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TURKEY'S RISING ROLE IN AFRICA 2002-2016

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Abstract

This study intends to analyse Rwandans' perception towards Turkey's partnership and cooperation with Africa in General and with Rwanda in particular from an economic perspective. The economic activities that Turkey has been doing in Africa particularly in Rwanda within sectors such as trade, industry, construction, energy, agriculture and others have been increasing particularly since the AK Party assumed power in 2002 due to the fact that Turkish foreign policy has gone through a tremendous change both in its content and scope. Actually, both Turkey and African countries benefits from this relation in not only economic and political terms, but also Africa gains aid, investment and humanitarian assistance. By examining these areas of cooperation, this study examines and offers a holistic view of these developments while establishing and demonstrating the Rwandans' perception about Turkey's operations in Rwanda. The study is based on interview data which is analysed by content analysis. Therefore it contributes to the literature by providing original data from the field.

Keywords: Turkey, Rwanda, perception, public opinion in international relations, public opinion vs politics, economy vs public opinion.

Tezin Adı: Türkiye'nin Afrika'daki Artan Rolü 2002-2016:
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Özet

Bu çalışma, son yıllarda yükselmekte olan Türkiye'nin Afrika ve Ruanda ile olan işbirliğine yönelik Afrika, özelde Ruanda kamuoyunun algısını ekonomik yönden araştırmaktadır. Çalışma, özellikle ekonomik açıdan bu algının nasıl etkilendiğini analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Ruanda'da ticaret, sanayi, inşaat, enerji, tarım ve diğer sektörler gibi sektörler içinde Türkiye'nin yaptığı ekonomik faaliyetler, AK Parti'nin 2002 yılında iktidara gelmesinden bu yana artmaktadır. Bu değişimin öncelikli sebebi Ak Parti ile başlayan dış politikanın içerik ve kapsam bakımından genişlemesi. Böylelikle Türkiye ve Afrika ülkeleri bu ilişkiden ekonomik ve siyasi açıdan kazanım sağlamakta, aynı zamanda Türkiye'nin Afrika'ya yardım, yatırım ve insani yardımı ulaşmaktadır. Bu çalışma bu işbirliği alanlarını inceleyerek, Ruanda'daki Türkiye'nin operasyonlarıyla ilgili Ruandalıların algısını ortaya koyarken bu gelişmeleri bütünsel olarak incelemektedir. Çalışma yüz yüze mülakat tekniği ile toplanmış verileri içerik analizi ile analiz etmekte, Afrika-Türkiye güncel ilişkileri konusunda alandan orijinal verileri sunarak literatüre katkı sağlamaktadır.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to Almighty God.

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Finally, but not least I wish to extend my appreciation to my colleagues, whom we shared academic life and to many people who, during this work, have contributed directly as well as indirectly towards its completion.

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LIST OF ABREVIATIONS

ACP:	Africa, Carribean and Pacific group of States
AK Party:	Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi
AU:	African Union
CEPGL:	Communaute Economic des Pays des Grands Lacs
CHP:	Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi
COMESA:	Common Market for East and Southern Africa
EAC:	East African Community
EDPRS:	Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy
IMF:	International Monetary Fund
MINECOFIN :	Ministry of Economic and Finance
NBI:	Nile Basin Initiative
NEPAD:	New Partnership for Africa's Development
RPF:	Rwanda Patriotic Front
TPAO:	Türkiye Petrolleri Anonim Ortakliği
UN:	United Nations

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the general background of the study entitled "Turkey's rising role in Africa". It seeks to understand the Rwandans' perception about Turkey's economic operations in Rwanda as a case study. In this chapter I will present the statement of the problem, objectives, scope of the study, significance of the study, as well as the conceptual framework.

Since its foundation in 1923, the Republic of Turkey has come to ignore its relations with African countries under the Westernization policy, one of the country's most important foreign policy principles. In this sense, westernization and modernization were thought of as synonymous terms; and the development of relations with the western world, in particular with the European countries, has been part of the great project of reaching the level of contemporary civilizations.[1] The Turkish national war against the imperialist powers of the West was a great victory for Turkey in 1923. Shortly after the end of the war, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk announced the aim of the newly formed republic to reach the modern contemporary civilization level given that Mustafa Kemal Ataturk's national movement in Anatolia was against Western states but not against the western understanding of statehood.[2] In addition, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk determined that it was necessary to define Turkey to the West because of the security threat caused by the Soviet Union after the Second World War and dependence on the foreign aid program needed for economic development.[3]

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[1]Eyrice E. (2015). *What is Turkey Doing in Africa? African Opening in Turkish Foreign Policy* retrieved on 20 September 2016 from http://researchturkey.org/what-is-turkey-doing-in-africa-african-opening-in-turkish-foreign-policy/

[2]Nevin Y., (2013) *The effect of Turkish westernisation on the Turkish forein policy* choices retrieved on 16 October 2016 from http://ataturkilkeleri.istanbul.edu.tr/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/ydta-03-ates.pdf

[3] Op cit

Following the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire after the First World War, the country was no longer a force on the world stage. While Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was elected the first President of the Republic of Turkey on 29 October 1923, the new Republic did not have the resources and capabilities to get its own authorities out of their own borders.[4] When it came to 1923, Turkey's integration with Africa was at its lowest point. At the same time, the majority of African countries became colonies of Western European countries; e. France, Spain, England, Portugal and Germany. As a result, in the years of the 30s, 40s and 50s, relations between Turkey and Africa did not exist practically.[5] However, in the 50's years of colonial struggle and in the years of independence of many African countries, Ankara supported the liberation movements of many African countries and recognized the independence of the new States. Moreover, at the beginning of the 1960s, diplomatic relations with countries such as Ghana, Nigeria, Sudan and Senegal started.[6]

Turkey's new African policy began with the African Action Plan adopted in 1998 by Ankara. In 1998, the declaration to the African Action Plan was announced in particular for the development of political, economic, developmental and cultural relations between Turkey and African countries.[7] The goals were to increase the number of Turkish diplomatic missions in Africa and increase the number of humanitarian aid and development assistance (including possible membership to Africa's Ex-Im Bank), encourage business trips, and increase the number of high-level diplomatic exchanges with the continent and the African Development Bank.[8] All these goals have been

[4] Mahamat D., (2016). *Understanding New Turkey- Africa Relations: Rationale and challenges* retrived on 20 January 2017 from http://www.academia.edu/32784654/Understanding_new_Turkey-Africa_Relations_Rationale_and_Challenges
[5] Op cit
[6] Op cit
[7] Mehmet O., (2010). *Op cit*
[8] Op cit

reflected in the coming years, mainly in the opening of new embassies in different African countries.[9]

After 2002, the Justice and Development Party (AK Party) government continued and intensified the process initiated by previous Turkish governments, and in 2003, the Undersecretary of Foreign Trade developed a Strategy to Develop Economic Relations with African Countries. The economic activities that Turkey has been doing in Africa particularly in Rwanda within sectors such as trade, industry, construction, energy, agriculture and others have been increasing particularly since the AK Party assumed power in 2002 due to the fact that Turkish foreign policy has gone through a tremendous change both in its content and scope.[10] In 2005, Turkey won the observer status in the African Union (AU) and was declared the African Year in Turkey in the same year. In January 2008, Turkey became a strategic partner of the AU, and with the participation of 49 African countries, the Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit in Istanbul was opened and a stable and sustainable cooperation process was initiated.[11] In addition, in 2008 Turkey was recognized as a non-regional member of the African Development Bank and as a member of the Inter-Governmental Organization at the Development Partners Forum. In the context of increased political and diplomatic participation, Turkey has undertaken a role as a new actor in some areas of Africa, paying particular attention to the peace and stability of the continent as reflected in the contributions of the United Nations (UN) and AU missions deployed in the continent.[12]

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[9] In 2009 in Tanzania and Côte d'Ivoire; in 2010 in Cameroon, Mali, Uganda, Angola and Madagascar; in 2011 in Zambia, Mauritania, Mozambique and Zimbabwe; in 2012
in Somalia; and in 2013 in Ghana.

[10] Mehmet O., (2010). *Turkey opening to Africa*, retrieved on 19 December 2016 from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/220048130_Turkey's_Opening_to_Africa

[11] *Turkey-Africa relations.* (n.d). Retrieved on 20 March 2017 from http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey-africa-relations.en.mfa

[12] Ali B. et Al., (2014). Turkey's *new focus on Africa: causes and challenges*

Turkey's political involvement with Africa also coincided with the intensification of economic and trade education and cultural relations between it and some African countries. From an economic standpoint, both sides benefit from increased trade and improved co-operation because they create employment and investment.[13]

1.1 **STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

The Ottoman Empire ruled North Africa for hundreds of years, but after the empire fell in the 1920s, the country lost interest in the continent.[14] Although Turkey has never had a colonial relationship with African countries, Turkey has been seeing a gradual revival in relations with the continent since the late 1990s, reaching its peak after 2005 and sharing significant cultural ties.[15] After that, besides focusing on Central Asia, the Balkans and the Middle East, Turkish foreign policy has begun to change its emphasis on Africa, and as a new donor country, it has intensified its political and economic relations with sub-Saharan African countries.

This study asks the perception of Rwandan people regarding newly developed relations between Turkey and Rwanda.

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[13] *Ibid*

[14] Yurdusever N., (2013). *The effects of Turkish wersternization on the Turkish forign policy choices* retrieved on 1 April 2017 from http://ataturkilkeleri.istanbul.edu.tr/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/ydta-03-ates.pdf

[15] Ahmet Davutoğlu, (2008). "*Turkey's New Foreign Policy Vision: An Assessment of 2007*", Insight Turkey,
Vol. 10, No. 1

1.2 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

➢ General objective of the study

The overall objective of this study was to assess the perception of Rwandans towards Turkey's rising role in Africa.

➢ Specific objectives

The specific objectives of the study were:

i) To establish the perception of Rwandans vis- a vis Turkey's economic operations in Rwanda in particular.

ii) To explore the problems encountered in Turkey- Rwanda economic cooperation

iii) To identify possible mechanisms of enhancing sustainable economic cooperation between Turkey and Rwanda

1.3 SCOPE OF STUDY

The study dealt with Turkey's role in Africa in the geographical scope and considered information for the period from 2002; the year of the AK Party took power in Turkey until 2016, when this research was conducted.

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The findings of this study are expected to be instrumental in helping Turkey policy makers in devising ways of improving Turkey foreign policy towards Africa.

The purpose of the study is to find out the perception of Rwandan people with regards to Turkey's rising role in Africa especially in Rwanda given the way Africans are considered by Turkey as "real and reliable partners".[16] However, there is no research done on the perception of Rwandans towards Turkey's rising role in Africa particularly in Rwanda and this literature gap in research gives the researcher more interest to highlight the most components of Turkey-Rwanda cooperation. The findings and recommendations of the study will contribute to the policy makers and academicians. This research may be significant in a number of ways as explained below.

1.4.1. Policy makers

The research findings will contribute to the existing body of knowledge about Turkey and Rwanda cooperation. The information resulting from the study will guide policy makers as well as politicians towards consolidating the cooperation between Turkey and Africa particularly Turkey and Rwanda.

1.4.2. Academics

This study will be significant to academics as it will enrich the existing literature on Turkey's rising role in Africa and the outcome of the study will help researchers who are willing to research more on Turkey and Africa relations. It also reveals the perception of Rwandan people towards Turkey-Africa relations, which has not examined until now.

[16] Nkambeh F., (2016). *Turkish visit a Turning point in Rwanda relations*, retrieved on 20 February 2017 from http://aa.com.tr/en/africa/turkish-visit-a-turning-point-in-rwanda-relations/581838

1.5 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

After the genocide committed against Tutsis in 1994, Rwanda's priority was to be an economically independent state through national and international economic programs specifically Rwanda's Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy (EDPRS), Rwanda Vision 2020, Millennium Development Goals among others[17]. In terms of commercial transactions, Rwanda has been among the biggest importers of goods from Turkey especially flour, pharmaceuticals, cleaning materials, automobile parts, apparel and paper products, electrical household appliances and construction equipment. In 2009 imports from Turkey amounted to 4.8$ millions while became 5.7$ millions in 2010, and were expected to increase after 2010. It was also planned that Rwanda can start exporting coffee to Turkey.[18] Following a Memorandum of Understanding on Economic Cooperation between the two countries, Rwanda's Minister of Trade Kanimba Francois and Turkey's Minister of Economy Nihat Zeybekci signed an agreement in November 2016 on the mutual protection and development of investments in Istanbul.[19]

Given economic cooperation between Turkey and Rwanda and for the successful execution of this study, a conceptual framework was developed which consisted of the independent and dependent variables. The independent variable was Turkey economic cooperation with Africa especially in many sectors such as the construction, transport, energy, agriculture, health sectors based on trade and financial support especially in Rwanda. The dependent variable namely perception of Rwandans towards Turkey and Rwanda's economic cooperation. The other component of the

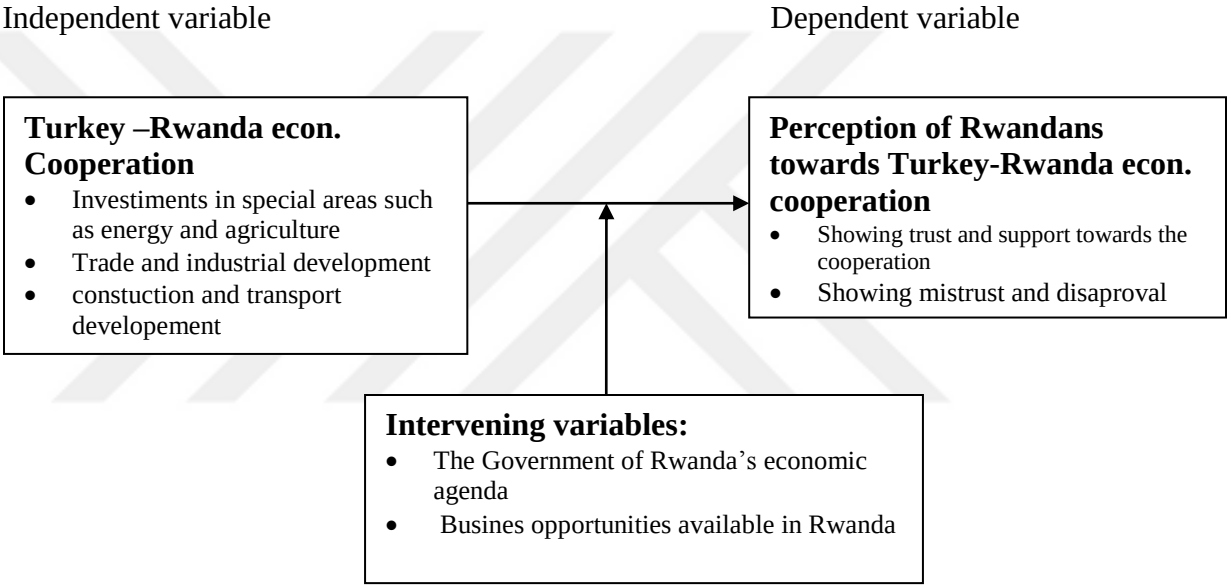
[17] Musoni M., (2007) *Economic Development & Poverty Reduction Strategy 2008 – 2012*, retrieved on 20 February 2017 from http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTRWANDA/Resources/EDPRS-English.pdf

[18] *Turkish investors to expand their business in Rwanda*, (n.d). Retrieved on 5 July 2017 from http://www.rdb.rw/news-pages/news-details/article/turkish-investors-to-expand-their-business-in-rwanda.html

[19] *Turkish investors eye Rwanda market*, (2016). Retrieved on 20 July 2017 from http://www.newtimes.co.rw/section/read/206003/

framework was the intervening variable whose elements included; the Government of Rwanda economic agenda and business opportunities available in Rwanda.

Figure 1.Conceptual Model



Source: Researcher 2017

The independent variable –Turkey's economic operations – was measured by economic factors such as economic investments in various areas as well as financial supports. On the other hand the dependent variable – perception of Rwandans towards Turkey-Rwanda economic cooperation was measured by Rwandans responsiveness as well as trust/ mistrust and approval/ disapproval of Rwandans towards that cooperation. In this illustration it was found these economic factors should shape Rwandans' perception towards Turkey.

1.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1.6.0 Introduction

The objective of conducting this qualitative case study will be to identify the Turkey's rising role in Africa from 2002 to 2016 with Rwanda as case study. This intent will give a way to the development of the research questions and the purposes of this study.

1.6.1 The rationale for Qualitative Research

Since there is little research on how Turkey's economic role in Africa affects Rwandan population's perception about Turkey, qualitative inquiry will be the most applicable method for this research.

1.6.2 Setting and Sampling

In this study, primary and secondary sources will be used. In this context, the official data and texts released by the relevant institutions of Turkish Government, and Rwanda as well will be used throughout the chapters. In addition, the books, articles, newspapers and country reports will be examined.

1.6.3 Data collection procedure

This study will use interview and the document analysis as the instruments of data collection. The selection of those instruments will be guided by the nature of data to be collected, the time available as well as by the objectives of the study. The overall aim of this study will be to assess the Turkey's rising role in Africa, case study 2002-2016. The researcher will be mainly concerned with views, opinions, perceptions, feelings and attitudes gathered from the respondents. Such information is best collected through the use of interview techniques[20].

1.6.4 Interview

Semi-structured interview questions will be designed to guide the participants to respond to key aspects of the research questions in the form of interview.

In conclusion, this chapter gives a picture of this research entitled Turkey's rising role in Africa, 2002-2016 case of Rwanda. The following chapters will gives all the details regarding the perception of Rwandans towards Turkey's rising role in Africa 2002-2016 with Rwanda as a case study. The following chapters will be literature review, research methodology, data presentation and analysis as well as a summary of this thesis.

