocks, Total (DOD, Current US\$) (The World Bank 2020)

Source: The World Bank, 2020

When we look at the medium-term and long-term goals of Vision 2020, we can primarily talk about modernization in agriculture and increasing urbanization. In this context, we can examine the urban and rural development by looking at the urban and rural population ratio and observe the development of the agricultural land area in this way. As seen in Figure 4.1, rural population growth was 2,6 % in 2001, while it was 2,7 % at the end of PRSP in 2008, 2,5 % at the end of EDPRS 1, and 2,5 % at the end of EDPRS 2. In addition, there is a great change in urban population growth (Figure 4.2). Contrary to what was expected at the end of PRSP, the urban population growth rate decreased from 9,6 % in 2001 to 2,7 % in 2008, 2,4 % at the end of EDPRS 1, and 3,2 % at the end of EDPRS 2. Agricultural land, on the other hand, showed a small increase and in 2001 17.490 km², while in 2018 it was 18.177 km² has been.

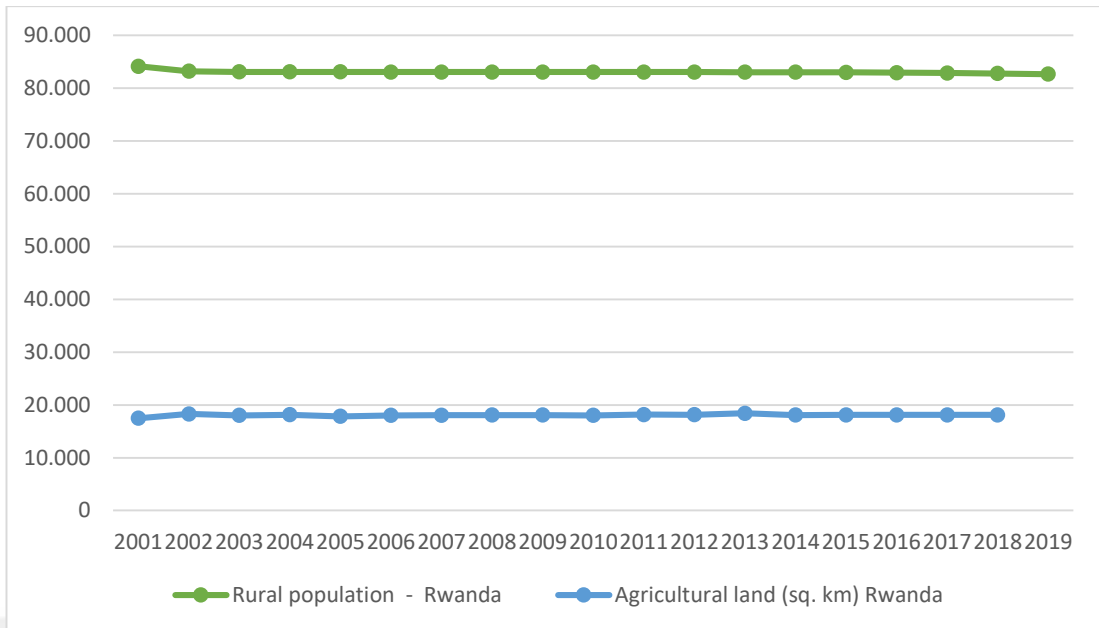


Figure 4.1 Rural and Urban Population (The World Bank, 2021)

Source: The World Bank, 2021

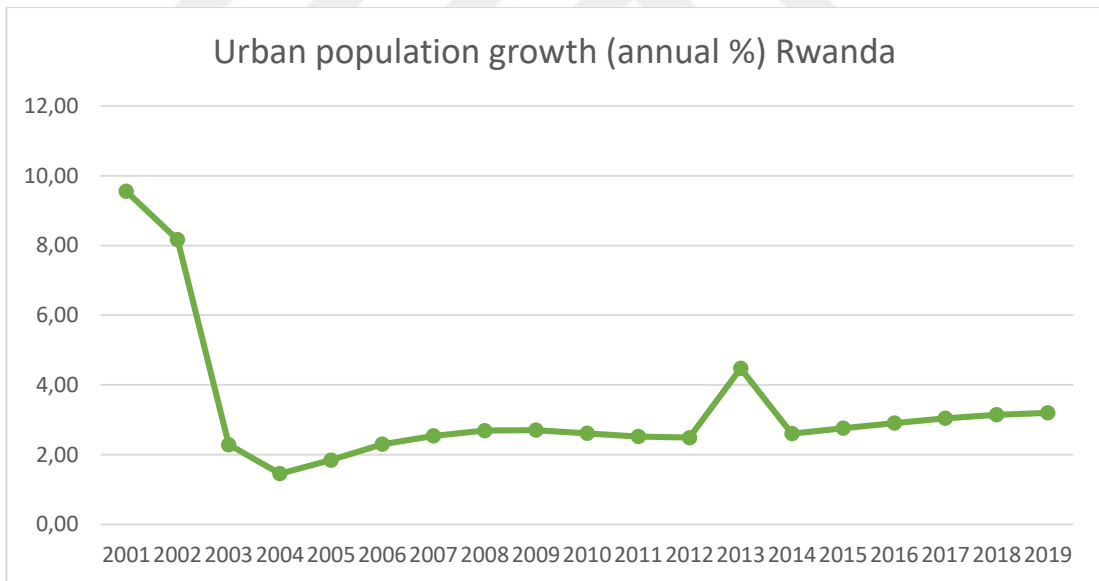


Figure 4.2 Urban Population Growth (annual %) Rwanda (The World Bank, 2021)