[20] Oso W. et al., (2008). *A general guide to writing research proposal and report*, Nairobi : Jomo Kenyatta Foundation

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents literature that relates to the topic under study in accordance with the perception related to the rising role of Turkey in African continent as well as the specific role of economic factors towards public opinion. During the analysis, attempt will be made to analyze the literature so as to identify the possible gaps that will be filled by this study.

Public opinion has generally been presumed to have been affected by economic policies.[21] I argue for this presumption. Given my thesis entitled Turkey's rising role in Africa from 2002 to 2016, my hypothesis is that Turkey's economic role in Africa affects people's perception about Turkey. In this chapter, firstly I will discuss about Rwanda, secondly I will indicate the importance of public opinion in international relations field, third will be the importance of public opinion for politics and lastly how economy affects public opinion will be indicated as fourth.

2.1 RWANDA OVERVIEW

2.1.0 Introduction

This section introduces Rwanda in general. It gives important knowledge about Rwanda starting from its geographic, historic, economic, culture, population, religious as well as foreign policy.

[21] Gary W., (2016). "*Public Opinion Distribution and Party Competition in U.S. Trade Policy*." The World Economy. 39:8. p. 1128-1145.

2.1.1 Geographic situation

Rwanda is a country based in Central Africa. Based on the current United Nations estimates, since Sunday 17 September 2017, the population of Rwanda is now 12.214.899, with a total land area of 24668 Km2 (9.525 km²).[22]

Rwanda, also known as Land of Thousand Hills, has five volcanoes, 23 lakes and a large number of rivers, some of which form the source of the Nile River.[23] The country lies 75 miles south of the equator in the tropic of Capricorn, 880 miles west of the Indian Ocean and 1250 miles east of the Atlantic Ocean- literally in the heart of Africa. , Rwanda is borded by Uganda to the North, Tanzania to the East, Burundi to the South and the Democratic Republic of Congo to the West[24]. Main national parks / Animal reserves: Akagera National Park, Virunga Volcanoes National Park and Nyungwe National Park. The highest point of Rwanda is 4519 m which is volcano Karisimbi and the lowest point is 950 m, as Rusizi River.

2.1.2 Short history of Rwanda

Rwanda was already independent kingdom before European colonization. It had its political and socio-economic organization as well as culture and traditions.[25] Belgium occupied Rwanda and Burundi under the name of Rwanda-Urundi in 1916, following a campaign against Germany in East Africa. During the First World War and after the First World War, Rwanda was given to Belgium by the United Nations mandate

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[22] Worldmeters, (2017). *Elaboration of data by United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division: World Population prospects 2017 Revision*, retrieved on 20 July 2017 from http://www.worldometers.info/world-population/rwanda-population/

[23] *Rwanda Geography*, (n.d). Retrieved on 20 July 2017 from http://gov.rw/home/geography/

[24] *Ibid*

[25] Prof. Byanafashe D. et al., (2006), *The teaching of History of Rwanda: the participatory approach, a resource book for teachers for secondary schools in Rwanda*, the Regents of the University of Calfornia

in 1946 and it became Belgian territory under the United Nations protection.[26] By changing the Rwandan institution, the Belgian rulers by then introduced forced labor and hence reinforced socio-economic divisions between Tutsi and Hutu using the Hamites theory[27]. According to Byanafashe Deo et Al., The hamites theory is generally believed among European and missionaries who were active in the region of great lakes at the beginning of the century.[28]

According to this theory "*Everything better that has ever been in Africa was a result of hamites' influence originated from Europe. When the famous British explorer John Speke arrived in the ancient kingdom of Buganda now Ugandan Republic, he linked their civilization to the one of nomad pastors considered to be Hamites*."[29] The hamite theory implies that:

"*Although Rwandan hamites (Tutsis) share the same skin color with negres, they are completely different. Before turning black, Rwandan hamites had a bronzed skin color. In addition a Tutsi or Hamite's physical feature is almost similar to a White rather than that of a negre. Therefore, it is very normal to conclude that a Tutsi is a European with a black skin (...)"*[30]

Furthermore, despite this racist theory having been refuted by many writers, it shows generally that Tutsis could work with Europeans due to the fact that they are similar to them and as a result, this theory was used by colonial and divisional politics".[31]

In the beginning, the Belgian colonial power was pro-ethnic Tutsis. However towards the 1950's when Tutsis elites started to claim independence from Belgium, the

[26] *Ibid*
[27] Prof. Byanafashe D. et al.,*op cit*
[28] *Ibid*
[29] *bid*
[30] I*bid*
[31] *Ibid*

Belgian authorities suddenly turned back from the Tutsis and began to take care of the majority situation of Hutu villagers. From then, the Catholic Church made big policy change through Archbishop André Perraudin who adopted a pro- Hutu attitude confirming that Hutus were living in social discrimination and it was no longer accepted.[32]

On November 1, 1959, ethnic violence began following the leader of the Parmehutu party being harassed by the Tutsi youth. From then, a revolt by the Hutu majority began and killed many Tutsis. The Belgian government riposted by sending security forces to stabilize the situation but they failed due to the fact that they had themselves adopted pro-Hutus politics of mistreating ethnic Tutsis and they helped many Hutus to take power from Tutsis who were being killed or exiling abroad.[33]

Indeed, the Tutsi refugees left Rwanda in the aftermath of the ongoing crisis of 1959-1961, 1963-1964 and 1973. At the beginning of the 1990s, their numbers had been about 600,000, including the grandchildren of the first refugees.[34]

Rwanda gained independence on July 1, 1962 under a republican government. Rwanda was silent as African countries talked about socialism, revolution and development after independence. One of the re-emphasized values was the prestige of being born an ethnic Hutu. While some Tutsis were being persecuted a few days before independence, they started a mass exodus of refugees abroad to the Belgian Congo, Burundi, Tanganyika and Uganda[35].

Regarding international politics, the descendants of Tutsi refugees organised themselves and formed a political party known as *RPF Inkotanyi*. From 1987, RPF

[32] Reyntjens, F., (1994), *Afrique des Grands Lacs en crise, Rwanda, Burundi : 1988- 1994*, Paris, Karthala
[33] Prof. Byanafashe Deo., *op cit*
[34] *Ibid*
[35] *Ibid*

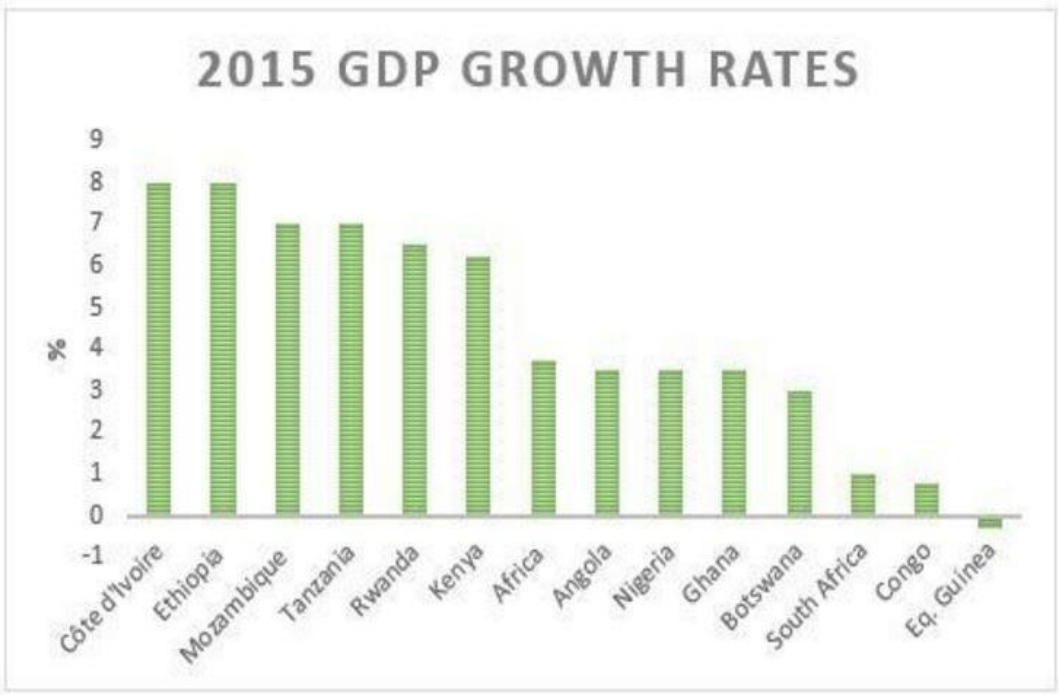
Inkotanyi pressured the Rwandan Hutu led government to accept the return of refugees, reform operations and democracy instauration but the failure of compromising stand caused the October 1990 military attack by RPF Inkotanyi.

In conclusion, after abolition of Rwandan monarchy on 25 September 1961 and after Rwandan Independence on 1st July 1972, the first republic had put in action ethnic discrimination against ethnic Tutsi in the sectors of public life (schools, army, public service, territorial service, etc).[36] The second republic, since 1973, radicalized discrimination against Tutsis.[37] This form of segregation constituted serious human rights violations and were, somehow preparing the way for the genocide committed against Tutsis in 1994.[38]

2.1.3 Economic situation

Aftermath of the genocide committed against Tutsis in April 1994, Rwandan economy was severely affected but later on it rapidly recovered. Today, more than 20 years later, the Rwandans have a better life. According to the International Monetary Fund, Rwanda has become one of the fastest growing economies in Central Africa, and between 2001 and 2014, GDP growth was around 8% per year[39]

[36] I*bid*
[37] *Ibid*
[38] Ibid
[39] Rosamond H., (2016). (World Economic Forum) 5 things to know about Rwanda's economy. Retrieved on 20 July 2017 from https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2016/04/5-things-to-know-about-rwanda-s-economy/



Source: Rosamond H., (2016). (International Monetary Fund) *5 things to know about Rwanda's economy*. Retrieved on 20 July 2017 from https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2016/04/5-things-to-know-about-rwanda-s-economy/

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) has declared that Rwanda's development in 2015 was a result of construction, services, agriculture and industrial sectors however mining exportation sector has decreased.[40] Regarding poverty rate, Rwanda managed to reduce the number of people living under poverty line from 45% in 2005 to 57% in 2010. However, 63% of the population are stil under extreme poverty and are not able to have USD 1, 25 per day as explained by the World Bank.[41] Moreover Rwanda has made important progress towards gender equality as it is explained by 64% member of parliament being women in Rwanda whereas 22% of the women are

[40] Op cit
[41] Op cit

members of parliament worldwide. This women emancipation resulted in women economic development in Rwanda. Girls can inherit land from their parents and become land owners.[42] However, the World Bank has declared that Rwandan economy is vulnerable to changes in Policies by external donors.[43] Following the 2012 UN report that the Rwandan government supported rebels in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, some donors cut aid and consequently economic growth dropped to 4.7% in 2013.[44]

Today, almost 83% of the population live in rule areas while 70% of the population work in agriculture sector for only subsistence. However, the Rwanda government is working to change this situation.[45] For the long term, The Rwandan government is planning to change its economy, from agriculture based economy to service based economy by 2020.[46]

2.1.4 Culture, population and religious situation

From pre-colonial era, the Rwandan culture has been rich, diverse and unique comparing to other culture components in Africa. Bottom line, the culture of Rwanda is not limited to the Rwandan population only but it is shared to other people speaking kinyarwanda language especially in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Uganda and others.[47] Before the genocide committed against the Tutsis, only Kinyarwanda and French had official language status. However after the genocide, with the return of ancient refugees who had lived in English and Swahili languages speaking countries, English and Kiswahili were added to French and Kinyarwanda to make four

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[42] Op cit
[43] World Bank Group, (2015). Rwanda economic update—financing development, retrieved on 20 July 2017 from https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/22364
[44] *Ibid*
[45] *Ibid*
[46] Rosamond H., (2016), *Op cit*
[47] *Rwanda culture,* (n.d). Retrieved on 20 July 2017 from http://www.rwanda-online.org/rwanda-arts-culture/rwanda-culture/

official languages admitted in Rwanda.[48] Ethnically, there are three ethnic groups in Rwanda known as Hutu, Tutsi and Twa and are based on historic perception not on culture differences. All three speak the same language, and live together in the same places while sharing the same religion.[49] The Christianity is important religion in Rwanda mainly the Roman Catholic religion.

Despite the fact that more than 20 years have passed since the Genocide, the amount of discrimination on the basis of religious faith in the country is extremely low. The Rwandan Constitution provides freedom of religion and the government has generally respected this right.[50]

The status of Religious belief

Rank	Belief System	Share of Rwandan Population
1	Roman Catholic Christianity	46.5%
2	Protestant Christianity	45.4%
3	Other Forms of Christianity	4.4%
4	Islam	1.8%

[48] *Rwanda moves to make Swahili its fourth official language*, (2017). Retrieved on 2 October 2017 from http://www.africanews.com/2017/02/10/rwanda-moves-to-make-swahili-its-fourth-official-language
[49] *Rwanda culture,* (n.d). *Op cit*

[50]*Rwanda's constitution 2003 with amendments through 2010*, (2017). Retrieved on 20 July 2017 https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Rwanda_2010.pdf

Rank	Belief System	Share of Rwandan Population
5	Atheism or Agnosticism	1.8%
6	African Folk Beliefs	0.1%

Soure: Worldatlas, (2017). *Religious beliefs in Rwanda*, retrieved on 20 July 2017 from http://www.worldatlas.com/articles/religious-beliefs-in-rwanda.html

2.1.5 Rwanda's Foreign Policy

Rwanda has been the centre of great attention since the genocide committed against Tutsis in 1994. The country is an important member of the United Nations having presided the security council in 1995 as well as during the year 2013-2014.[51] Added to that, there is UN Mission assistance in Rwanda and most of the development and humanitarian aid agencies of the UN have been in Rwanda for long-time.[52]

According to the Rwandan Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the country has a vision, mission and pillars for its foreign policy[53]:

- Vision: A politically and economically integrated country in a peaceful and stable world in general and in Africa in particular.
- Mission: to elaborate strategies and programs in order to implement, evaluate and monitor the Rwanda's foreign policy while as well as sufficiently defining this policy either in Rwanda or outside.
- Pillars: to contribute to peace, security and stability of Rwanda while maintaining good relations with other countries as well as

[51] *Foreign policy, diplomacy and cooperation*, (n.d). Retrieved on 28 December 2016 from http://www.minaffet.gov.rw/policies/foreign-policy-diplomacy-and-cooperation
[52] *Ibi*
[53] *Ibid*

contributing to wealth creation through investment, tourism, knowledge transfer and technology as well as trade and regional integration.

According to the Rwandan Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the Rwandan foreign policy is inspired by the following values and principles:

- The country's sovereignty promotion and independence protection
- Mutual respect among countries
- Equality and complementality among sovereign states, search for solutions to national problems in general and solutions to development problems in particular.
- Cooperation with other countries for the elaboration and respect of International Law.

One of Rwanda's roles in the international relations is its contribution to peace and security. Since 2004, Rwanda has contributed significantly to UN peacekeeping and African Union (AU) peacekeeping operations.[54] Rwandan contributions to peacekeeping were initially precluded by the 1994 war and genocide committed against Tutsis, and challenges of post-war security, including fighting an insurgency in the northwest of the country until 1998 and recurring interventions in neighbouring Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Since 2004, Rwanda has become one of the top providers of peacekeeping for the UN and AU missions. The Rwandan Defence Forces (RDF) are particularly valued due to their training, discipline, the development ethos they bring to deployments, and the growing number of women among those trained and deployed.[55]

[54] Danielle B., (2015). *Peacekeeping contributor, profile Rwanda* retrieved on 20 July 2017 from http://www.providingforpeacekeeping.org/2015/03/30/peacekeeping-contributor-profile-rwanda/

[55] *Ibid*

According to the ministry of Foreign affairs of Rwanda, the country's policy aim is to build and strengthen cooperation within the region and the world in general. This will be achieved through the promotion of development cooperation programs. Due to the miraculous recovery from the shock of the 1994 genocide, Rwanda continues to enjoy tranquility and stability. For its harmony, tranquility and peace, it is now a safe destination point for high profile personalities ranging from presidents, diplomats, accomplished business people and academicians.[56]

Rwanda is a member and participates actively in several regional, continental and international organizations such as the East African Community (EAC), Common Market for East and Southern Africa (COMESA), Nile Basin Initiative (NBI), African Union (AU), Africa, Carribean and Pacific group of States (ACP), International organization of la francophonie (OIF), the group of 77 countries (G77), commonwealth, New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) Communaute Economic des Pays des Grands Lacs (CEPGL), United Nations and its agencies, and others.[57] In addition to that, the Rwanda diaspora is a resource mobilization and image building. As far as diaspora is concerned, Rwanda foreign policy is characterized by substantive activities such as mobilization of Rwanda Diaspora conceptualization and elaborating diaspora guiding strategies framework.[58]

On economic cooperation with other countries, Rwanda Government in collaboration with the Rwanda diplomatic and consular missions abroad is committed to strengthening economic diplomacy. Rwanda will contribute to the creation of wealth through efficient development cooperation and tourism promotion, transfer of knowledge and technology, equitable world trade and regional integration.[59]

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[56] *Foreign policy, diplomacy and cooperation*, (n.d). *Op cit*
[57] *Ibid*
[58] Op cit
[59] *Ibid*

2.2 PUBLIC OPININON IN RWANDA

Although the number of public opinion studies has been increasing in the literature, it is quite difficult to find same kind of literature for Rwanda. Therefore, public opinion literature dealing with different countries was examined in order to be background of this thesis.