Source: The World Bank, 2021

The figures related to service, industry, and start-ups, which are among the middle goals we examine within the scope of Vision 2020, are below (Figure 4.3, 4.4, 4.5, 4.6). According to these data, the data on the ease of doing business can be reached in

the first year of 2015 and has been in a continuous increase since this period. The number of new businesses established in the country draws serious attention. While 252 enterprises were established in 2006, 431 enterprises were established in 2008, 8.529 in 2012, and 10.635 in 2018. A small portion of these businesses have been implemented as start-up projects. However, the speed of the establishment of businesses has increased gradually. In 2006, a business could be established in 18 days, in 2019, it started to be established in 4 days. In addition, the percentage of the service sector in GDP is highly variable. While it was 5,6 % in 2001, it saw the highest level in 2008 and reached 12,5 %. While it was 11,2 % in 2012, it decreased to 8,2 % in 2018. The industry's percentile in GDP was 0,03 % in 2001 but saw the highest level of 5,5 % in 2004 but declined to -5 % in 2009. In 2019, this ratio was 1,6 %.

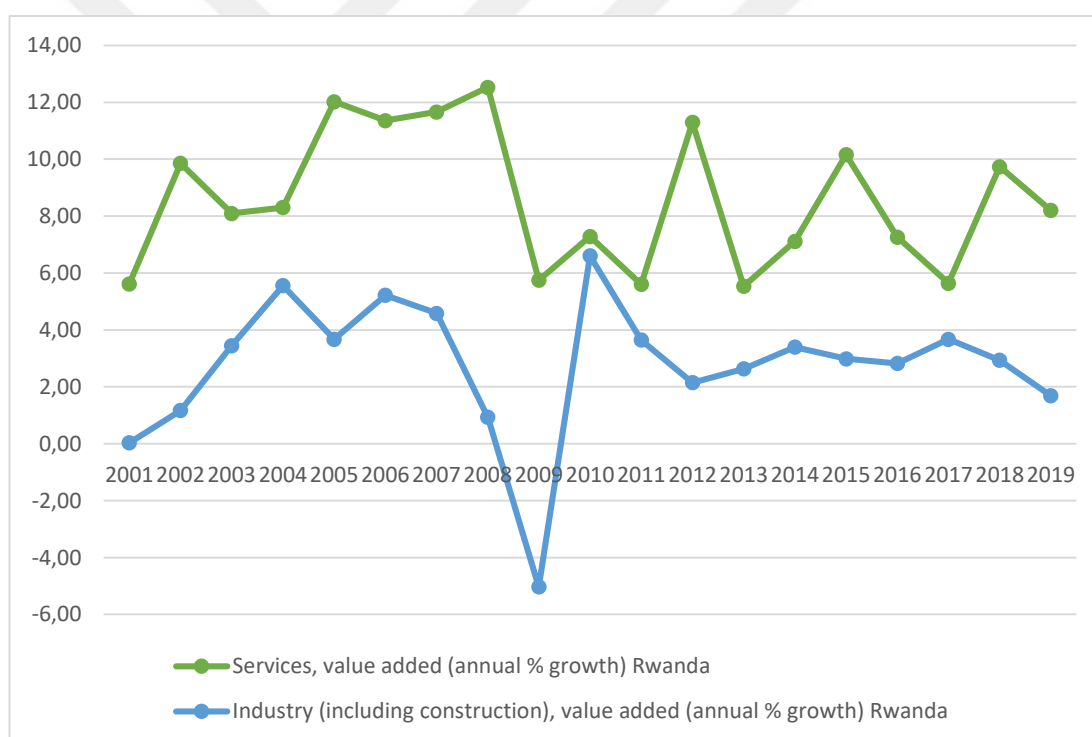


Figure 4.3 Service and Industry Growth (The World Bank, 2021)

Source: The World Bank, 2021



Figure 4.4 Ease of Doing Business Score (The World Bank, 2021)

Source: The World Bank, 2021

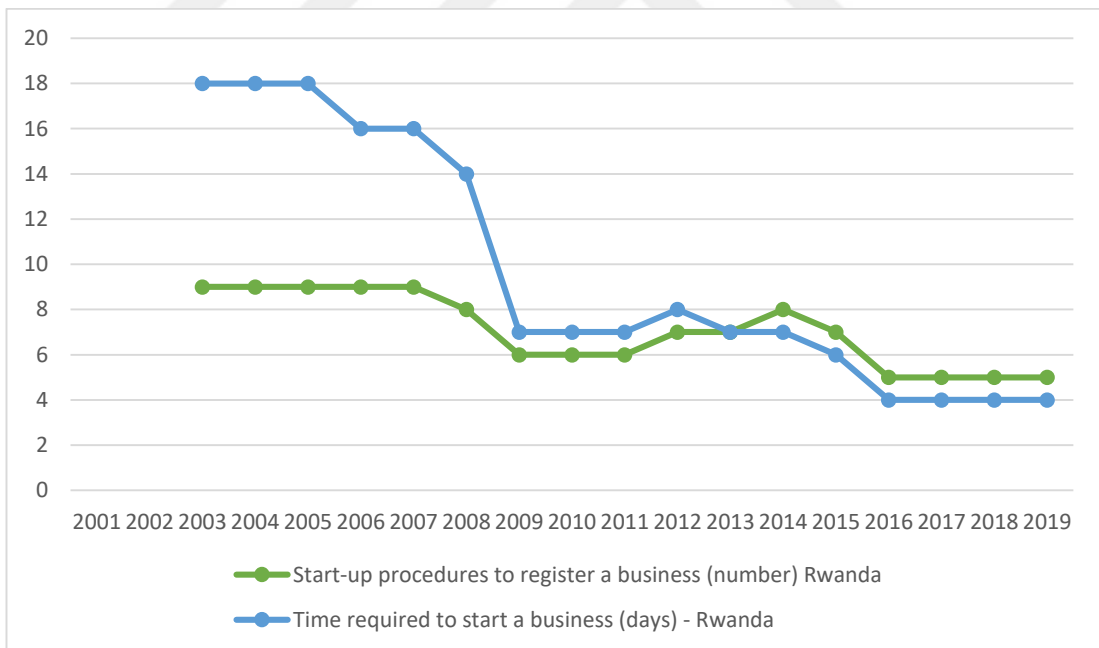


Figure 4.5 Start-up Projects (The World Bank, 2021)

Source: The World Bank, 2021

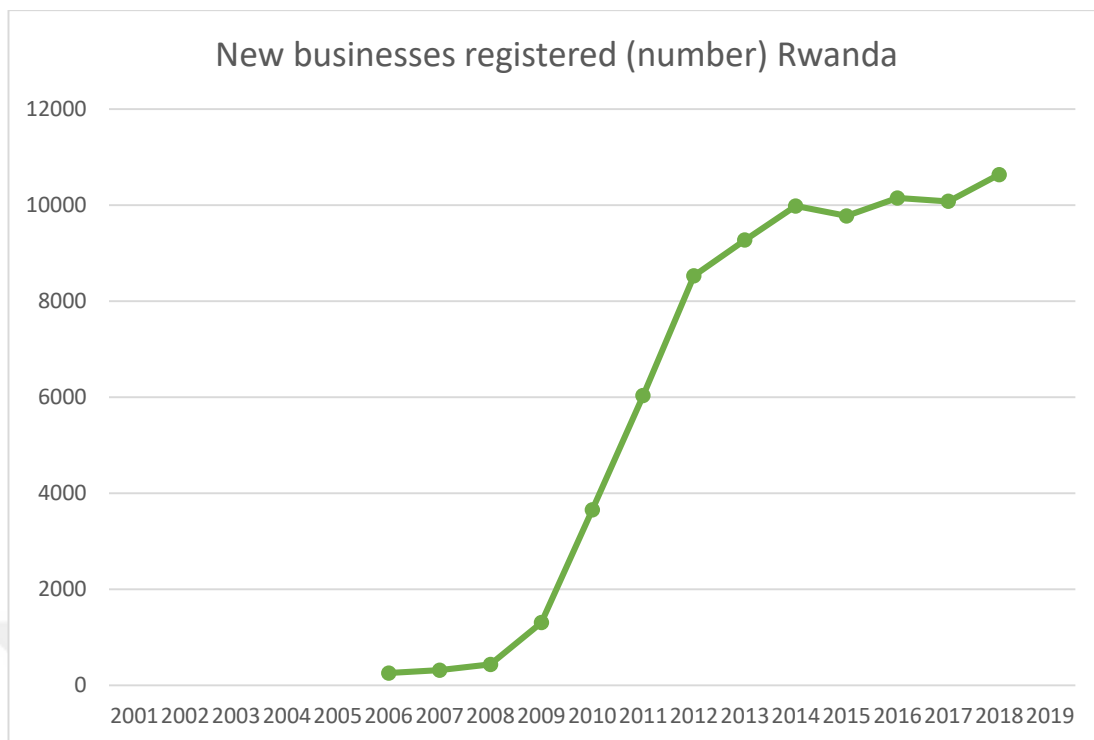


Figure 4.6 New Business Registered (The World Bank, 2021)

Source: The World Bank, 2021

Bank liquid reserves to bank assets ratio and Insurance and financial services table, which we examined within the scope of Vision 2020, PRSP, and EDPRS 1, is as follows. Bank liquid reserves to bank assets ratio and Insurance and financial services data in the table were used to examine the development of the banking sector. Within the scope of PRSP, Bank liquid reserves to bank assets ratio Rwanda value was 13,65% in 2001, while this value increased to 14,1 % in 2008 and 17,21 % in 2012 under EDPRS 1, while this value increased to 17.83 % in 2018 under EDPRS 2. In this date range, declines and increases were observed in certain years. While the Insurance and financial value of PRSP was 6,38 % in 2001, this value was 8,59 % in EDPRS 1. Under EDPRS 2, this value increased by 8,69 % (Figure 4.7).