Aftermath of the 1994 Genocide committed against Tutsis in Rwanda, the country was left with many social and economic problems. However, Rwandans have launched "*ndi umunyarwanda*" which means *"I am Rwandan*" program in a way to strengthen the unity and peace among Rwandans through telling factual testimonies which was later on adopted by Rwandan government as one of its national unity and reconciliation programs. Rwanda struggles to overcome the scars of ethnic division and '*Ndi Umunyarwanda'* campaign started by local Rwanda citizens as a necessary step towards healing not only for Genocide survivors who have had to move on without being asked for forgiveness, but also for the youth, children of genocide perpetrators who live with the guilt of the Genocide which was done in the name of all ethnic Hutus.[60]

The research conducted by the National Union and Reconciliation Commission (NURC) in 2010 stated that the unity and reconciliation between the Rwandans was 82%. The NURC shows that the latest research, which has not yet been published, shows that the unity and reconciliation between the Rwandans is over 90%.[61]

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[60]*Embrance Ndi Umunyarwanda to enhance Unity and Reconciliation*, (2016). Retrieved on 15 May 2017 from http://en.igihe.com/news/embrace-ndi-umunyarwanda-to-enhance-unity-and.html

[61] Rwanda National Unity and Reconciliation Commission (2016), *Rwanda Reconciliation Barometer 2015*, retrieved on 15 May 2017 from http://www.nurc.gov.rw/index.php?id=75&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=136&cHash=06d13fa3849c2b8da3d3d91e6ff7c483

Recently, the revised constitution of the republic of Rwanda followed the people's will and it was articulated in a legal process. Actually, what has started as the people's demands addressed to the President during his usual upcountry visits; it was gradually intensified during the first months of the year 2015 until mid-2016.[62]

Actually even before that time, the parliament had begun to receive special petitions from different groups of people. The main objective was to amend the article 101 of the constitution in order to permit the president Paul Kagame to run for another term after the end of his second and last term which would end in 2017 according to the then constitution.

In July 2015 when the number of petitions increased to 3, 7 millions of Rwandan (59% of voters), the parliament decided to make more consultations throughout the country in order to confirm the peoples' wishes. The country's politics analysts have concluded that regarding the amendment of the constitution, it was a democratic act because it was done in respect of the people's will thus public opinion becoming responsive.[63]

2.3 PUBLIC OPININON IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

International relations is not an important area of scientific research for scholars for recognizing the attitudes and preferences of individual citizens given the supremacy of realistic school inheritance. Politics are considered as permanent factors in the study of international relations. However, with the end of the Cold War, emphasis on the role of public opinion in international relations has basically increased and the

[62] Kwibuka E., (2015) *When Rwandans amended Constitution* retrieved on 7 April 2017 from http://www.newtimes.co.rw/section/article/2015-12-29/195660/

[63] *Ibid*

interaction of systemic and domestic factors has become an important focus.[64] For example, Turkey and the European Union relation is one of the areas on which public opinion studies have been conducted.

During Turkey's request to join the European Union, the Turkish political elite has always defended their efforts to the EU membership process as "doing everything possible for the wellbeing of the people".[65] The EU has usually been presented and supported as the highest opportunity to improve the socio-economic welfare of Turkish people.[66] Unfortunately, the history has shown that political elite has been unable to respond to the Turkish people enquiries relating to the Turkey's EU membership journey and consequently there was lack of the permissive consensus. The case of death penalty is a major example. Following reform programs adopted by the Parliament in order to revoke the death penalty in summer 2002, the public survey conducted in that period showed that only the minority populations equal to 38% of the respondents were backing the death penalty abolition and the political managed to push it until it was even though the majority population did not want it. This highlighted the fact that policymakers were ready to challenge Turkish public opinion in case of conflict over the EU accession process[67].

The most important contribution to that kind of scientific enquiry comes from Robert Putnam through his article entitled "Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two Level Games".[68] The importance of his article is due to the fact that it seeks to

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[64] Moravcsik A., (1993). *Introduction, Integrating International and Domestic Policies, in Peter Evans* (ed.), *Double Edged Diplomacy, International Bargaining and Domestic Politics*, (California: University of California Press,, p.5.

[65] Özgür B., (2014). *Privileged Partnership: as an Alternative Way to the Turkey's European Union Membership Bid*, Law & Justice Review, Year:5, Issue:9

[66] *Ibid*

[67] *Ibid*

[68] Putnam R., (1998). *Diplomacy and Domestic Politics, The Logic of Two-Level Games*, International Organization, 42, 3, Summer, p.430.

understand how and when national and international issues interact. According to him, neither purely national nor purely international analysis can explain that.[69]

Putnam proposes a two level game structure in order to conceptualize policies of various international negotiations. At National level, domestic groups such as civil societies put pressure on the government so that the government can adopt choices favourable to those domestic groups while on the other hand the politicians themselves take power through the support and coalitions of those domestic groups. At the international level, the governments try to satisfy internal pressures while minimizing the negative consequences of external developments. This two level game cannot be ignored by central decision- makers given interdependence status of their countries despite being sovereign states.[70] This approach gives a great importance to the public opinion when it comes to international relations' evaluation.

However, when it comes to Turkish public opinion, academics and politicians generally ignored the choices of Turkish citizens; probably due to the belief that Turkish public opinion lacks the necessary knowledge and interest in international conventions.[71] The examination of Putnam's Turkish public opinion in the context of the two-level game described above is very new. Çarkoğlu, Eder and Kirişçi have adopted a two-level game approach in their work titled "Regional Cooperation in Turkey and the Middle East": "Each government involved is not only concerned about the international political and economic environment, but also a domestic environment composed of different interest groups with many conflicting missions and political leverage upon the government."[72] These authors have assigned a special chapter to the public opinion analysis of the Middle East.[73]

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[69] *Ibid*
[70] *Ibid*
[71] Çarkoğlu A., (1998), *Türkiye ve Ortadoğu'da Bölgesel İşbirliği (Regional Cooperation in Turkey and the Middle East)*, İstanbul: TESEV, p. vi.
[72] *Ibid*
[73] *Ibid*

2.4 PUBLIC OPINION AND POLITICS

The evaluation of public opinion is very important, in fact, the policy priorities of responsive politicians reflect the views of the constituents.[74] Whereas foreign policy academics used to negate the applicability of this link to foreign policy, it is now very much accepted.[75] Recent researches have begun to evaluate with more nuanced debates about how and when public opinion influences foreign policy.[76]

While the factors that affect the public opinion are not so much when compared to other foreign policy instruments such as power use or trade policy instruments, existing studies do not only support voters' preferences for foreign aid, but also it showed how and when politicians' aid decision were influenced by voters. There are various channels that the public opinion can influence on aid policies, but we focus on the general situation of the democratic donor countries, especially the electoral connection.[77]

When it comes to democracy issues, we expect that politicians' priorities are based on the need of getting elected again[78]. Politicians who need to be re-elected are very cautious and careful in relation to their attitudes and opinions. It is even very possible that macro-economic changes particularly during economic crisis period have bad consequences on voters' financial situation. While the economic policies do not fully conform to the views of the constituents (eg, policy adaptation), the literature

[74] Canes-W., (2015). *From mass preferences to policy*-Annual Review of Political Science
[75] Aldrich J.H. et al., (2006). *Sharp Foreign policy and the electoral connection Annual Review of Political Science*, pp. 477–502
[76] Matthew A. Baum., (2012). T*he Iraq coalition of the willing and (Politically) Able: Party systems, the press, and public influence on foreign policy American Journal of Political Science*, pp. 442–458
[77] Aldrich *et al.*, (2006). *Sharp Foreign policy and the electoral connection Annual Review of Political Science*, pp. 477–502
[78] Bueno B. de Mesquita, et Al., (2005). The logic of political survival MIT Press

accepts that policy is likely to respond: changes are likely to follow changes in opinion.[79]

The existing scientific literature generally ignores the influence of public opinion on the economic policy of contemporary countries. For example, even when academicians have analyzed the impact of public opinion on the US foreign policy, they have ignored commerce and business policies.[80]

Nevertheless, since the economic policy is seldom prioritized by the electorate, it is assumed that political actors face few electoral consequences to defy the public opinion and therefore are relatively free to implement the trade policy without regard for mass public opinion. However, as this study shows, although the economy is generally not among the priorities of voters, political actors face consequences to be on the wrong side of the public opinion in the economy.[81] These consequences guide trade policy by channeling the political competition between the parties over that policy.[82]

In the literature on economic policy, early studies described trade policy as driven by more concentrated interests rather than the general public[83]. This description has always conventionally recognized. According to Guisinger Alexandra, trade issues are generally less important and because of that the general public's preferences are not a

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[79] Canes-Wrone B., (2015), *From mass preferences to policy Annual Review of Political Science,* pp. 147–165

[80] Nacos et al., (*2000), Decision making in a Glass House: Mass Media, Public Opinion, and American and European Foreign Policy in the 21st Century (*Lanham, MD*: Rowman and Littlefield)*

[81] The wrong side relates to a situation in which which candidates in elections have views and opinions opposed to that of electors especially social, economic, political differencies

[82] *Holsti, O. (2004). Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy, Revised Edition (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press).*

[83] *Schattschneider, E. E. (1935). Politics, Pressures, and the Tariff: A Study of Free Enterprise in Pressure Politics (New York: Prentice Hall).*

key aspect to anticipate trade policy.[84] According to Destler I. Mac, US Trade Polic generally ignores public opinion in favour of smaller interests and institutional dynamics[85]. Also Regarding the writings by Shoch James, he neglect public opinion and supports four different factors in order to explaining how individual competition affects the policy of trade: the President's choices, the political party views, the compromise willingness between Congress and the President, and the government control status, being is divided or unified.[86] However, even if the explanations by these scholars on US Trade policy preparation are very important, these explanations can be completed if public opinion guidance regarding the political party competition is considered too.

According to the public opinion of Turkey about Africa, there has been great difficulty that limited the Turkey's increasing expansion of trade with Africa, due to perceiving the continent as a centre for economic stagnation and wars.

This false propaganda was a new colonial tool used by media in the West in order to discourage Africa's competitive investors and consequently there has been poor literature relating to Turkey's people perception about Africa. Even though the public opinion is quite a new part of the scientific research, the developments of the aftermath of the cold war show importance of domestic actors as players at the international level. This is explained by the analysis of public opinion that was directed to both the EU and the USA. According to an analysis of the Turkish public opinion towards the US that was carried out by Emre Erdogan, he says that after the Iraqi war in 2003, Turkish public opinion came against the US.[87]

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[84] *Guisinger, A. (2009). 'Determining Trade Policy: Do Voters Hold Politicians Accountable?', International Organization, 63, 3, 533–57.*

[85] *Destler, I. M. (2005). American Trade Politics, 4th edn (Washington: Petersen Institute for International Economics).*

[86] *Shoch, J. (2001). Trading Blows: Party Competition and US Trade Policy in a Globalizing Era (Chapel Hill, NC: UNC Press).*

[87] Emre E., (2005). *The Missing Element: Turkish Public Opinion towards the US*, retrieved on 15 May 2017 from *http://turkishpolicy.com/images/stories/2005-01-TRUSrelations/TPQ2005-1-erdogan.pdf*

According to a poll by the POLLIMARK Research Institute in 2005, there was a negative image of the USA within Turkish community. According to this survey, only 14.6 percent of respondents had a positive attitude towards the United States while 76 percent were against the USA.[88] In addition, this survey exposes the relationship between party identification and attitudes towards the US: The percentage of pro-US respondents among AK Party voters was 15 percent whereas CHP voters had 24% [89]

Another research done by the Pew Research Centre in 2002 shows that the Turkish public opinion was careful about the Iraq problem. The poll results indicate that only 48 percent of Turkish voters should express their view about Iraq question. This division of public opinion about Saddam Hussein was also seen in the responses from which 42 per cent said Saddam Hussein had to be removed from power while 32 % said that he could be disarmed. However, when asked if the US and its allies could be allowed to use Turkey bases for military action, 83 percent opposed it.[90]

Regarding another Pew research, 79% of the Turkish public community think that the US does not care about the interests of when it comes to international relation businesses. This number decreased to 74% in the summer of 2002 while 60% of the wished to see the EU becoming strong as the United States. Bottom line 41% of respondents believed to see another country that has the same strength as the United States but 46% of the respondents dismissed this idea. Moreover, 74% of the respondents were less confident about the trustworthiness of the US[91]

[88] Pollmark Research Institute, (2005), The *Agenda of Turkey*, p.70.
[89] *Ibid*
[90] Erdoğan E., (n.d). The Missing Element: Turkish Public Opinion Towards The Us retrieved on 20 July 2017 from http://turkishpolicy.com/images/stories/2005-01-TRUSrelations/TPQ2005-1-erdogan.pdf
[91] *Ibid*

2.5 HOW DOES ECONOMY AFFECT PUBLIC OPINION?

Regarding the economic sector, although the emphasis is on economics foundation as an important factor for influencing public opinion, it is important to point out that one's perception can be influenced by what is happening in that period of time. For example, research conducted between 2001 and 2003 would have considered the public change in migration as a consequence of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, which created a great distrust of strangers and were viewed as negative aspects in society.[92] It created powerful movements of nationalism and racism in this period and was shared against many minority groups in the United States.[93] These convincing views can then take advantage of economic factors in determining the attitudes of people and the stance of immigration policy. These people, regardless of the economic conditions they face, will be more likely to favour more restrictive and protective views.[94]

In addition, economic drivers on national scale or on an individual scale play an important role in eliminating personal perception and public opinion. While not all of the economic frameworks are well suited to explain politics and attitudes within themselves, they are likely to be key determinants. According to findings from the Berkeley University research, it has come to the conclusion that the economic factors influence the perception of one's national or foreign policy.[95]

The researchers also found a strong relationship between immigrant attitudes and pessimism, especially about the current state of the national economy. The perceived harmful effects on employment opportunity are linked to protective and restrictive attitudes. The researchers come to the conclusion that this economic factor

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[92] Burns P. et Al., (2000). *Economic Insecurity, Prejudicial Stereotypes, and Public Opinion on Immigration Policy.*" Political Science Quarterly 3-25. Academic Search Premier. EBSCO.
[93] *Ibid*
[94] *Ibid*
[95] Donald P. et Al., *(1997).* Public *Opinion Toward Immigration Reform: The Role of Economic Motivators. The Journal of Politics Vol 59 858-81* retrieved on 3 September 2017 from http://carawong.org/Papers/jop.pdf

could serve as explaining most of the social outlook and social bases of migration; especially from racial, educational and professional groups.[96]

People who see the national economy in a pessimistic way will not have positive views on migration. Moreover, these pessimist people get anxiety against immigrants due to the belief that their inclusion into the economy will cause much worry about general unemployment while increasing more competition in the market economy. Likewise, the optimistic views of the economy will lead to more favourable views on migration. The reason is that these people are only engaged with other things when they perceive things to be better in their personal lives or in the national economy, and they are not interested in this immigration matter at all.[97] On the other hand, economic factors play an important role in shaping perceptions that affect peoples in many aspects, not just about immigrations but about climate change as well. Many studies emphasize the impact of business circles on how people think about climate change. These studies have combined the increasing rate of state or national unemployment or other indicators or economic growth rates to correlate with lower support for environmental policies and a lower reported level of concern and climate change beliefs.[98]

According to Kahn et Al., following completion of their surveys from the Yale Project on Climate Change Communication administered between 2008 and 2010, they found that residents in Unite States with higher levels of unemployment were less supportive of U.S. environmental policies and less likely to believe that climate change was occurring.[99] According to Conroy et al., after all the General Social Surveys

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[96] Ibid

[97] *Ibid*

[98] Sali B. et Al., (2016). *Economic condition and public opinion on climate change, online publication* retrieved on 2 August 2017 from http://climatescience.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228620.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228620-e-310

[99]Kahn,M. E., et Al., (2011). *Business cycle effects on concern about climate change: the chilling effect of recession. Climate Change Economics, 2*(3), 257–273 retrieved on 20 July 2017 from https://environment.yale.edu/kotchen/pubs/CCEfinal.pdf

conducted between 1974 and 2012 were combined, they estimated individual demographic and macroeconomic impacts on environmental concern. They found that bad economic times - many unemployment, slower growth, a year of stagnation - are linked to more people reporting “too much” spending on the environment. These effects have been attenuated for those who are less successful. This suggests that macroeconomic conditions affect perception and may be more important for less successful people.[100]

Regarding the economic relations between Turkey and African countries, a summit in Istanbul has been organized in 2008, bringing together the African and Turkish business world.[101] The summit proved that Turkey was loyal to the continent and to a new stage. Following the first Economic and Business Summit, a Second Africa-Turkey Summit, was held in Malabo, the capital of Equatorial Guinea in 2014. There, a new African strategy was promoted that would bring Turkey and Africa to a new stage. The Joint Implementation Plan for the "*Africa-Turkey Partnership 2015-2018*" and the "*Matrix of the Fundamental Priority Projects for the African-Turkish Partnership 2015-2018*" were put forward at the Malabo Summit. It is expected to deepen economic and diplomatic relations, including key areas of cooperation. After the First Economic and Business Summit in Istanbul, it can safely be claimed that Turkey has successfully completed the "Strategy for Expanding to Africa" and opened a new chapter.

Turkey's President Recep Tayyip Erdogan emphasized the need for a deeper economic, sectoral and business co-operation between African countries and Turkey in

[100]Conroy S. Et Al., (2014). A tale of trade-offs: The impact of macroeconomic factors on environmental concern. *Journal of Environmental Management*, *145*, 88–93 retrieved on 10 August 2017 from http://business.baylor.edu/tisha_nakao/research_pdfs/Conroy%20and%20Emerson%20JEM%202014.pdf

[101] Cambridge University press, (2011). *The Journal of Modern African Studies* retrieved on 10 January 2017 from https://www.jstor.org/journal/jmodeafristud

his opening speech to the First Economic and Business Summit.[102]

According to Erdogan, the provision of a continuous "win-win" situation is due to an active business environment. Therefore, such a framework is allowed and much needed. While evaluating the results of globalization, Erdogan stressed that it created many opportunities, but at the same time emphasized that it was creating a desperate possibility for many developing countries, especially in African. In addition, by addressing the problems that Turkey faces such as terrorism, migration and income diversity, he also came to the deeper economic cooperation with Africa, and in a spirit of solidarity he said: *"we will not accept to be the wretched of the earth."*[103] In many ways this message was at a peak time considering the American election results, with Donald Trump being President and this has a definite effect on the new Turkey-Africa relationship in one way or more.

Actually, President Donald Trump's "Make America Great Again" election campaign was based on a nationalist rhetoric that prioritized the local economy. During the election campaign, Trump defended the idea of reversing the current economic policy that defines America's global role. Apparently, the new administration will be determined to pursue economic policies that are less global, less sacrificial, less focused on business and less immigrant. This is not good news for the African continent. There are many countries that rely on American help to deal with some issues that require urgent attention. Health safety can be problematic in the absence of the majority of American participation in the coming years. For this reason, the first Africa - Turkey Economic and Business Summit became more important after the election results were announced in the USA. Especially, in the face of this delicate situation, every little help package from Turkey will be meaningful. However, Turkey's interest in long-term

[102] Aybar S., (2016). "*New" Turkey, "New" Africa: A Gravity Analysis, Florya Chronicles of Political Economy.*

[103] *Ibid*

Africa is not limited to aid to the African continent but also aims to promote economic and diplomatic cooperation on an equal basis with equal partners, which will encourage mutual economic development and growth; hence Rwanda stands to benefit immensely from this economic partnership with Turkey.

Rwanda has proved to be economically sustainable country with economic development in all key indicators as shown in the World Bank Business Doings rankings.[104] After making major changes in the World Bank Business Doing Business methodology, Rwanda ranked 46 out of 189 countries in the 2015 report, and was among the top three in sub-Saharan Africa.[105]

Following a Memorandum of Understanding that provides a framework for cooperation to enhance mutual understanding and investment between Turkey and Rwanda[106], 30 businessmen from Rwanda went to Istanbul in February 2014 as part of efforts to strengthen trade relations between the two countries. Hannington Namara, the director general of the Federation of the Private Sector of Rwanda (PSF), said that the visit came in respect of PSF efforts to achieve the country's growth plan, known as the objectives of the EDPRS II[107]. Turkish SUMMA company is among major achievements of Turkish companies and is respected in Rwanda for completing the contruction of the Kigali Convention Center in 2016[108].

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[104]World Bank Group, (2017). *Doing Business Economy Profile 2017: Rwanda*, retrieved on 15 May 2017 from https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/25607

[105] Aguthamba K., (2014), *Rwanda ranked 46th worldwide in 2015 World Bank Doing Business Ranking*, retrieved on 5 November 2016 from http://www.newtimes.co.rw/section/read/182484/

[106] *Rwandan investors for Turkey business mission*, (2014). Retrieved on 5 November 2016 from http://www.newtimes.co.rw/section/read/182470/

[107] International Monetary Fund, (2013), *Rwanda: Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper* retrieved on 10 December 2016 from https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/scr/2013/cr13360.pdf

[108]Turkish *firm wins contract to finish building Kigali Center*, (2015). Retrieved on 5 November 2016 from http://en.igihe.com/news/turkish-firm-wins-contract-to-finish-building.html

Nevertheless, it is quite early to make a definite statement about the advantages that Rwanda will get from this new partnership. However, based on Turkey's foreign policy towards Africa, I can say that Rwanda will get some profits from this new Partner based on the following reasons:

1) As an enthusiastic partner who wants to have a balanced relationship with Africa and a win-win partnership, Turkey has the advantage of not carrying colonial luggage and at the same time has a history of cultural and religious ties with the North region of the continent. Although it is true that actors such as China, India, Russia and others cannot carry the history of colonialism with Africa, the cultural and religious ties of Ankara and African countries, including Rwanda are a big part of the interstate relations.

2) The voice in some world regions that Africa is still not understood by many prejudices and negative pressures due to the distorted appearance of the Continent. Actually it takes into account that the negative things that the world audience sees in the living rooms through television are set on Africa. Reports on wars, hunger, backwardness, internal conflicts, collapsed, failed or disintegrated States and all the consequences of desperate young Africans trying to reach the shores of Europe. Therefore, Ankara can help to write a new account of Africa's positive image for the environment in general and for Rwanda in particular.

3) Ankara also can be a voice for Rwanda in multilateral organization especially G20, UN and others.

4) Ankara may be a model for technology transfer to Rwanda. It has a medium-sized economy that transforms itself and is today the 16th largest economy. Turkey's production base and knowledge can be useful for Rwanda industries' policy

known as "*made -in Rwanda*", which is a strategy created to promote both local investment and inward investment.[109]

Likewise, Turkey's engagements with Africa in general and in Rwanda in particular can provide many profits to Turkey if it manages its relations with Africa in a comprehensive and transparent manner. Also Turkey can benefit from cooperating with Rwanda based on the following reasons:

1. Africa, as a whole, is a growing market with more than 1.1 billion people today and is expected to grow by 2.4 billion by 2050. This is a major consumer and future labor market including that of Rwanda.

2. The full participation of Rwanda in industrialization and the globalizing world economy can be a blessing for Turkish international companies. Rwanda may be a test market for some that wants to compete on a global scale. China is already using this strategy as part of its foreign investment policy. Turkish companies can form strategic alliances with thousands of small and medium-sized parastatal companies in Africa and in Rwanda in particular.

3. Given Africa's about 60 percent of the arable land in the world[110], Ankara can get enormous benefits by expanding its investments in Agriculture sector for long-term benefits starting from Rwanda.

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[109] Nkusi F., (2017). *The pillar of made- in- Rwanda* retrieved 10 September 2017 from http://www.newtimes.co.rw/section/read/206748/

[110] Mahamat D., (2016). *Understanding New Turkey- Africa Relations: Rationale and challenges* retrived on 8 March 2017 from http://eds.b.ebscohost.com/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=2&sid=5eb4c828-f423-424c-a813-7609b76bc1c1%40sessionmgr103

2.6 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

According to Rwanda Minister for Foreign Affairs, Turkey has business opportunities in energy, trade, construction and others in Rwanda.[111] In addition, Turkey's bilateral trade volume with Africa has reached 17,5 billion in 2015 and trade volume with sab saharan Africa was realised at 6 billion level in 2015.[112] Also, Turkey has opened embassies in 39 African countries and Turkish Airlines flies to 38 destinations in Africa including Rwanda.[113]. It is with this regard that this study will examine the Rwandans' perception of Turkey's rising role in Africa with focus to Turkish economic activities in Rwanda.

In conclusion, this study entitled Turkey's rising role in Africa will focus on the Rwandans' perception about Turkey's economic activities in Africa from 2002 to 2016 with Rwanda as case study. While Turkey's new policy is based on promoting bilateral business interactions with African countries, this chapter gives details of literature about Turkey's rising role in Africa especially in Rwanda. After this chapter, the research methodology will be developed.

[111] Aktaş F., (2016), Kavusoglu: Turkey sees real, reliable partners in Africa retrieved on 8 March 2017 from http://aa.com.tr/en/africa/turkish-visit-a-turning-point-in-rwanda-relations/581838

[112] Turkey- Africa relations, (n.d). retrieved on 7 December 2016 from http://www.mfa.gov.tr/turkey-africa-relations.en.mfa

[113] Aktaş F., *Op cit*

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0. INTRODUCTION

The objective of conducting this qualitative case study was to identify the perception of Rwandans towards Turkey's economic cooperation with Africa from 2002 to 2016 especially with Rwanda as case study. This intent has given way to the development of the research questions and the purposes of this study, which were to determine how Turkey's economic role in Africa affects Rwandan population's perception about Turkey.

Proposing answers for the research questions carry utmost significance. For this reason, the researcher should choose the best method to apply and gather the necessary data in accordance with the research questions and objectives. This study employs a qualitative case study because of its research questions. Thus, the rationale for choosing a qualitative case study has been provided in this chapter. Additionally, the participants and procedures used in this course of this case study have been described. This chapter has also incorporated a section on setting and sampling, data collection procedure, interview, data analysis, ethical considerations as well as the limitations of the study.

3.1. THE RATIONALE FOR QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

Meriam explains that qualitative research is an umbrella concept that covers various forms of inquiry that help researchers to investigate, understand and explain the meaning of social phenomena with as little disruption of the natural setting as possible[114]. This study employed a qualitative research because the major aim of this

[114] Meriam S.B., (1998). *Qualitative Research and Case Study Applications in Education,* (Revised Ed.) San Francisco, California: Jossy-Bass Publishers

study is to be able to depict the perception of Rwandese population towards Turkey-Africa relations in general and economic relations between Turkey and Rwanda in particular. Thus, qualitative research has been the most appropriate method to examine this study in details as Creswell states that qualitative research is conducted when a problem or issue needs to be explored or when silenced voices need to be heard.[115] Cresswell continued to explain that qualitative research may also be used when we need a complex, detailed understanding of the issue, the context in which this problem occurs or to empower individuals to share their stories.[116]

Moreover, Miles and Huberman point out that a particular strength of qualitative research is that it is the best method to discover and explore a new area for developing a hypothesis especially when there are gaps or deficiencies in existing research literature[117]. Since there is a little research on how Turkey's economic role in Africa affects Rwandan population's perception about Turkey, qualitative inquiry has been the most applicable method for this study. In order to explore, describe and interpret Rwandan population's perception about Turkey rising role in Africa, qualitative method will be the best suitable method.

3.2. THE RATIONALE FOR CASE RESEARCH

This study utilized a case research for a number of reasons. First of all, Case studies take the form of stories formed by personal experience and thoughts.[118] Thus, this study seeks to understand Rwandans' ideas and experiences related to Turkey rising role in Africa by means of using a Case study. Merriam also expresses that a case study in social sciences is conducted so that specific issues and problems can be identified and

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[115] Creswell J.W., (2007). *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among Five Approaches,* (2nd ed.), Tousand Oaks, CA: Sage
[116] *Ibid*
[117] Miles M.B et Al., (1994). *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook*, thousand Oaks, California: Sag Publications
[118] Yin R., (2003). *Applications of Case Study Research,* (2nd ed. Vol. 34) thousand OAks: Sage

resolved. Secondly Merriam states that social sciences processes, problems and educational programs can be examined to bring about understanding that in turn can affect and perhaps even improve practice[119]. In the course of this study, Turkey's economic role in Africa has been examined in terms of how it actually affects Rwandan population's perception about Turkey.

According to Yin Robert, case studies are the preferred strategies when "how" or "why" questions are being poised, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary within some real-life context[120].

In summary, this study carries the features of a qualitative case study which is described by Merriam as an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a social unit.[121] Hence qualitative case study has been the most appropriate methodology in order to carry out an intensive investigation of Rwandan population's perception about Turkey.

3.3. SETTING AND SAMPLING

In this study, primary and secondary sources are used. In this context, the official data and texts released by the relevant institutions of Turkish Government, and Rwanda as well are used throughout the chapters. In addition, the books, articles, newspapers and country reports are examined. The literature on the Turkey's rising role in Africa is relatively an underdeveloped topic. Therefore it is quite difficult to gather solid information by just relying on secondary sources. Moreover, the existing sources may be deceptive having taken the undiversified media. In order to overcome this intellectual barrier, elite interviews will be conducted with the Rwandan officials, scholars, bureaucrats and diplomats living in Turkey.

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[119] Merriam , *Op cit*
[120] Yin R., *Op cit*
[121] Merriam, *Op cit*

Regarding the sample size, 40 Rwandans living in Turkey were selected. The sampling technique to be applied is purposive or judgemental sampling. According to Patton, generally in qualitative inquiry, studies typically focus in depth on small samples sometime even on single cases selected purposefully chosen to shed light on the questions under the study[122]. Thus, the respondents on one hand will be selected based their knowledge on the topic and on the other hand will be selected based on their willingness to respond

It was easy to select the sample because as Rwandan students in Turkey we have an association and we also formed the Rwanda community in Turkey, the communication between the association and the community is made possible by the social media communication. As such it was easy to administer the interviews as the researcher made an appointment with the respondents through phone calls and social media, even though there were some challenges.

3.4. DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURE

In a qualitative study, according to Merriam data collection is about asking, watching, reviewing and typically includes gathering quotes from people about their experiences, opinions, feelings and knowledge obtained through interviews.[123] Merriam continued to explain that it includes a detailed description of people' s activities, behaviours, actions recorded in observations; and excerpts, quotations, or entire passages extracted from various types of documents.[124]

[122] Patton M., (2002). Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods, (3rd Ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
[123] Meriam, op cit
[124] *Ibid*

The collection of several kinds of information is the main necessity of a qualitative study with an emphasis on case study. This study used interview and the document analysis as the instruments of data collection. The selection of those instruments was guided by the nature of data to be collected, the time available as well as by the objectives of the study. The overall aim of this study was to assess the Turkey's rising role in Africa, case study 2002-2016. The researcher was mainly concerned with views, opinions, perceptions, feelings and attitudes gathered from the respondents. Such information is best collected through the use of interview techniques[125].

This research occurred during 2016-2017 academic year. The research procedure includes:

1. an informed consent form for the prospective respondents
2. A group session in order to inform respondents about the study and the requirements for effective interview responses
3. Interviews
4. Evaluation of the information given through interviews

3.5. INTERVIEW

The semi-structured interview questions were prepared to help participants to answer the research questions through an interview. According to Miller and Crabtree, "*an interview is a research- gathering approach that seeks to create a listening space where meaning is constructed through an interexchange/ co-creation of verbal viewpoints in the interest of scientific knowledge*".[126]

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[125] Oso W. et AL., (2008). *A general guide to writing research proposal and report*, Nairobi : Jomo Kenyatta Foundation

[126]Miller W., (2004). *Depth Interviewing*, In S.N Hesse-Biber & O. Leavy (Eds.) *Approaches to Qualitative Research: AReader on Theory and Practice*, New York: Oxford University

Furthermore, Holstein and Gubrium describe interview as "*certainly the most widely applied technique for conducting systematic social inquiry, as sociologists, psychologists, anthropologists, psychiatrics, clinicians, administrators, politicians and pollsters treat interviews as their window on the world."*[127]

According to Wilson Chauncey, the goal of the semi-structured interview is to put together important information from different topics while accepting new information received from that interview. It combines well prepared questions with the open exploration of an unstructured interview and following an interview guide which includes: purpose introduction, subject list as well as questions that need to be asked for each subject, suggestions closing remarks[128]. Semi-structured interviews are used when there is knowledge of the topics or issues under study, but but there is a need of more detailed information. Semi-structured interviews may be based on topics, issues and questions arising from unstructured interviews or other kind of information[129].

Additionally, semi-structured interviews have the following advantages:

i. Can unveil previously unknown topics
ii. Resolve complex topics through threads and explanations
iii. Ensure that each participant from specific points is involved and at the same time ensure that users and interviews raise additional concerns and issues
iv. Provide a mechanism to redirect conversations away from the main subject
v. Provide some flexibility in interviews and allow some broad comparisons in interviews

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[127]Holstein J., et Al., (1997). *Active Interviewing*. In D. Silverman (Ed), *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice*, Thousand Oak, CA: Sage

128 Wilson C., *(2013). Interview Techniques for UX Practitioners : A User-Centered Design Method*

[129] *Ibid*

vi. Require less training time than unstructured interviews because the interviewers have a set of specific questions available as a starting point.

vi. It can be managed by a outside company since there are prepared questions in advance[130].

The disadvantages of the semi-structured interviews are as follows:

i. Some trainings and experiences are necessary for interviewers to avoid putting words in their mouths.

ii. Negotiations can give clues that direct participants in a specific answer.

iii. Consistency between interviewers is necessary. Too much flexibility among interviewers can make comparison hard

iv. Analyzing the mixture of quantitative and qualitative data can be time consuming.

v. It may be difficult to generalize the findings of semi-structured interviews because different interviewers may ask different questions[131].

The open-ended questions, in addition to the closed questions administered for the respondents to express their opinions on the critical issues in the interview where they expressed their experiences, feelings, beliefs, ideas, and actions. This tool involved face-to-face interaction between the researcher and respondents and was used to get information from the respondents. This helped the researcher to get first hand information and observe how the respondents react on issues of Turkey and Africa relations.

Before the actual study was done, a pilot study was conducted in Edirne with the 3 Rwandans who are students in Edirne and Çannakkale. The purpose of the pilot

[130] *Ibid*
[131] *Ibid*

study was to check the coherence of the interview questions. The interviews took place in Çankaya, Ankara at the Embassy of Rwanda in Turkey. The pilot study helped the researcher to estimate the time and cost needed for the interview project. Before the beginning of the pilot study, the researcher thought that the interview would take one hour for each respondent but given the big number of respondents the researcher decreased the interview duration per respondent and the interviews took 15-25 minutes for each person for two days. The researcher asked the participants questions and recorded their responses on the tape recorder while some of the respondents who were not comfortable with the table recorder their responses were written on the paper.

3.6. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study aims to answer the following questions:

1. What do you know about Rwanda- Turkey cooperation?
2. What types of Turkish companies working in Rwanda?
3. What are Rwandan companies working in turkey?
4. How do you rate Turkish companies operating in Rwanda?
5. How do you compare Turkey-Rwanda economic cooperation Vs Western countries- Rwanda cooperation?
6. What do you expect from Turkey- Rwanda economic relations?
7. What is the advantage of Rwanda cooperating with turkey comparing with other regional cooperation with Rwanda?
8. Do you approve and believe in this relationship?
9. What are problems that can constrain Turkey-Rwanda cooperation?
10. What do you think should be done to increase the level of Turkey-Rwanda economic cooperation?