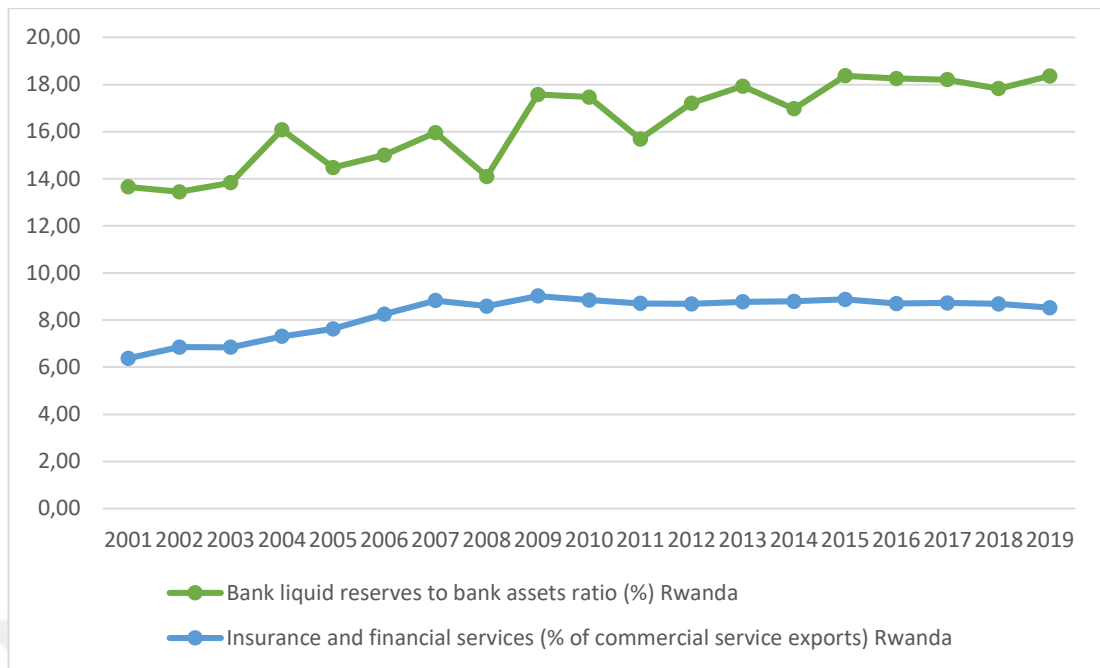


Figure 4.7 Finance (The World Bank, 2021)

Source: The World Bank, 2021

At the same time, apart from these basic goals of Vision 2020, Rwanda has also set side targets as mentioned in section 3.1 in many areas in order to increase the human development index. These can be mentioned as trade, education, and the reliability of the state. Export volume index and Consumer Price Index values are given in the table below. Within the scope of PRSP, the Consumer Price Index value was 48,273 in 2001, while this value almost doubled in 2008 to 88,758 out of 100. Within the scope of EDRPS 1, it continued its steady increase in 2012 and reached 113,668. Finally, within the scope of EDRPS 2, this value reached the highest value as 151,067. Another value, Export volume index data, was 185,049 in 2001 within the scope of PRSP, but this value was low as 175,718 in 2008 out of 100. Then, under EDRPS 1, it started to rise in 2012, almost doubling in value, reaching 391,586. Finally, within the scope of EDRPS2, it reached the highest value in 2019, expanding its export volume almost more than four times from 2001 and became 770,54 (Figure 4.8).

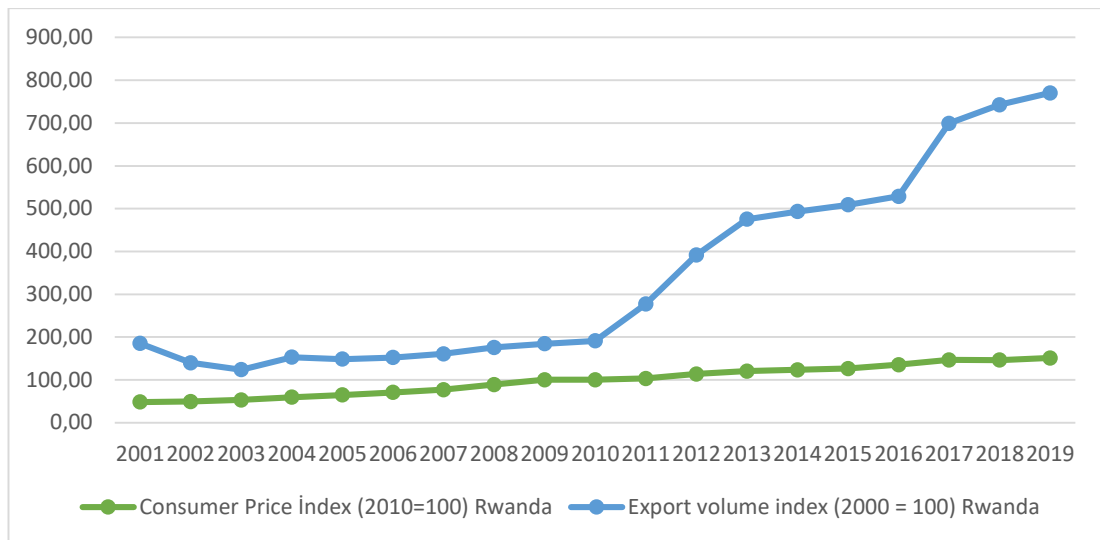


Figure 4.8 Trade (The World Bank, 2021)

Source: The World Bank, 2021

The data we examine in the field of education are Primary School enrollment and Tertiary School enrollment data. According to Table 10 data, within the scope of Primary School enrollment PRSP, while it was 109,6 % in 2001, this value increased to 147,8 % in 2008. Within the scope of EDPRS 1, this value decreased slightly in 2012 and the growth rate decreased to 147,5 %. Within the scope of EDPRS 2, this value has decreased by 131,3 % according to the latest data of 2019. Within the scope of Tertiary School enrollment PRSP, another value, which was 1,7 % in 2001, this value increased by more than two times to 4,3 % in 2008. Within the scope of EDPRS 1, the related value continued with a steady increase in 2012 and reached 6,7 %. Finally, within the scope of EDRPS 2, the growth rate decreased to 6,2 % in 2019, and 2015 achieved its highest value with 7,6 % (Figure 4.9).

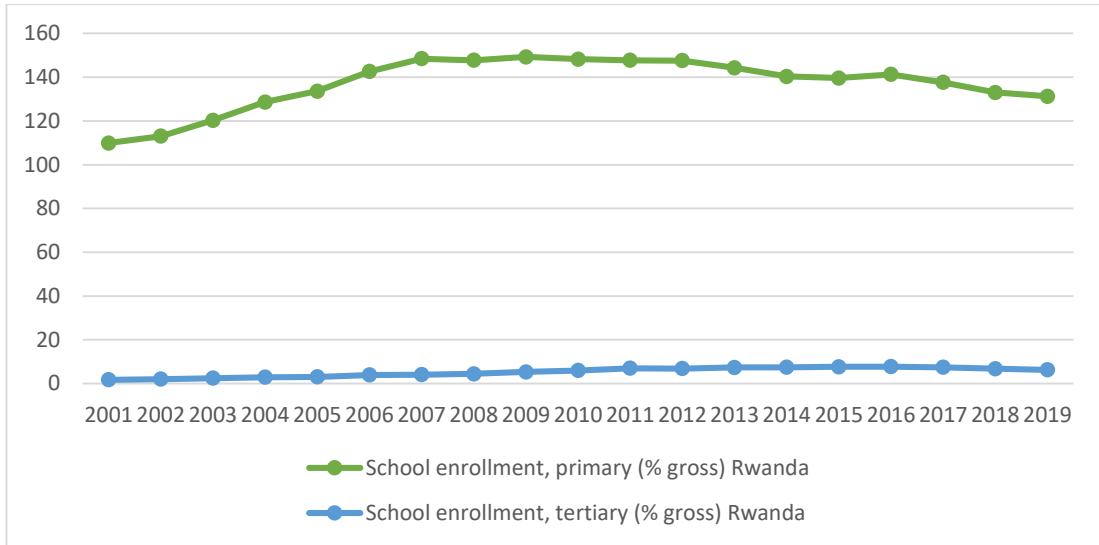


Figure 4.9 School Enrollment (The World Bank, 2021)

Source: The World Bank, 2021

Within the scope of PRSP, the value of CPIA transparency, accountability, and corruption in the public sector was 3 in 2005, while this value increased to 3,5 in 2008. Under EDPRS 1, this value did not change in 2012 and remained at 3,5. Within the scope of EDPRS 2, the value remained constant without showing an increase in 2019 and the most up-to-date data continues to be 3,5 (Figure 4.10).