3.7. DATA ANALYSIS

Given the main source of data for this study comes from interview with recorded audio which must be transcribed, content analysis has been selected as the researcher's technique of analysis. Content analysis is the systematic reduction of written data through the identification of the unique features of the message.[132] Although some have argued that content analysis is well suited for quantitative analysis because it is conducted by counting texts,[133] Bruce Lawrence argued otherwise; that the coding provides the qualitative researcher with an opportunity to investigate and establish the relation between the text and the "social world".[134] The strategy that is used in content analysis is coding. There are several ways for developing code; there may be in vivo codes or sociological constructs. In vivo, while codes are derived from subjects, sociological constructs are developed by the researcher based on the profound knowledge of the subject[135]

According to Johnny Saldana "A code in qualitative inquiry is most often a word or phrase that symbolically assigns a summative salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data".[136] As there are various coding strategies, it was decided to discuss the ones that will be selected.[137] However, it is important to note that the following stated techniques are not mechanical stages for which a researcher has to be bound upon, however they are used to serve guide for main process. In line with Saldana's division of coding into two rounds, the first and second round methods, steps will be divided into two main ones, each of them

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[132] Bruce W., (1990*). Genetic Data Analysis*, p238,
[133] *ibid*
[134] Bruce L., (2012). *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Science*
[135] Anselme S., (1945). The *Concept of Attitude in Social Psychology, Journal of Psychology*, p33
[136] Saldana J., *(*2009). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*, sage Publications,
[137] Saldana J., (2011). *Fundamentals of qualitative Research- Understastanding Qualitative Research*, Oxford University press

incorporating mixed techniques for data analysis.[138] This is invariance with Bruce's three rounds yet it is consistent with the overall aim and strategy for coding data.[139]

3.7. 1. First round method

The first round method as suggested in the name is the initial round taken to code the available data.[140] Three most useful techniques to be used at this level are descriptive coding , vivo coding as well as affective coding . The descriptive technique will help the researcher to "summarize a word or a short sentence as a noun, often the essence of a qualitative data."[141] This is very important in the arrangement of a lot of findings to be produced from different sources. The reason for choosing this is that it does not require advanced knowledge about coding and is suitable for beginners. It is also a foundation for more rigorous analysis that awaits in the second round.[142]. Since the researcher's approach is interpretive, it is important to have such an approach in order to make sense of the words when and where they are needed, because the technique provides the freedom to identify researchers at hand.

On the other hand, vivo coding will also be used. This is a technique of using a word / phrase that will serve as a code task from the original accounts. This is important because it helps the investigator not to lose the direction of the data the participants see as the most important. The strength it has is actually based on the meaning of the word according to interview respondents.[143] Moreover, it supports the cultural beliefs that it advocates. This is particularly important for the study of Rwanda's perception regarding Turkey's economic partnership with Africa specifically in Rwanda. Finally, affective techniques will be used at the same time. These techniques are important for

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[138] *Ibid*
[139] Bruce W., *Op cit*
[140] Saldana J., *Op cit*
[141] *ibi*d
[142] *ibid*
[143] *ibid*

emphasizing people's ability to produce codes about "emotions, values, judgments, etc."[144] Although Saldana is divided into several sections, such as value coding and emotional coding, it is not entirely unique to Saldana's techniques, but often comes to the top.[145]

From the above, it is clear that three techniques have been chosen in the first round of the coding. The rationale for this combination is a tactical one, while descriptive coding has been chosen in order to use theoretical knowledge and background information regarding Turkey and Africa to code the data, the researcher also maintain the goal of coding the data through the original words of the subjects to maintain their story through their own words (in vivo coding). In addition, the incorporation of affective methods whereby judgments and values are considered ensures that the reported values, judgments, emotions, beliefs and cultures are not lost in taking ownership of the data. This will also help the researcher to code data that may not be explicit as judgment and values are not always stated in a clear language.

3.7. 2. Second round method

The investigator will pass the second round after being given the initial coding, given the familiarity with the data, and the data that gives all possible meanings of the data as a starting point. The second stage is "Advanced methods for reconstructing and reanalyzing data encoded with First Stage Methods".[146] The goal is to develop a "categorical, thematic, conceptual and / or theoretical organization" from the first round codes.[147] In this phase, it is necessary to find similarities and variations in the codes, to

[144] *ibid*
[145] *ibid*
[146] *ibid*
[147] *ibid*

regroup similar codes and to change the codes to better ones if necessary. Here, the researcher wants to record recurring ideas by grouping related passages. According to Auerbach and Silverstein, the re-emergence of ideas reveals the importance of this idea.[148] The re-grouping of similar codes categorizes the way in which researchers develop extensive explanations of the data. The categories are then grouped into themes. "The theme is an implicit issue that organizes repetitive groups of ideas".[149] When a theme is found, it will be grouped into concepts and structures. This is in line with the general framework for Saldana's coding.[150] In this stage, two broad strategies are the pattern coding and the axial coding. While axial coding is concerned with finding the relevant categories that are grouped together, model coding focuses on the search for patterns and categories that arise for a better understanding. The two phases or steps are not separate, but must be understood as a process that continues until satisfactory results are achieved.[151] Although the steps have been made secret, some changes can be made as the research progresses. Anselm Strauss warned against the danger of correcting participation rules in social research.[152]

To find answers to the research questions, data mainly included interviews, analysis and evaluation of Rwandans' perception about Turkey's economic activities in Africa specifically in Rwanda. According to Creswell, an analysis consists of making a detailed description of the case study and its setting.[153] Thus, gathering participants' personal information formed the basis of this study.

The data was evaluated using the content analysis model of Miles and Huberman, which serves to determine conceptual themes in the interviews.[154] In

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[148] *ibid*
[149] *ibid*
[150] *ibid*
[151] *ibid*
[152] Strauss A., (1987). *Qualitative Analysis for social scientists*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, p7
[153] Cresswell, *Op Cit*
[154] Miles M.B et Al., *Op Cit*

qualitative research according to John Creswell, data analysis consists of preparing and organizing findings for analysis, then reducing themes by coding and intensifying the code of the data, and finally representing the data in figures, tables and discussions.[155] The Miles and Huberman method consists of three steps: data reduction, data display and validation, and result drawing. For this reason, the interviews were written first, the researcher started by writing a question here, and the answers from all the participants for the first question, this process continued with other questions. Later on, conceptual themes were defined according to repetitive words and ideas. Then, each conceptual theme is coded to form possible categories. Finally, these categories were added to the relevant sub-questions and the support proposals of each participant were provided and discussed.

3.8. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The ethical considerations respected during the study, are supported by Neumann in social sciences research[156]. In addition, according to Babbie E., an ethical idea is to adhere to the standards of conduct of a particular profession or group.[157] Among the most important ethical contracts prevailing in social research is voluntary participation, non- threat to informants, analysis and reporting, as well as institutional oversight committees.[158]

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[155] Cresswell, *Op Cit*

[156] Neumann W., (2000). *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*, Allyn and Bacon Miller R. et Al., (2003). A-Z of Social Research. London: Longman

[157] Babbie .E, &Rubin.A, (2001). *Research Methods for Social Work (4th Ed.).* Canada: Brooks/Cole

[158] *Ibid*

3.8.1 Voluntary participation

An informed consent form was sent to the participants before the actual interview and was then sent for voluntary participation in a consent form for interview with the participant.

According to Miller R. Et Al., a voluntary participation is understood as the personal willingness of the participants.[159] All participants of this work voluntarily participated to the interview process.

3.8.2 No harm to participants

No harm implies that human research should never hurt the people to whom the research is being conducted, regardless of whether they are willing to volunteer to the study.[160] Participation will not harm the participants, because participation was voluntary and volunteers were informed about the purpose of the research before participation. Participants were given the chance to give consent.

3.8.3 Analysis and reporting

Analysis and reporting implies that the researcher should be more familiar than others with the important limitations and failures.[161] The researcher's responsibility is to

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[159] Miller.R.L and BrewerJ.D. (2003). The A-Z of social research: a dictionary of key social science research concepts. London: SAGE Publications

[160] Alder.G.S. & Clark.R. (2011*). An Invitation to social research how its done, 4th Ed*. Belmont: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning.

[161] Babbie .E, &Rubin.A, (2001), *op cit*

make it is easy for the reader to know the limitations and failures of the study when analyzing and reporting the findings.

3.8.4 Anonymity and confidentiality

Anonymity in research means that no one should know the identities of the respondents including the researcher[162]. Confidentiality implies that no third party should know the identities of the respondents[163]. Anonymity would be achieved in this research as the respondents will not identify themselves when answering the questionnaire hence promoting confidentiality.

3.8.5 Approval of the topic

This topic was approved by the Trakya University Ethics Committee to be researchable. The researcher submitted a proposal on this topic which clearly outlined what the study intents to achieve.

3.9. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study has its own limitations; the limitations of this study include that of the research method which is qualitative and also the data collection period. Some of the limitation of qualitative research is that it is time consuming and also personal biases.

During this research, the researcher faced a number of constraints hindering the undertaking of our research. They include time constraints and financial constraints. It was hard to meet key informants at the same time because they had other assignments.

[162]Miller.R.L and BrewerJ.D. (2003). Op cit
[163] Babbie.E, (2013). The *practice of social research, (13th Ed)*, United Kingdom Cengage learning.

This necessitated the researcher to make several requests and contacts and therefore increase the cost of research in terms of time and cash. However, the researcher made sure that appointments are made and thereafter, the necessary information was obtained for the success of the study. Incomplete detailed responses because of the busy schedule by respondents and considered to have interest in the study, some respondents took a long time before arriving at the interview place; the research was costly in terms of money needed for transport, and inadequate funds to facilitate the researcher.

CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION, INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the findings of the study that was done to determine Turkey's rising role in Africa. The major aim of this thesis is to find out the perception of Rwandans in towards Turkey's rising economic role in Africa in general and in Rwanda as a case study. Furthermore, data was collected through the use of semi-structured interview guide, to answer the research questions were presented, interpreted and analysed. Before the data on the specific objectives was presented, the background information of respondents was presented.

4.2 BACKGROUND INFORMATION OF RESPONDENTS

The data was collected from 5 Official from Rwanda Embassy in Ankara, 10 Rwanda businessmen living in Turkey, Ankara and 25 Rwandan studying in Turkey, making a total sample size of 40 respondents, by the use of interview guide. Both qualitative and quantitative data were presented, interpreted and analysed to answer the research questions.

4.2.1. Marital status of the respondents.

As the respondents have different marital status, it should effectively impact on the way they perceive economic role of Turkey in Africa. Different respondents attended to during the period of the study had different marital status as shown in the table below:

Table 1. Showing the marital status of the respondents.

Marital status	Frequency	Percentage (%)
married	8	20
single	29	72.5
divorced	2	5
widowed	1	2.5
Total	**40**	**100**

Source: Field research, 2017

From the table above it is clearly shown that 29 respondents 72% of the study population were single, 8 respondents were married representing 20% of the study population and respondents 5% of the study were divorced and 1 respondent widowed to representing 2.5% of the study population. These were able to avail the researcher with appropriate information concerning the topic of the study.

4.2.2 Gender of Respondents

Table 2: Gender of Respondents

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
female	15	37.5
male	25	62.5
Total	**40**	**100**

Source: Field research, 2017

From the table above, the research was composed of the respondents from all sexes, but males constituted the majority compared to their female counterparts, this was

62.5% as compared to 37.5%. This is because the interview has been addressed to the representative of Rwandan Community members in Turkey, where the majority are males.

4.2.3: Age of respondents

Table 3: Age of respondents

Age groups	Frequency	Percentage
16-19	3	7.5
20-24	5	12.5
25-29	20	50
30-34	5	12.5
Above 35	7	17.5
Total	**40**	**100**

Source: Field research, 2017

From the table above, the ages of the respondents ranged from 16 to 35 years and above and only 7.5% represented respondents aged below 20 years. This showed that the ages of the respondents were focused on and the majority of respondents were above 20 years old which is good because they knew about Turkey and Rwanda economic cooperation. Moreover, these respondents have been selected due to their life experiences and personal observations.

4.2.4 Education levels of respondents

Table 4: Education levels of respondents

Education levels	Frequency	Percentage
Phd degree (Tertiary education)	2	5
masters degree(Tertiary education)	10	25
bachelor degree(Secondary education)	25	62.5
secondary education	3	7.5
Total	**40**	**100**

Source: Field research, 2017

From the table above, the respondents were of different educational backgrounds. The study also included those who had acquired secondary education (7.5%), bachelor's degree (62.5%), Masters Degree (25%), and PhD (5%). This shows that the majority of the respondents was Intellectual and, therefore, could know the Rwanda and Turkey economic cooperation. This is because the majority of the respondents were University students and most of them are studying with Turkiye scholarships support which helps them to know more and have good perception about Turkey. These students could be supported to effectively contribute to the higher cooperation between Turkey and Rwanda if a well designed program is provided. Some of the respondents work at the Rwanda Embassy in Ankara and they contribute to better economic cooperation between the two countries.

4.2.5 Occupation of the respondents

Table 5: Occupation of the respondents

	Occupation	Frequency	Percentage
	students	25	62.5
	private sector	10	25
	civil servant	5	12.5
	Total	**40**	**100**

Source: Field research, 2017

From the table above, the respondents were of different occupational backgrounds. The study included those students (62.5%), private sector employees (25%), civil servants (12.5%). These show that the majority of the respondents were students followed by private sector employees and later on civil servants composed by Rwanda Embassy in Ankara employees. Therefore, they could have knowledge about Rwanda and Turkey economic cooperation. Employees know better because they are like a bridge between Rwanda and Turkey.

4.3 TURKEY AND AFRICA COOPERATION

Under this theme, the study is in general dealing with the issues of the understanding about Turkey and Africa foreign policies, the types of cooperation, and contribution of Turkey-Africa cooperation towards socio-developments.

4.3.1 Understanding of respondents about Turkey and Africa cooperation

Turkey and Africa cooperation is understood differently by different people and the table below presents the findings from the field study on the understanding of respondents about Turkey and Africa cooperation. The findings were analyzed though the use of vivo coding.

Table 6: Understanding of respondents about Turkey and Africa cooperation

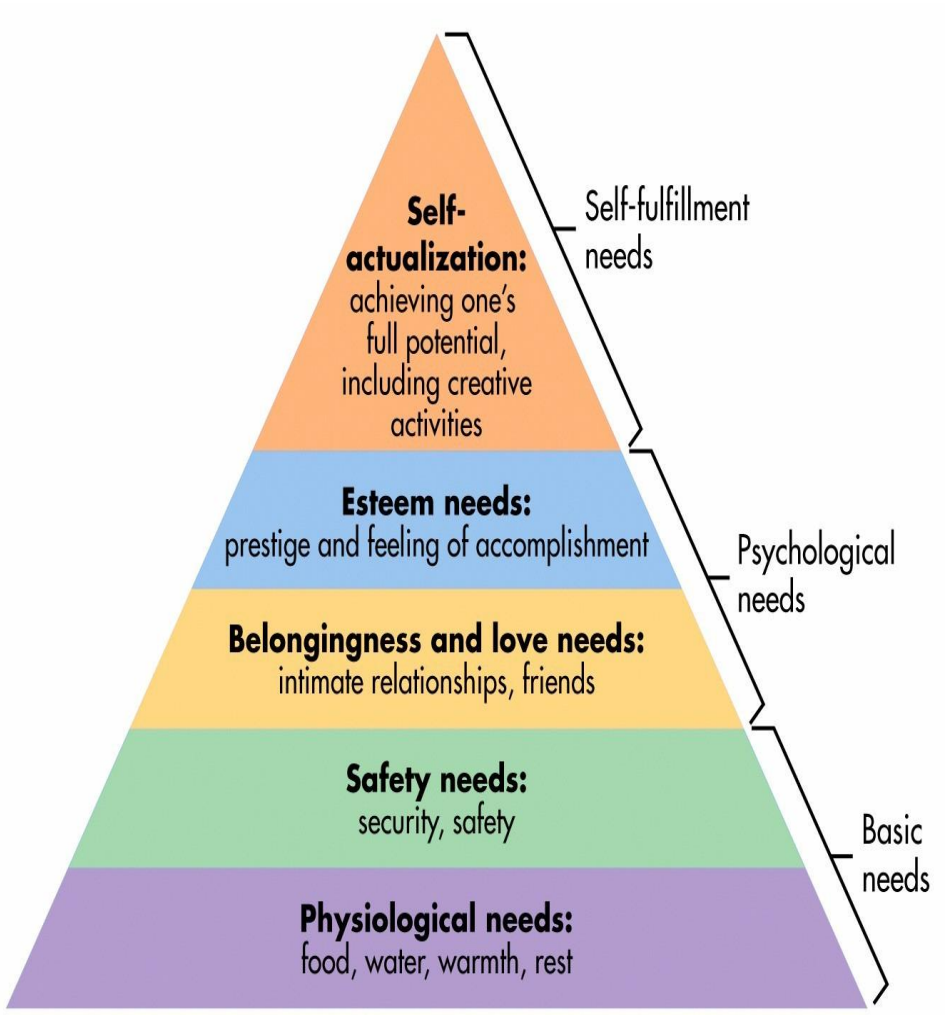
Understanding	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
multilateral cooperation and aid programs from Turkey	22	55
economic aid from Turkey to Africa	3	7.5
Turkey and Africa economic relation	5	12.5
economic cooperation between Turkey and Africa based on mutual respect	10	25
Total	**40**	**100**

Source: Field research, 2017

4.3.1.1. Multilateral cooperation and aid programs from Turkey

From the table above, 55% of the respondents understood that Turkey and Africa cooperation refers to the multilateral cooperation and aid programs from Turkey. The respondents were of the view that Turkey is investing money in Africa where it build news infrastructure such as hotels and recreation centres hence African governments receive revenues from that while local people become employed by Turkish companies. Infrastructures are the economic factors while superstructure relates to the legal, political as well as cultural structures that accompanies to and occurs with these economic factors[164]. Economic factors and economic conditions determine actions and social conditions. Superstructure institutions consist of parliament, education, church, mass media, judicial system and others[165]. According to the respondents, economic activities which get built in Africa with partnership of Turkey will provide African people with another level of living and addressing their daily problems not only by addressing basic needs problems but also addressing other human being needs[166].

[164]. *Ibid*
[165] *Ibid*
[166] Maslow A., (1943). A *Theory of Human Motivation*. Retrieved on 7 August 2017 from http://psychclassics.yorku.ca/Maslow/motivation.htm



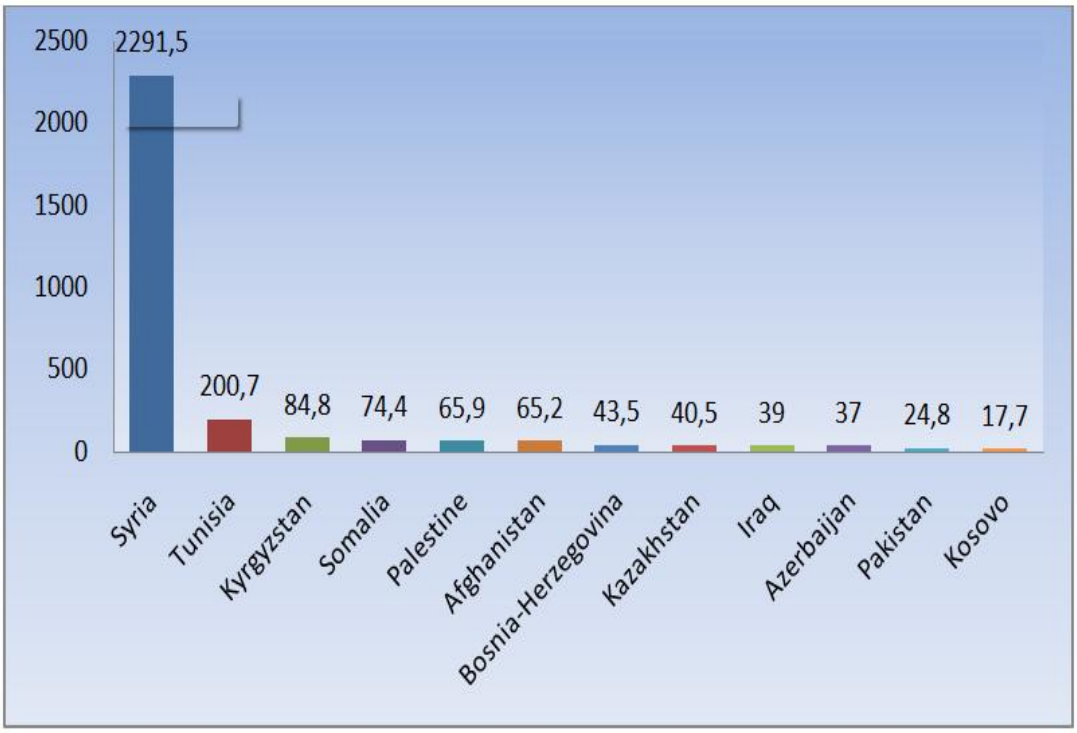
Source: McLeod S., (2017). Maslow's hierarchy of needs. Retrieved on 4 September 2017 from https://www.simplypsychology.org/maslow.html

4.3.1.2. Economic aid from Turkey to Africa

7.5% of the Respondents understood that Turkey and Africa cooperation refers to Economic aid from Turkey to Africa. According to these respondents, they think that cooperation between Turkey and Africa will help to improve the economy of some of the African countries which have close relations with Turkey. Since 2002 Turkey has been playing an active role in the fight against poverty hence increasing development

and humanitarian aid which are both part of Turkey's new foreign aid and international image[167].

Turkish foreign aid in 2014 (million USD)



Source: *Foreign aid has reached USD 6,4 billion in 2014 with 47,3% increase*, (n.d). Retrieved on 31 July 2017 from http://www.cometoturkey.com/turkeys-foreign-aid-has-reached-64-billion-in-2014-with-a-473-percent-increase.html

[167]Ozkan M., (2013) *Does "Rising Power" Mean "Rising Donor"? Turkey's Development Aid in Africa*, retrieved on 7 August 2017 from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/259196381_Does_Rising_Power_Mean_Rising_Donor_Turkey's_Development_Aid_in_Africa

According to the data above regarding the Turkish aid recipients in 2014, it shows that certain African countries are among the most beneficiaries of Turkey's economic aid such as Tunisia and Somalia[168].

4.3.1.3. Turkey and Africa economic relation

12.5% of the Respondents understood that Turkey and Africa cooperation refers to economic relation. These respondents think that only economic relations based on economic interests are the ones that link Turkey to Africa and make the two economic partners stay together. One respondent said that

"*Why Turkey should come to Africa if there is no economic interests that the Turkish Government want? Let us be sincere (.....) I think that in Africa there are natural resources and other market for Turkish goods that is why Turkey maybe attracted to Africa and it is good for both partners".*

According to Prescott (1986) he explains that in economics, Governments assume choice determination and they do business where they find interests[169]. Based on this Governments' rational choice, ıt seems that the respondent used rational theory which states that before taking an action, one must know and see in advance the interests that will result from his action. According to the respondents in this category Turkey's main actions in Africa relates to its economic goals and ambitions.

According to Shinn David (2005), in the year 2000, Turkey's trade volume with sub-Saharan Africa was USD 742 million, which increased to USD 6 billion in

[168] *Foreign aid has reached USD 6,4 billion in 2014 with 47,3% increase*, (n.d). Retrieved on 31 July 2017 from http://www.cometoturkey.com/turkeys-foreign-aid-has-reached-64-billion-in-2014-with-a-473-percent-increase.html

[169]Prescott E., (1986). *Theory Ahead of Business Cycle Measurement*, Carnegie Rochester Conference Series on Public Policy

2007 and nearly USD 16 billion in 2011 before falling again to USD 8.4 billion in 2014. Turkish share in total African (including North Africa) trade is 2.2%.[170] The Turkish Government projected that it will increase the trade volume with Africa to USD 50 billion by 2018.[171]

Because of this economic and trade cooperation, it may be a reason why12,5% of all respondents have the understanding that Turkey and Africa relations is based on economic factor because of the information they get from television and socio-media regarding Turkey's trade with Africa.

4.3.1.4. Economic cooperation between Turkey and Africa based on mutual respect

25% of the respondents understood that Turkey and Africa cooperation refers to the economic cooperation between Turkey and Africa based on mutual respect.

Turkey´s soft policy in Africa is a combination of aid, humanitarian policy, trade and economic relations, institutional and diplomatic relations, cultural and religious overtures. This multifaceted engagement towards Africa needs to be understood in individual policy context[172]. This goes from the perspectives of cultural and religious ties with North Africa and the Muslim Communities in many African countries, to the humanitarian aid and development assistance, to the provision of assistance in disaster relief, health, education, and agricultural projects.[173] Among Turkey's actors in Africa Policy, there are: TUSKON (the confederation of

[170] Shinn D., (2005). *Turkey Engagement in Sub-Saharan Africa Shifting Alliances and Strategic Diversification*, Chattam House Research Paper , London
[171]*Turkey FM: Trade with Africa to hit USD 50 billion in five years*, (2014). Retrieved on 9 July 2017from http://aa.com.tr/en/world/turkey-fm-trade-with-africa-to-hit-50-bn-in-five-years/99677
[172] Ozkan, M. (2010). *Turkey´s rising role in Africa*. Turkish Policy Quarterly, 9 (4): 93-105. Retrieved on 10November 2017 from http://turkishpolicy.com/Files/ArticlePDF/turkeys-rising-role-in-africa-winter-2010-en.pdf
[173] *Ibid*

businessmen and industrialists of Turkey)[174] member federations also have been engaged in organizing trade and investment delegations to Africa.[175] Secondly, the Civil Society, represented by the Turkish NGOs such as *Insan Hak ve Hürriyetleri İnsani Yardim Vakfi* (the Foundation of Humanitarian Aid for Fundamental Rights and Freedoms, (IHH). The IHH for instance, is operating in 42 African countries and playing an important role in Turkish humanitarian aid by carrying-out wells-drilling projects in Somalia, Cameroon, Kenya and Ethiopia, setting up schools, hospitals, and attending thousands of Africans patients with its Cataract Projects in Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, Togo, Chad, Niger, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Malawi, and Benin.[176]

Thirdly, *Diyanet* is also another actor in Turkey-Africa relations. It, among many other Turkish religious organizations, has been conducting cultural and religious diplomacy with the tacit encouragement and support of Ankara. This is another dimension of Ankara´s multidimensional engagement towards Africa. Strangely enough, though Religion is not part of Turkey´s foreign policy (at least from official perspective), it is however, a facet of Ankara´s foreign policy in Africa[177]. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that Ankara´s Africa policy is not just with the countries where Muslims are majority, it is also with African countries such as the Central African Republic where Muslims are minority or Angola where native Muslim population is almost non-existent.

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[174]TUSKON is non-govenmental and non-profit umbrella organization for 7 business federations and 172 business associations. TUSKON today represents 43,000 businesspeople and more than 120,000 companies and it is the biggest business NGO in the country.

[175] Gunay M., (2011). *Turkey-Africa Relations* - CHATHAM HOUSE Transcript retrieved on 3 April 2017 from https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/public/Meetings/Meeting%20Transcripts/140411gunay.pdf

[176] Bilgic, A. & Nascimento D., (2014). *Turkey´s new focus on Africa: causes and challenges*. Oslo, Norway: Noref Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre.

[177] Ozkan, M. (2013). *Turkey's Religious and Socio-Political Depth in Africa: Emerging Powers in Africa*. London, UK: London School of Economics. LSE IDEAS Special Report no. 016: 45- 50.

Fourthly, the Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency (TIKA), which was founded in 1992, and set up its first Africa liaison offices in 2005 in Addis Ababa, in 2006 in Dakar, and in 2007 in Khartoum. This agency has been opening new offices and engaging in many development assistance related projects throughout Africa. In 2011, it opened new offices in Mogadishu and Tripoli and in 2012 in Nairobi, Cairo and Tunisia. Currently, it has expanded its operations in more than 30 African countries and has eleven regional offices. Its projects are mostly related to education, water and sanitation, agricultural development, and support for local institutions for capacity building and technical assistance. In short, according to the vice President of the Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency (TIKA), Dr. Mustafa Sahin the purposes of TIKA´s projects and activities are to foment long term social and economic infrastructure of Africa.[178]

Trade, especially exports, is one of the most important drivers of Turkey's recent emphasis on Africa. None the less, while Turkish exports to SSA have grown impressively since 2007, as at 2013 they remained only about 2.7 per cent of the total value of Turkey's exports worldwide, and well below exports to North Africa (6.6 per cent) see Table 1. Furthermore, although Turkey's imports from SSA are increasing in value terms, they actually decreased as a percentage of total imports between 2007 (1.7 per cent) and 2013 (1.0 per cent). Bilateral trade figures with SSA countries have fallen short of government targets since 2012, and their current standing means that the targets set for 2015 and 2023 are unlikely to be reached.[179] When the figures for North Africa are excluded, Turkish–African trade remains surprisingly small for a rapidly developing market with a population approaching 1 billion.

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[178] Sahin M., (2007). *Development Aid in African countries and TIKA*" *in Common Strategic Vision Development Project Diplomatic Representatives of Turkey and African Countries*, 3 rd Workshop Final Report

[179] Shinn D., (2015). *Turkey's engagement ind Sub-Shara Africa: Shifting Alliances and Strategic Diversio*n retrieved on 4 May 2017 from https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/chathamhouse/field/field_document/20150909TurkeySubSaharanAfricaShinn.pdf

Turkey's trade with Africa, $ million

	2007			2013		
Region	Exports	Imports	Total	Exports	Imports	Total
SSA	1,946	2,821	4,767	4,103	2,522	6,625
World	107,271	170,062	277,333	151,802	251,661	403,463
SSA (%)	1.8	1.7	1.7	2.7	1.0	1.6
North Africa	4,029	2,285	6,314	10,041	3,508	13,549
North Africa (%)	3.8	1.3	2.3	6.6	1.4	3.4

Source: Turkish Statistical Institute.

Turkey's exportation to Su-Sahara is dominated by manufactured goods, iron and steel products, food and consumer products, textiles, cement, plastics and various industrial products.[180] In August 2014 Turkey's former Defence Minister Ismet Yilmaz announced that the Turkish defense industry intended to sign arms market related contracts with Sub Sahara African (SSA) countries.[181]

[180] i*bid*

[181] Young A., (2014). *Turkey is boosting weapons exports with a focus on Africa, here's who benefits*, retrieved on 10 September 2017 from http://www.ibtimes.com/turkey-boosting-weapons-exports-focus-africa-heres-who-benefits-1649300

Bottom line, Turkey imports from SSA primary products such as cotton, minerals, precious stones, coal, leather, greasy seeds, timber and foods. In 2012, 7% of Turkish crude oil came from Africa, but the country has become more and more active in the emerging energy sector of the SSA.[182] In recent years, Turkey has signed energy cooperation agreements with countries such as Cameroon, Kenya, Niger and Sudan among others.[183]

In August 2014, the ministry of energy and natural resources stated that Angola was among the priorities of Turkish Petroleum Corporation (TPAO) for crude oil extraction investments.[184] Also in 2014, Turkey Karadeniz Holding agreed with Ghana State Electricity Company for the construction of a two-sided power plant that would cover about 20% of Ghana's electricity needs for a period of 10 years. However, from the middle of 2015, regulation was a constitutional issue at the Supreme Court of Ghana.[185]

Furthermore, Turkey signed a free trade agreement (FTA) with Mauritius in 2011 and is currently in talks with Cameroon, DRC and Seychelles.[186] Turkey also plans to sign an FTA with the East African Community by 2019.[187]

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[182] [182]US Energy Information Administration, (2014). *Annual Energy Outlook 2014 with projections to 2040* retrieved on 10 September 2017 from https://www.eia.gov/outlooks/aeo/pdf/0383(2014).pdf

[183] *Turkey plans to invest in Africa's energy industry,* (2014). Retrieved ON 10 September 2017 from https://www.dailysabah.com/energy/2014/08/18/turkey-plans-to-invest-in-africas-energy-industry

[184] *Turkey's TPAO to seek oil in Angola*, (2014). Retrieved on 7 June 2017 from https://www.dailysabah.com/energy/2014/08/21/turkeys-tpao-to-seek-oil-in-angola

[185] Evrim E., (2014). *Turkey's power-ship maker Karadeniz to supply electricity to Ghana*. Retrieved on 8 August 2017 from http://www.reuters.com/ article/2014/06/17/turkey-ghana-power-idUSL5N0OY1WC20140617

[186] Ersoy N., (2013). *Free trade agreements of Turkey, PowerPoint presentation of Turkey*. Retrieved on 7 May 2017 from http://yoikk.gov. tr/upload/IDB/FTAsCompatibilityMode.pdf.

Turkey's top five trading partners in SSA, $ million

	2006			**2012**		
Country	Exports	Imports	Total	Exports	Imports	Total
South Africa	598	1,793	2,391	382	1,290	1,672
Nigeria	83	380	463	439	113	552
Ghana	33	57	90	224	303	527
Ethiopia	92	24	116	395	47	442
Sudan	217	8	225	280	11	291

Source: International Monetary Fund, *Direction of Trade Statistics Yearbook 20*

According this table above it clearly shows that Turkey is doing business with Africa which is strong probability why my respondents who make 25% of the respondent have an understanding that Turkey and Africa cooperation refers to economic cooperation based on mutual respect.

[187] Martyn D. & Miller M., (2013). *Turkey cashes in on outreach Africa. Retrieved on 1 August 2017 from https://mg.co.za/article/2013-02-01-00-turkey-cashes-in-on-outreach-africa*

4.3.2 Understanding of respondents about Turkey and Rwanda cooperation

Turkey and Rwanda cooperation is understood by Rwandans on a different level following a study carried out among Rwandans living in Turkey. The findings were analysed through the use of vivo coding.