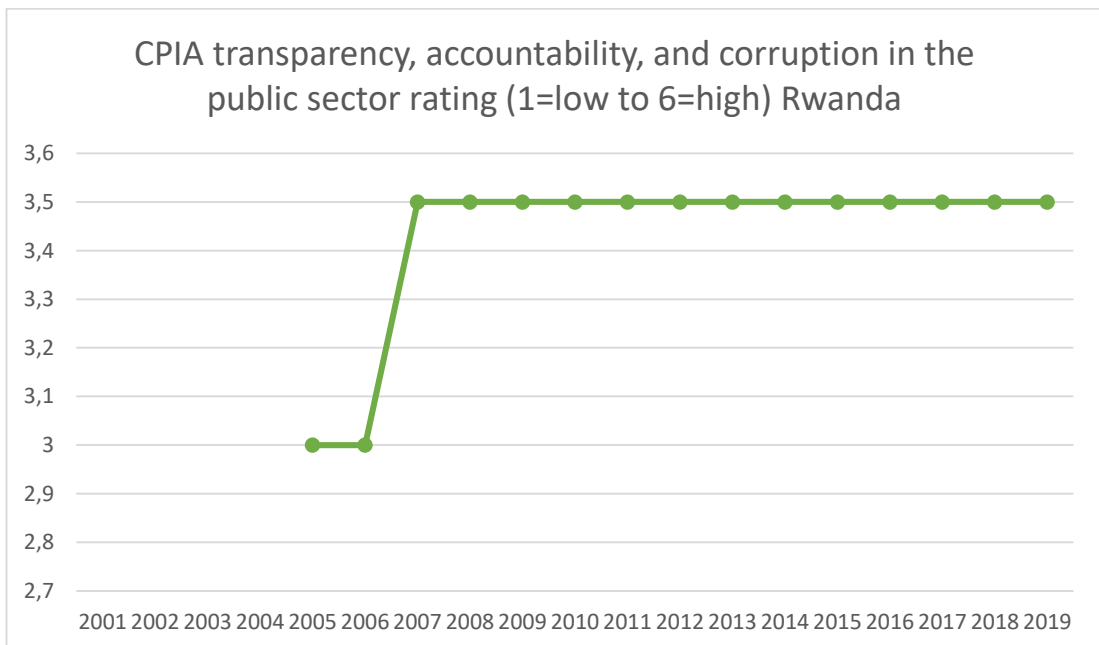


Figure 4.10 CPIA Transparency, Accountability, and Corruption in the Public Sector Rating (The World Bank, 2021)

Source: The World Bank, 2021

The impact of the country's economic programs on the targeted economic growth of the country, which has been analyzed together with all these collected data, will be examined in the next section.

4.3. The Impact of Rwanda's Economic Policy on Economic Growth

One of the primary goals developed within the scope of Vision 2020 is the development of human capital. Rwanda addresses human capital development on the basis of stunting, primary education, and higher education and innovation initiatives. It has made progress in this area in three short-term programs developed in this context. When looking at the growth of tertiary education, it is aimed to be 4 % in 2010 and 6 % in 2020, among the 2020 targets. Looking at the actual situation, it was 5,9 % in 2010 and 6 % in 2019 (Government of the Republic of Rwanda, 2000). Likewise, the target for the development of primary education is 100 % in 2010 and 2020. While gross enrolment was 148,23% in 2010, it was 131,31% in 2019. When we look at these data, Rwanda has reached its targeted figures in terms of education. It even exceeded the targeted figures. Stunting causes many health problems for people. Considering the studies conducted on this subject, the rate of stunting in children under 5 years old decreased to 32,5 % in 2001 and 22,5 % in 2019 (The World Bank, 2021).

The second target in this area, regional integrations and the dynamism of exports can be observed with development aid and export volume. While the percentage of service and service exports to GDP was 10 % in 2006, it was 10,5 % in the last quarter of 2010. While the 2015 target was 21 %, it reached 13,3 % in the third quarter of 2015. While the 2018 target was 27 %, it could not achieve this goal and could only reach 23,6 % in the third quarter of 2020 (Republic of Rwanda, 2020).

Although Rwanda did not reach the exact figure it was aiming for, Rwanda has made serious progress. The development in the number of people living in urban areas in this area can also be examined. For this, while the target for 2010 is 20%, the target for 2020 is 30 %. While the rate of living in the city was 15,8 % in 2001, it was 10,0 % in 2010 and 17,3 % in 2019. Unfortunately, the expected target could not be achieved in this area. This development in urbanization is also included in the vision 2020 targets under a different heading (Government of the Republic of Rwanda, 2000).

Another topic is competitive domestic businesses. We can examine these businesses from the ease of doing business and the increase in start-up projects. While the number of newly established enterprises in this field was 250 in 2006, it reached 10,635 in 2018. The ease of doing business reached 67 out of 100 in 2015 and 76,8 in 2019. While a business was established in 18 days in 2003 in the country, it can be established in 4 days by 2019. Therefore, businesses that want to invest in the region prefer Rwanda due to its geographical location, i.e. ease of transportation and ease of doing business. An example of this is the assembly plant of Volkswagen in the capital Kigali, which performed its first assembly in October 2019 (Uwiringiyimana, 2018).

In addition, the most important source of income for now is agriculture. But the Rwandan government has focused on industrialization and increasing investment in technology, rather than being a primary target for agriculture. Therefore, it aimed to increase the agricultural area at least enough for itself and to strengthen agricultural activities, and at the same time to increase mechanization in agriculture. In this context, it aimed to reduce the agricultural population to 75 % in 2010 and 50 % in 2020. It aimed to increase the modern agricultural land to 20 % in 2010 and 50 % in 2020 (Government of the Republic of Rwanda, 2000). Considering the agricultural population in 2010, it is seen that the total population constituted 83 %, and in 2019 it constituted 82 % (The World Bank, 2021). This shows that these goals are not achieved.

In addition to all these, the goal of an accountable state organization is also seriously important as it is implemented. In this context, the transparency of the country policy and institutional evaluation did not rank the lowest one to the highest six in the World Bank's data on accountability and corruption, and at the moment it was able to increase from 3 in 2006 to 3,5 in 2019.