Table 7: Understanding of respondents about Turkey and Rwanda cooperation

Understanding	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
trade based cooperation and education based cooperations between Turkey and Rwanda	25	62.5
financial support based cooperation between Turkey and Rwanda	2	5
education and Security based cooperation between Turkey and Rwanda	6	15
economic cooperation between Turkey and Rwanda based on mutual respect and trade	7	17
Total	**40**	**100**

Source: Field research, 2017

4.3.2.1 Trade based cooperation and education based cooperation between Turkey and Rwanda

When asked to explain what makes Rwanda and Turkey important to each other, Mr. William NKURUNZIZA, the Ambassador of Rwanda to Turkey said that Both Presidents Tayyip Erdogan of Turkey and his countepert of Rwanda Paul Kagame give more value to the bilateral relationships for both countries given they share the same view about the creation of democratic institutions.[188] Also Turkey and Rwanda share the same view when it comes to world security, peace, human dignity as well as national sauvereignty. At the international level Turkey and Rwanda share similar positions on questions such as climatic change, terrorism, *the inequity in the international multilateral system* as well as poverty that continue to menace many people including people within Turkey and Rwanda.[189]

On the other hand when asked about major areas of cooperation between the two countries in an exclusive interview by a Rwandan online newspaper "*igihe.com*", the Turkish Ambassador to Rwanda Mr. Mehmet Raif KARACA spoke that:

> *" Everybody is talking about the Kigali Convention Centre that was completed with Turkish skills support; but this is the beginning, more is yet to come.We are hoping that many other things will follow this other Turkish company HAKAN to design, build, and finance, own and operate an 80-megawatt peat power plant in Rwanda. It will produce 80-megawatt and is expected to increase to 100 in the future. Many delegates are coming; looking at investment opportunities. As you know, we have Turkish Airlines, and others. According to Rwanda*

[188] İnanç Y., (2016*). Rwanda awaits Turkish investors* retrieved on 3 July 2017 from https://www.dailysabah.com/africa/2016/10/29/rwanda-awaits-turkish-investors

[189] *ibid*

> *Develop Board (RDB), Turkey has invested and got 13 investment licenses in the last five years. So it's not bad as we just started to do. Turkish Airlines flies seven days a week, which is quite exceptional because they started to fly in 2012-13 and several times a week, it's very high for a week."*[190]

From the table above, 62.5% of the respondents understood that Turkey and Rwanda cooperation refers to the Trade based cooperation and education based cooperation between Turkey and Rwanda.

4.3.2.2 Financial support based cooperation between Turkey and Rwanda

5% understood that Turkey and Rwanda cooperation refers to financial support based cooperation between Turkey and Rwanda. Some of the responses are as follows;

One student who studies banking stated that; "*The relationship between Turkey and Rwanda is more based on the financial support, some of the funds Rwanda use to build and develop schools is from Turkey, this indeed shows that the relationship between Turkey and Rwanda is more of a financial cooperation"*

Similarly, another student who studies economics stated that "Turkey usually offers financial support to Rwanda especially in the areas of education and health".

[190]Turkey-Rwanda relations for new height (2017). Retrieved on 23 September 2017 from http://en.igihe.com/news/turkey-rwanda-relations-for-new-heights.html

4.3.2.3 Education and Security based cooperation between Turkey and Rwanda

15% understood that Turkey and Rwanda cooperation refers to the Education and Security based cooperation between Turkey and Rwanda. Given that most of the students are under the *Türkiye Scholarships* program, this shows that Turkey plays a major role in the education of Rwandan students. In addition since Rwanda[191] and Turkey[192] both have peacekeepers forces in Sudan, these students believe that security affairs are the base of cooperation between the two countries.

4.3.2.4 Economic cooperation between Turkey and Rwanda based on mutual respect and trade

17% understood that Turkey and Rwanda cooperation refers to the economic cooperation between Turkey and Rwanda based on mutual respect and trade.

When asked about what Rwanda can offer to Turkish investors, the Rwandan Ambassador to Turkey said that Turkey is a new partner in sub-saharan Africa and that it is true that Turkish companies are stil testing the market. To Turkish investors, Rwanda gives a safe, non-corrupt investment opportunity with government protection them as investors. He reiterated that the world bank with its Doing Business Report had listed Rwanda as the 2nd best place in Africa to do business and 52nd in the World. Additionaly, despite the fact that Rwanda‘s economic growth was at 8% throughout last decades, Rwanda still needs more investments in different economic sectors such as energy, infrastructure, housing, hotels, agriculture among others. Turkish companies are

[191]*Rwanda ready to send troops for UN mission in Sudan,* (2005). Retrieved on 3 September 2017 from http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article8367
[192]Sudan and Turkey discuss military cooperation in Istanbul, (2017). Retrieved on 3 September from http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article62413

believed to have experience and technical expertise within these sectors and therefore they can be long-term economic partners.

The Ambassador declared that in case Rwanda works with Turkey in the energy sector, Rwanda can generate up to 500 megawatt in 2018 when uses they resources such as methane gas, hydro, geothermal as well as solar energy. The government gives special agreements to private investors in the energy sector and there is a market of over USD 30 billion as well as other attractive business opportunity available for Turkey's investors.

Moreover apart from investments, Rwanda is geographically well located in Central-East Africa in an area of around 80 million population including people from Tanzania, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo and Uganda countries who can be reachable by road. Therefore Rwanda's location can be an "exportation centre" for Turkish goods and services in that region. "[193]

In the energy sector, a purchase and electricity concession agreement was signed in 2016 between the government and HAKAN firm to design, build, finance, own and operate an 80-megawatt power plant in Rwanda.[194] According to Mr. James Musoni, the Rwandan minister of infrastructure, The Government has no share in the project but will only purchase the power once production starts. He said that Rwanda has a problem of energy. The goal is to exceed twice the capacity that was available. The 80 megawatts are an important supplement to Rwanda energy sector and recognized the special initiatives like that of Turkish company HAKAN, informing that maintenance of

[193] İnanç Y., (2016*), Op cit*
[194] Nkurunziza M., (2016). Turkish *Company to invest USD 400 million in peat power plant*, retrieved on 10 September 2017from http: //allafrica.com/stories/201602110968.html

construction, development investments and sustainable electricity generation plants do provide a big economic value.[195]

According to the HAKAN Chairman Mr. Karasoy, said that a good investment environment that he attributed to good public administration was a big factor the attracted them to the country. Regarding employment opportunities, the project will provide more than 700 jobs to Rwandans starting from a $ 400 million (approx. Rwf300 billion) investment project, which is due to produce electricity from peat extracted from the southern Akanyaru peat probably in the Gisagara region, and will also invest in corporate social responsibility projects to support agriculture, especially with irrigation technology.[196]

Therefore, only 5 % of the respondents poorly understood the concept of Turkey and Rwanda cooperation. Since the majority respondents understood what Turkey and Rwanda cooperation is, it is a good factor to determine how Turkey's economic role in Africa affects Rwandan population's perception about Turkey.

4.3.3 Understanding of respondents about Turkish companies working in Rwanda

In Rwanda, there is a number of Turkish companies and the responded have given their view about the Turkish companies that are functioning in Rwanda. The findings were analysed through the use of vivo coding.

[195] *Ibid*
[196] *Ibid*

Table 8: Understanding of respondents about Turkish companies in Rwanda

Understanding	Frequency	Percentage
construction and trade companies	35	87.5
education companies	3	7.5
food companies	2	5
Total	**40**	**100**

Source: Field research, 2017

4.3.3.1 Construction and trade companies

According to the table above, 35 respondents 87.5% of the study population revealed that in Rwanda there are Turkish companies which operate in the construction and trade sector. This is mainly due to better quality service given by Turkish companies, Rwanda's good policies of doing business as well as Turkey and Rwanda good political and economic relations.

4.3.3.2 Education companies

The table above showed that 3 respondents 7.5% of the study, they revealed that Education companies are very important for the development of Rwanda and Turkey economic cooperation. They revealed that with Turkish companies operating in Rwanda, and with construction of many Turkish schools in Rwanda this will maintain and increase economic socio-economic development of the two countries.

On the other hand it has been responded that Rwanda's companies operating in Turkey are trade based business and the majority of them are clothing shops and consultancy related businesses.

4.3.4 Extent to which respondents were engaged in rating the Turkish companies operating in Rwanda

Turkish companies were working in Rwanda due to the good political will of Rwanda and Turkey in doing business and economic cooperation. The table below presents the findings on the extent to which respondents were engaged in rating the service delivered by Turkish companies. The findings were analysed through the use of vivo coding.

Table 9: Extent to which respondents were engaged in rating Turkish companies in Rwanda

Rating the service delivered by Turkish companies	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
excellent	10	25
very good	25	62.5
good	3	7.5
Fair	2	5
Bad	0	0
Total	**40**	**100**

Source: Field research, 2017

From the table above, 25 % of the respondents agreed to that the service being delivered by Turkish companies are excellent. The majority of 62.5 said that the Turkish companies in Rwanda are giving services on a very good level.

This shows how African people in general and Rwandese people in particular are very well rating Turkish companies which are now operating in Rwanda mainly due to their big construction companies. Majority of the respondents rated the companies excellent or very good because they know someone who work in those companies and those people they know might be pleased by their jobs that is what the respondents perceive the companies to be excellent and very good.

4.3.5 Extent to which respondents were engaged in comparing the Turkey-Rwanda economic cooperation vs Western Countries- Rwanda cooperation

In order to see the importance of Turkish economic cooperation in Rwanda, a series of questions were responded and findings are in the table below. The findings were analysed through the use of vivo coding.

Table 10: Extent to which respondents were engaged in comparing Turkey-Rwanda economic cooperation vs Western Countries- Rwanda cooperation

Turkey-Rwanda economic cooperation Vs western Countries- Rwanda cooperation	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
western countries-Rwanda cooperation is more important	22	55
the same but Turkey is more of helping than other western countries	18	45
it is the same	0	0
Total	**40**	**100**

Source: Field research, 2017

4.3.5.1 Turkey-Rwanda economic cooperation vs Western Countries-Rwanda cooperation

From the table above, the comparison of Turkish-Rwanda economic cooperation Vs Western countries-Rwanda economic cooperation, the findings are ranked as follows: Western countries and Rwanda economic cooperation came first as more important according to the respondents with 55%. Actually these respondents said that Western countries are more helping than Turkey. They said that In Rwanda you can see roads, hospitals, stadiums and a lot of other infrastructures which are built in a framework of cooperation between Rwanda and many European countries. A student studying Law said that:

> *"Europeans and Americans are more of help in Rwanda. Apart from having more European infrastructure in Rwanda, they even send money to support our budget. In addition you will see countries like the Netherlands, Sweden, Italy, Germany and others sending money to support our judicial system but I did not hear Turkey doing anything like that."*

In fact, it is obvious that these informants making 50% of all respondents think that Western countries are more helpful to Rwanda and the reason might be related to the fact that relationship between Rwanda and Europe started from so long-time in the 19th Century[197].

[197] Sellstrom T. et Al., (n,d), *The International response to conflict and Genocide: Lesson from the Rwanda experience*, retrieved on 10 September 2017 from https://www.oecd.org/derec/unitedstates/50189653.pdf

4.3.5.2 The same but Turkey is more of helping than other Western Countries

From the table above, the comparison of Turkish-Rwanda economic cooperation Vs Western countries-Rwanda economic cooperation, the findings are ranked as follows: Economic cooperation between Turkey and Rwanda is of the same level as economic cooperation between Rwanda and Western countries (Europe and America) with the only difference that Turkey is more helping that other countries with 45%.

When asked why they think Turkey is of more help than other European countries, they said that "*Turkey is a new economic partner with Rwanda and Turkish embassy in Rwanda was recently inaugurated. The level of Rwanda and Turkey's cooperation is at the same level as that of other European countries' cooperation. However, it can be even better given that Turkey never put conditions to Rwanda. There are European partners who say that if Rwanda doesn't do this and that, they will cut the pledged money or cut ties with Rwanda but Turkey never does that."*

4.3.5.3 The same

Actually among all respondents, no one said that Turkey-Rwanda economic cooperation vs Western Countries- Rwanda cooperation is at the same level as it is shown on the table above. However when asked what they expect from this Turkey-Rwanda economic relations, 38 out of 40 of the respondents which make 95% said that they wanted more bilateral cooperation that will be getting better for both sides.

Regarding the comparison of Rwanda-regional African cooperation comparing to Rwanda-turkey cooperation 30 out of 40 of the respondents which make 75% believe

that Turkey is a key model when it comes to development from almost no natural resources but only people that match exactly Rwanda, we have no natural resources but we have people. Also Turkey has gained world recognition and still works hard to get further with its vision 2020, so it is a good example and a good partner to work with in many areas where we still have not reached at least a middle world status.

4.3.6 Extent to which respondents were approving and believing in the Turkey-Rwanda relationship

Rwanda-Turkey economic relations have greatly contributed towards economic development of Rwandans in that it has influenced Turkish people and Rwandan people to carry different economic activities in different developmental sectors such as constructions of buildings, schools, hospitals, trade which made and as a result the responded gave they perception in the table below. The findings were analysed through the use of descriptive coding.

Table 11: Extent to which respondents perceived Turkey-Rwanda economic relations

perception of Rwandans towards Rwanda-Turkey economic relations	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
highly trust and support the cooperation	38	95
fairly support the cooperation	2	5
no objection	0	0
Total	**40**	**100**

Source: Field research, 2017

The table above clearly shows that 38 respondents who make 95% of the study population, revealed that they highly trust and support Rwanda-Turkish economic

cooperation. With Rwanda's policy of have its own industries known as "made in Rwanda" economic policies, Turkey is regarded not only as an economic partner but also as a model. That is why many respondents want deeper economic cooperation with Turkey so that Rwanda economic policy makers will gain Turkish expertise mainly in textile and food processing industries as well as expertise in construction and transportation sectors.

Only 2 out of 40 of the respondents which make them 5% have argued that even though Turkey is a good economic partner, they are other countries like china, India, USA as well as other African countries like Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania which are equally doing well, so Turkey should do better especially in terms of Turkish visa process and application so that even Rwandans take advantages of these to come to do businesses in Turkey and therefore they fairly support the cooperation.

4.3.7 Question about the problems that can constrain Turkey-Rwanda cooperation

Rwanda-Turkey economic relations are good and beneficial for both countries. In this world of business, countries tend to look where they find more interests. During Interviews, the respondents have given they perception about how they see problems that can mitigate Turkey and Rwanda economic cooperation. The findings were analyzed through the use of descriptive coding.

Table 12: problems that can constrain Rwanda-Turkey economic cooperation

problems that can constrain Turkey-Rwanda cooperation	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
other foreign countries that might want to stand across Turkey's fast development might use Rwanda to get to their benefits	23	57.5
geographic situation problems	10	25
culture, religious and historic differences	7	17.5
Total	40	100

Source: Field research, 2017

4.3.7.1 Other foreign countries that might want to stand across Turkey's fast development might use Rwanda to get to their benefits

The Table above clearly shows that 23 respondents 57.5% of study population revealed that other foreign countries that might want to stand across Turkey's fast development might use us to get to their benefits. Turkey as an important partner that is taking a big part in Africa, there are other countries which can just want to compete with Turkey and use Rwanda in political and economic rivalries.

When asked how other foreign governments can use Rwanda to get to their profit while mitigating Rwanda-Turkey relations, one of the respondents said:

"You see Turkey and Rwanda Governments are in good relations when it comes to politics and diplomatic level.

> *However, there other big economic actors who cannot be happy because of this good relations especially the western countries as well as China and India whose interests are being taken by Turkey. For example the construction of Kigali Convention Center worth 300 USD millions (...) the construction contract had been signed before by Chinese company but later on was taken by Turkish Construction Company following Chinese companies failure to respect contract agreement terms. I think economic competition can create political problems and foreign governments can support mafia organization just to destabilise other governments."*

In this case it seems that honesty and mutual economic respect as well as having strong cooperation willingness at strategic level are necessary for fruitful economic development for both countries in order to address any problem that can be caused by a third party and this view was shared by the majority of respondents who make 57,5% of all interviewees.

4.3.7.2. Geographical situation problems

As indicated by the Table 12, ten respondents who make 25% of all interviewees said that geographic situation of Turkey and Rwanda are a threat to economic cooperation given that Rwanda is very far from Turkey and goods exported from one country to another become expensive due to the high transport cost. Another respondent said that since Rwanda does not touch to the sea, the problem will persist unless the two governments find a way to make air transport cheap for the two countries in order to facilitate transport. One of the respondent questioned why Rwanda's airline company *Rwandair* is not operating in Turkey while *Turkish airline* is flying to Rwanda

given the *Rwandair's* capabilities to *travels* to African countries, China, India, England, Belgium and others[198]. that can be a challenge to the trade and business from both countries because transportation of goods in very needed when it comes to doing international trade. Also the lack of interests on both sided have been said by seven respondent who made 17.5%. In fact is of high importance that economic policy makers of Rwanda and Turkey create economic environment where two countries see interests of their people because without interest no action can be done.

4.3.7.3. Culture, religious and historic differences

As it is indiquated in the Table above Seven respondents who make 17.5% of study population revealed that differences in terms of culture, religion and history can hinder economic cooperation between the two countries. That it is why Ankara´s reminding of its historic and cultural ties with Africa, and at times the utterance of policy statements against the colonial past of "others", and the religious dimension of its engagement with some African countries including Rwanda ought to be well defined.[199] Not doing so could lead to a misinterpretation of its policies with other competing and established actors in the Continent. In addition, another challenge that may lie ahead in Ankara´s Africa policy may be found in NATO´s policy. As a member of NATO, Turkey´s is obliged to go along with the policy of the organization. For example, many African countries were against the intervention of NATO in 2011 in Libya even though they proved incapable to stop it.[200] That is, if this situation were to be repeated, Turkey would have a bit of an explanation to give to its African partners in general and Rwanda in particular.

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[198] *RwandAir to start flights to Brussels airport on the 14 July 2017, (2017).* Retrieved on 10 August 2017 from https://www.rwandair.com/media-center/news-press-releases/article/rwandair-to-start-flights-to-brussels-airport-in-july-2017

[199] Mahamat K. Dodo, (2016). *Understanding new Turkey-Africa Relations: Rationale and Challenges*, Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences Volume 7 No 4,612-642

[200] *Ibid*

Actually, the respondents were saying this given the information they have old colonization time but at the same time they trust they leaders and they have trust and optimism in this economic cooperation between Turkey and Rwanda. One of the respondents said that:

> *"We want to feel we are free from anything that wants to dominate us. Be it big powers from western countries, be it poverty, be it anything or anyone that want to put us down, we don't want it to happen. We have our own dignity. I hope having partners like Turkey will strengthen us (…) not getting us out of our way of being a dignified and developed nation."*

The truth of the story is that prior to the colonial period, that is, before 1900, Catholic missionaries began to live in Rwanda, where there was strong unity among Rwandans: no ethnic warfare took place between them before this year[201]. Unfortunately, during the ethnic identification period, the colonialists and missionaries adopted and introduced a position that changed Rwandan socio-groups into races or ethnics. The Belgian colonial administration implemented this position through political, social and administrative ways. As a result, the Belgians denied all Hutus, Twas and women from positions of responsibility, while using at the same time a small group of lineages close to the royal family to control others, thus making the new system of administration not inclusive[202].