In addition to all these, the best data showing the development in the region is GDP. While Rwanda's GDP was \$238,93 in 2001, it reached \$579.939 in 2010 and \$820.025 in 2019. While Rwanda's dollar rate was 360 in 2001, it became 528 in 2010 and 516 in 2019. This shows that the currency lost its value rapidly in 2010 but gained a little more in 2019. In addition, it is currently aimed at reducing the external aid in its 2020 vision, but it should primarily increase this aid for its development. Therefore, it is observed that the aid received in 2009 rose to \$934 and in 2019 it increased to \$1.191.

When the human development index of Rwanda is examined, it is seen that it was 0,350 in 2001, it reached 0,461 after the implementation of PRSP in 2008, and with the implementation of EDPRS 1, it reached 0,08 in 2012. With EDPRS 2, it was observed that it rose to the 160th place with 0,543 in the human development index in 2019. In the Vision 2020 target, Rwanda has a target to move from a low-income country to a middle-income country, according to the Human Development Index. However, in order to become a middle-income country in 2019, HDI must be 0,554. Despite this, it managed to be the 3rd fastest growing country in 2018 and to be the 4th fastest growing country in 2019.

Rwanda has rapidly developed its HDI with the developments in healthcare and trade. But other data fell short of their goals. Despite this, Rwanda has shown a very important development considering its geographical location and the genocide it has experienced in the recent past.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION & DISCUSSION

Rwanda was ruled by the Mwamis until the end of the 1880s. All Rwandans, regardless of ethnicity, had the same identity during this period. However, by the 19th century, Rwanda came under the colonial rule of European states, just like other African countries. In 1895, the German colony “Land of Thousand Hills” continued to be ruled by the kingdom. Germany maintained the hierarchical order in the country. The Tutsi continued to remain in the administration during this period as well. However, with the defeat of Germany in World War I, the country became a Belgian colony. Belgium Rwanda, which came to the region in 1926, also started colonialism. However, unlike other African countries, Rwanda does not have any mineral or underground resources. For this reason, it was a less attractive country for colonialism than other countries. With the increasing nationalism after the 1950s, Rwanda started to feel uncomfortable with being a colonial state. Especially the Tutsis in the administration started to feel uncomfortable with the presence of Belgium in the region. Until this period, Belgium always supported the administration of Tutsis in the region and supported the training of Tutsi’s more than Hutu’s. With the Tutsis disturbed by the Belgian presence in the region, the Belgians started to support the Hutus from the region. But because of their policies before this period, Hutus are uneducated. The Hutus, who represent the people, no longer want Tutsi and Belgian rule in the region. At the end of this process, the Hutus carried out the social revolution against Tutsi and the Belgians in 1959. When the Hutus came to the state administration in 1961, Belgium withdrew from the region, and the Republic of Rwanda was established in 1962.

Although there was no tension between the Hutus and Tutsi before the colonial period, tensions started after this period. A serious discrimination started between Hutus and Tutsi because the colonialist states kept the Tutsi under the state

administration and prevented the Hutus from entering higher education and from the state level. With the social revolution, this discrimination has flared up. The Tutsis, who have been in charge for years, have begun to feel seriously uncomfortable with the Hutus being in the management. As a result, they established the “Rwanda Patriotic Front” in 1990. After Rwanda gained its independence, Juvenal Habyarimana became the head of the country in 1973. During this period, a section was included in the identity of the people stating that they were Hutu or Tutsi, and the discrimination increased its severity. Habyarimana was president of the country until 1994. He died after his plane was shot down at Kigali airport in 1994. After this assassination, the tension between Hutus and Tutsis increased. Then, in 1994, the extremist Hutus massacred 800.000 Tutsi and moderate Hutu. This number, which corresponds to 10 % of the population of that period, caused Rwanda to be mentioned as one of the biggest genocides in the world. Tutsi who managed to survive immigrated to neighboring countries as refugees.

By the year 2000, Rwandans now wanted to determine their future themselves. Under the leadership of Paul Kagame, who came to power in 2000 and is still the president of the country, in 2001 the program named Vision 2020, which he created with the public, entered into force because he did not want Rwanda to be a low-income country anymore. This program aims not only at economic development, but also the development of the country in many areas such as education, technology, and health.

Rwanda has made significant progress in the last 20 years thanks to this program. One of the biggest developments has been experienced in the field of health. Rwanda has a community devoted to traditional medicine and faith-based therapies. The central healthcare system was established before the genocide but could not be developed. Four health sector strategic plans were created in line with the targets set within the scope of Vision 2020. Each of these was created to examine short-term development. This plan, the first of which was carried out in 2005, primarily focused on life expectancy after birth and maternal mortality. In addition, malaria, HIV/AIDS, etc., which are common diseases in the region, have also been a part of these plans. Within the scope of this program, firstly the problems in the health sector were determined, and then what they aimed within

the scope of this program was explained. In order to reach the determined targets, the ways that can be applied in the country have been determined by these programs. By the year 2020, Rwanda has achieved the goals it has set within these programs. This helped Rwanda to become one of the fastest developing countries in HDI. In addition, Rwanda has applied a method unprecedented in the world in the field of health. In a country where transportation from the center to the villages is difficult, it has sought alternative ways to deliver health services due to the large population of villages. In this way, it aimed to meet urgent needs such as blood transfusion with UAVs in 2016 and reached this goal in a short time. In the 2020 Covid-19 outbreak, Rwanda achieved much more than expected.