According to the respondents' views, they still resent Rwanda's recent history which was characterized by Genocide committed against Tutsis but still they have

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[201] Office of the President of the Republic of Rwanda, (1999). The Unity of Rwandans before the colonial period and under the colonial rule until the First Republic, retrieved on 15 January 2017 from https://repositories.lib.utexas.edu/bitstream/handle/2152/4918/2379.pdf?sequence=1

[202] Mucyo Report, the Role of France in the 1994 Rwandan Genocide retrieved from https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/1392372/footnote-94-mucyo-commission-report.pdf

optimism given the trust they have in new leaders of Rwanda and also they see Turkey as a partner.

4.3.8 Question about what should be done to increase the level of Turkey-Rwanda Economic Cooperation

Turkey's economic cooperation with Rwanda is a very good step on both sides. Rwanda as a country that is developing itself following the genocide committed against Tutsis in 1994, One of the two pillars of Rwanda foreign policy is to contribute to wealth creation through development cooperation, investment and tourism promotion, transfer of knowledge and technology, equitable world trade and regional integration. Turkey is regarded as a model country given its economic development and its place in the international arena.

The table below shows what should be done to increase the level of Rwanda-Turkey economic cooperation. The findings were analysed through the use of descriptive coding.

Table 13 showing solution to what should be done to increase the level of Turkey-Rwanda Economic Cooperation

solution to what should be done to increase the level of Turkey-Rwanda Economic Cooperation	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
field visits and experienced manpower	15	37.5

development of cultural activities	8	20
remove taxes on goods from both countries	10	25
put in place special economic agreements	7	17.5
Total	40	100

Source: Field research, 2017

4.3.8. 1 Field visits and experienced manpower

According to the table above 15 respondents 37.5% of the study population said that both side should make more site visits and use the manpower graduating from Turkey to help this cooperation grow stronger. They think that "*the Rwandan graduates from Turkey know both countries better that anyone and they are the one who are best placed to work for the cooperation development of two countries mainly when it comes to working at the embassy level or other ministerial offices in charge of cooperation between Turkey and Rwanda".*

4.3.8. 2 Development of cultural activities

As confirmed by 18 respondents which are 20% cited that more embassy activities on both sides to enhance cooperation should be done regularly in order to enhance social, cultural and economic activities.

Turkey repealed the need for visa application in favor of diplomatic passports holders with 17 African countries. African businessmen and tourists traveling with Turkish airlines with Schengen, US and UK valid visa can apply for Turkish visa at the Ataturk Istanbul airport. In addition the Yunus Emre Association has established a

Turkish culture centre at Khartoum, Sudan. This association plans to open additional centers in Pretoria, Djibouti, the Gambia and Niger[203].

The respondents have a view that if this same policy is done between Turkey and Rwanda not only on diplomatic level but on individuals level also it can enhance ties and economic activities can develop because of mutual trust and friendship between two nations.

4.3.8. 3 Addressing taxes problems

10 respondents which make 25% think believe that removing taxes on goods from both countries is a good tool to increase the level of Turkey and Rwanda economic cooperation.

During the budget presentation of the year 2017-2018, the minister of Finance and Economic planning of Rwanda, Mr. Claver Gatete has declared that the government selected key sectors are cement, sugar, rice and clothing believed to reduce imports by local production while supporting exports through the export promotion fund[204]. Moreover , Minister Gatete said that:

> "*High priority (for export promotion) will be given to economic activities which will either increase export revenues or reduce import volumes. The identified key sectors for fostering economic activity include textiles, garments and leather industry, agriculture export crops, agri-business,*

[203] Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *idem*
[204] Trade mark Est Africa, (2016), Outcry in Rwanda as Government doubles tax on second hand clothes and shoes, retrieved from https://www.trademarkea.com/news/outcry-in-rwanda-as-govt-doubles-tax-on-second-hand-clothes-shoes/

construction, livestock, wood industry, minerals, tourism and ICT and trade and investment facilitation."[205]

The respondents were of a view that with Rwanda continue to facilitate for foreign investments and while solving tax problems that may mitigate foreign investments in general and Turkish investments in particular, it can be an important step towards effective economic cooperation. One of the respondents said that "*Turkey on the other hand should make taxes affordable because there are Rwandans who can be stopped to do business in Turkey because of higher tax rates in Turkey"*

4.3.8. 4 Special economic agreements

Lastly there are 7 respondents who make 17.5% of the study population and they have said putting in place special economic agreements between Turkey and Rwanda can be a good way to increase the economic cooperation between Rwanda and Turkey.

The respondents were of the view that following Rwanda economic agreements' with foreign countries, such as the Bilateral Investment Treaty (BIT) between the United States of America and Rwanda which define the broad terms and conditions under which private individuals and companies invest in each other's territory[206], seven respondents who make 17.5% of the study population wish that Rwanda can sign such agreements with Turkey. According to them, Turkey-Rwanda special economic agreements can foster trade cooperation and increase Rwanda's economic development.

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[205] *Ibid*

[206] African Growth And Opportunity Act, (2006). *Rwanda- United States*, retrieved on 2 March 2017 from https://agoa.info/bilaterals/downloads.html

4.3.9. Conclusion

Initially, we argued that only economic variable have role in shaping perception but we also found that cooperation in education and security also affect public attitudes towards states cooperation and they contribute to positive attitude.

The research findings revealed that Rwandans living in Turkey perceive Turkey's rising role in Africa in a high positive way. Although Turkey and African cooperation started from a relatively short time, it has played a significant role towards Africa's social and economic development. Rwandans living in Turkey believe *that Turkey has enhanced economic development and reduced any doubt about its African agenda*.

This makes reference to the speech by Turkish Foreign Minister Mevlut Cavusoglu speaking to reporters in Rwanda on 31 May 2016, when he said that "*Africa has a very important place in Turkey's foreign policy and that Turkey is one of the African Union's strategic partners"*.[207]

The happiness of Rwandans living in Turkey towards Turkey is shared with Rwandan Minister of foreign Affairs, Louise Mushikiwabo. During a visit to Rwanda by Turkish Minister of Foreigh Affairs Mr. Mevlut Cavusoğlu on 31 May 2016, his Rwandese counterpart Mrs Louise Mushikiwabo said that In the last five to seven years, many developments have taken place in the fields of trade and investment between Turkey and Rwanda ... There are many opportunities for the Turkish business community in Rwanda (...) Turkish energy and construction companies are now in Rwanda in the energy and construction sectors. In addition, there are other opportunities in textile industry. She declared that actually Rwanda wants to take advantage of

[207] Turkey sees Real, Reliable Partners in Africa (2016). Retrieved on 19 May 2017 from http://aa.com.tr/en/africa/turkish-visit-a-turning-point-in-rwanda-relations/581838

Turkey's education and especially the health and engineering fields she concluded saying that Rwanda is happy about the ongoing partnership with Turkey though they want more.[208]

In his statement, Mr. Cavusoğlu said that That Turkey has done the best it could in order to improve relations with many African countries. Turkey's African policy has become a partnership policy. Turkey has opened embassies in 39 African countries while Turkish Airlines is flying to 38 destinations in Africa. The Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency [TIKA] gives financial support to developments projects and is currently working in Africa with 14 offices opened. (...) Mr. Cavusoğlu said that Turkey's president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's trips in African countries such as *Rwanda, Somalia, Uganda, and Kenya* among others were done in a way of strengthening that partnership given Turkey 'treatment of Africans as real and reliable partners.[209]

However, despite the role of Turkey in African economic development and social transformation, some Africans and Turkish people are unaware about the ongoing policy. As stated by respondents, they think that some people who lack information about Turkey and Africa economic relations can have bad perception about Turkish cooperation with Africa. Some Rwandan students gave an example of being ashamed to talk that they are receiving Turkish scholarships money within Turkish student community for fear of being stigmatized by their fellow Turkish students. According to the Australian Ministry of Health booklet, "*Stigma happens when a group in society is not regarded with the same respect as others. There are numerous definitions but, put simply, stigma is primarily a problem of behaviors resulting in the unfair and inequitable treatment of people"*[210]. Based on this definition, it is clearly obvious that

[208] *Ibid*
[209] *ibid*
[210]Murray P. et Al., (n.d). *Understanding stigma*. Retrieved on 31 July 2017 from http://www.murrayphn.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/Stigma_Booklet_20160414.pdf

there is no stigma issue rather the problem may result from a wish of receiving the equal scholarship package between international students and Turkish students. Nevertheless, the rising role of Turkey in Africa towards socio-economic transformation was appreciated by the respondents and there was evidence to the level of 99% of the total sample size of the respondents.

Furthermore, although the Rwandan community living in Turkey understand what is Turkey's economic activities in Africa and agreed to be benefiting from this cooperation such as infrastructures construction, financial and security support, education support through scholarships, economic and business activities and others, they wish that all parties should increase economic, social and political partnership not only based on governments' level but on citizens' level which means from bottom line.

After this chapter, the final conclusion, recommendations and suggestions will be developed in Chapter five.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES

5.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the conclusion and recommendations regarding Turkey's rising role in Africa. Important aim of this thesis is to find out the perception of Rwandans towards Turkey's economic activities in Africa. The conclusion and recommendations are based on the three specific objectives of the study; i.e. establish the perception of Rwandans vis- a vis Turkey's economic operations in Rwanda in particular; explore the problems encountered in Turkey- Rwanda economic cooperation; and identify possible mechanisms of enhancing sustainable economic cooperation between Turkey and Rwanda

5.1 CONCLUSION

The first chapter presented the general background of the study to find out the perception of Rwandans towards Turkey economic activities in Rwanda. In this chapter the statement of the problem, objectives, scope of the study, significance of the study, as well as the conceptual framework were presented.

Throughout the literature review, a short history of Rwanda which led to the Genocide committed against Tutsis was shown. After the 1994 genocide, the new administration managed to bring Rwanda to a stable and peaceful country, hence developing diplomatic relations with other foreign governments such as Turkey in order to develop its economic sector.

The Government of Turkey was found to have played a significant role towards African economic development through, enhancing agricultural, trade, cultural,

as well as through political cooperation with Africa and that influenced the way Africans see Turkey as an important economic partner and aid provider that Africa has ever had. This makes reference to Hakan Fidan et al (2008) book indicating that:

> *between 2005 and 2015, aid has been one of Turkey's strongest foreign policy elements in general and in its Africa policy in particular. The official Turkish aid agency, the Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency, currently has operations in over 40 countries in Africa. TIKA was initially established to help in the post-cold war transition of the states in Central Asia, the Caucasus and the Balkans. However, after 2003 it was transformed into a more global aid agency and its areas of operation were expanded, including to Africa.*[211]

According to Mr. Gatete Claver, Rwanda's Minister of Economy and Finance, *from 2006 to 2016 one million Rwandan people were lifted out from poverty*.[212] This would not happen without partnership with many economic partners including Turkey.

Moreover, to study the perception of Rwandans towards Turkey's economic operation in Africa in general and in Rwanda in particular, some major concepts was explained such as public opinion in Rwanda, public opinion in international relations, public opinion and politics as well as the effect of economic factors on public opinion.

After the literature review, a methodology was developed. This study employed a qualitative research given the major aim of this study was to be able to

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[211] Hakan Fidan and Rahman Nurdun, (2008). "*Turkey's Role in the Global Development Assistance Community: The Case of TIKA* (Turkish International Cooperation and Development Agency)", in Journal of Southern Europe and the Balkans, Vol. 10, No. 1 p. 93-111.

[212] The African Development Bank Group, (2014). *Improving economic competitiveness to bring about shared growth*, retrieved on 4 March 2017 from https://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Publications/Rwanda_-_2014_-_Country_Profile_-_Improving_economic_competitiveness_to_bring_about_shared_growth_-_Full_Report.pdf

depict the perception of Rwandese population towards Turkey-Africa relations in general and economic relations between Turkey and Rwanda in particular. Hence qualitative case study has been the most appropriate methodology in order to carry out an intensive investigation of Rwandan population's perception about Turkey. Furthermore, this chapter has also incorporated a section on setting and sampling, data collection procedure, interview, data analysis, ethical considerations as well as the limitations of the study.

Regarding chapter four of data analysis and interpretations, during the period of the study the respondents have shown their perception about Turkey's activities in Rwanda not only based on economic activities such as trade and business but also including other sectors such as education, peace and security, culture and financial aid among others. The research found that respondents portrayed that this cooperation is working in a good way and it is benefiting the two partners.

Furthermore, for the economic factors, different effects were cited by different respondents during the period of the study and these effects development of Turkey and Africa's social and economic transformation through trade activities and creating market for products from Turkey to Africa and vice versa construction of infrastructures such as hospital, school, bridge, hotels, roads and others, helps in promoting the social and cultural and education quality for the Africa and Turkish people.

The problems that can constrain Turkey-Rwanda cooperation were ranked and the results showed that foreign countries that might want to stand across Turkey's fast development might use Rwanda to get to their benefits came first with 57,5%, followed by Geographic situation problems with 25%, thirdly came culture, religious and historic differences with 17,5%.

The solution to what should be done to increase the level of Turkey-Rwanda Economic were also ranked and the results showed that, field visits and experienced manpower was the leading solution as witnessed by 37, 5% of surveyed respondents, followed by the removal of taxes on goods from both countries with the rate of 25%, thirdly came the development of cultural activities with 20%, and lastly came the creation of special economic agreements with 17, 5%.

Nevertheless, the researcher's final conclusion is that interviewed Rwandans think that some of the Turkish aid was spent on African economic development focusing on increased crop yields, easy access to higher nutritional food values, better houses with modern amenities, and rural infrastructural development, among others. This belief comes with a great admiration towards Turkey's influence in Africa and particularly in Rwanda given the cooperation developments between the two countries.

5.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings of the study, the following recommendations for all stakeholders, including Governments, public and private companies, and citizens, for economic cooperation were made.

1. For efficient economic cooperation between Turkey and Rwanda, citizen-based cooperation is a requirement. This should better address the needs of population who want to know what is going on in their countries because they are beneficiaries of this economic relationship.

2. Rural development is occurring within a background of larger global development issues, with respect to population growth, land and water use, and biodiversity .Thus, efforts to contribute to rural development should be one of Turkey – Rwanda economic programs and doing so in consistent with the broader developmental

issues of the millennium. In this context, efforts should be channeled towards study visits from Turkey to Rwanda and vice versa.

3. Education and job creation will become more important for enhancing the development of two partners. Allowing special work permit for citizens of two economic partners (Turkey and Rwanda) will be very crucial to increase the partnership level.

4. Knowledge sharing and increased public awareness of ongoing agreements are required to facilitate closer cooperation among stakeholders involved in Turkey's role in Africa. It was noted that many African activities have been documented, but their sustainable effects and importance were less known by Turkish community. Clearly, a need exists to study the economic development strategies such as trade, agriculture development, investments, water management, telecommunication, infrastructure, transport, environmental protection, health, and peace security and others in greater detail for better targeting of economic cooperation between Turkey and Rwanda. According to Chifamba E. and Mashavira N. "*Multi-stakeholder processes are required to bring together local populations and decision makers to develop common understandings of different perceptions of international policies*."[213]

5. Enhancing awareness among Rwandan and Turkish companies, as well as policymakers to discuss about Turkey-Rwanda cooperation to adopt solutions to any problem that can hinder the cooperation programs. If there is a beneficial project that is being planned but is stopped by some laws, continued efforts in creating new laws regulating Turkey and Rwanda relations are needed.

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[213] Chifamba E. and Mashavira N., (2011*). Adaptation and mitigation strategies in sustainable land resource management to combat the effects of climate change in Chipinge, Zimbabwe.* (Journal of sustainable development in Africa. Vol 13. No2. Retrieved on 26 October 2017 from http://jsd-africa.com/Jsda/V13No2_Spring2011_B/PDF/Adaption%20and%20Mitigation%20Strategies%20in%20Sustainable%20Land%20Resource%20Management%20

5.3 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES

This study has been the interests for different researchers and different conclusions have been drawn, but still, there are some gaps to fill. Therefore, the study recommends other researchers to investigate more throughout Turkey and Africa and in some other areas of Turkey's rising role in Africa in order to prove perception of Turkish People as well as African people Turkey's rising role in Africa.

The following are areas of future research:

1. Agricultural projects and poverty reduction.
2. Tourism development
3. Textile and food trade
4. Peace and security

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APPENDIX

INTERVEW QUESTIONS

1. What is your age?
2. What is your marital status?
3. What is your level of education?
4. What is your occupation in Turkey?
5. Do you know anything about Turkey and Africa cooperation?
   If yes what do you know about that cooperation?
6. Do you know anything about Turkey and Rwanda cooperation?
   If yes what do you know about that Rwanda- Turkey cooperation?
7. What types of Turkish companies working in Rwanda?
8. What are Rwandan companies working in Turkey?
9. How do you rate Turkish companies operating in Rwanda?
10. How do you compare Turkey-Rwanda economic cooperation vs Western Countries- Rwanda cooperation?
11. What do you expect from this Turkey-Rwanda economic relation?
12. What is the advantage of Rwanda cooperating with Turkey comparing with other regional cooperation with Rwanda?
13. Do you approve and believe in this relationship?
14. What are problems that can constrain Turkey-Rwanda cooperation?
15. What do you think should be done to increase the level of Turkey-Rwanda economic cooperation?