In education, which is one of the vision 2020 goals, the Rwanda ministry of education has determined its first targets in 2003. They created the first ESSP in 2006. Within the scope of this program, the primary goal has been to increase the literacy rate and to increase the number of students attending primary education. However, investments in education are not the only way to increase the level of education. It is very difficult to increase the level of education without eliminating poverty. Therefore, although the literacy rate has increased, the number of students who go to the first level is still far behind. Likewise, the number of students going to university is quite low.

Technology, which is also the basis of the convergence hypothesis, is very important for the development of a country. The Rwandan government also agrees that the use of information and communication technologies plays an important role in the development of the economy. In technology, Rwanda aims to be a leader in Africa. In addition, it is thought that the increase in education level is directly proportional to technology. For this, he has set many goals in order to improve ICT within the scope of vision 2020. Establishing infrastructure, developing communication tools and training scientists are the leading ones. UAVs used in the health field and health robots used in the Covid-19 period show us how serious Rwanda is in this area. Although Rwanda cannot compete with developed or developing countries in technology, it is obvious that it has taken serious steps in technology with these successes.

Currently, within the framework of Vision 2020, it has drawn particular attention to economic development. With the formation of this program, the country's GDP has increased rapidly. Rwanda has identified three main economic programs after the 2020 plan. Each of these programs has been made to determine whether the country has reached its goals in the short term, what kind of innovations it should make and what ways should be followed. Within the framework of Vision 2020, the main objectives are human capital development, export, regional integrations, urbanization, local investments, modernization in agriculture, and a reliable expropriation. Under these main headings, developments in many different areas are targeted. In particular, improvements to be made in them such as trade, agriculture, new businesses, service, and finance sectors will positively affect the national economy.

In this context, PRSP was first established and the developments in the country between 2000 and 2008 were observed with this program. PRSP's main purpose is to alleviate poverty. Because the country needs to get rid of poverty urgently. By 2008, it was time to set different targets for vision 2020. In this context, EDPRS 1 was created. This program was put into practice between 2008 and 2012 to accelerate the realization of medium-term strategies. The main and only purpose of this program is not to alleviate poverty, but to accelerate economic growth and slow down population growth. In EDPRS 2, on the other hand, economic transformation, urban development, government accountability, and productivity, and youth unemployment have also come into play.

With all these programs, Rwanda has rapidly progressed towards its 2020 targets. It developed very rapidly, especially between 2001 and 2010. This returns us to Abramowitz's convergence hypothesis I mentioned at the beginning of the study. In the convergence hypothesis, it is stated that an underdeveloped country will develop faster. While Rwanda was at its worst after the genocide, it developed rapidly in the first decade and improved its GDP rapidly. In the next decade, the pace of development slowed down. The reason for this is that its situation is at the same level as other less developed countries.

It is currently the sixth fastest-growing country in Africa in 2018 and ranked third among underdeveloped countries according to HDR. This situation did not change

in 2019, and it became one of the fastest developing countries among the underdeveloped countries. When we come to 2020, although the vision 2020 should be completed, they have not yet reached the numbers they targeted in many subjects, but they have come closer.

In addition to all these data, it is seen that technological developments in the country are faster than many countries in Africa. Rwanda is about to produce its first mobile phone. These developments in Rwanda did not go unnoticed by car manufacturers in Europe and they started to establish factories in the country. Volkswagen even installed and started to operate its first factory. With the global epidemic in 2020, Rwanda has been the most prepared country in Africa for this epidemic (Yücel, 2020). The African continent is struggling with this epidemic. But Rwandan Covid-19 has controlled the number of cases and deaths. While the daily number of cases in the country does not exceed 100, the number of deaths is one or two. It is not known whether this success of the country will have an impact on African countries or whether it will make a significant success in 2020 data in increasing the level of development and get rid of the underdeveloped country status.

While all these challenges in 2020 continue around the world, Rwanda has set itself the vision 2050 goals. Within the scope of these targets, the year 2035 has been determined as the medium target. All plans will now be updated every five years. At the same time, they changed the vision within the scope of 2050 development.

In the next 3 decades, the country will make long-term investments in future endowments: enhanced human capabilities, strong innovation and technological capacity capabilities, socioeconomically integrated forms of urbanization, and effective and accountable institutions of governance. The country will play to its inherent strengths, which arise from an endowment of labor including a youthful population, a fertile agricultural landscape, natural resources and a good foundation of ICT. (Government of the Republic of Rwanda, 2000)

It can be seen with the infrastructure investments that Rwanda has made and the developments it has experienced that it will reach its 2020 targets in a very short time. Another question mark is whether other underdeveloped countries and African countries will take as an example of this development of Rwanda by observing it. Unlike other African countries, Rwanda has managed to end terror on its land. This is one of the most important reasons that paved the way for its development.

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