TRANSPARENCY INTERNATIONAL Rwanda

RWANDA BRIBERY INDEX 2022

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RWANDA BRIBERY INDEX 2022

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Rwanda Bribery Index (RBI) is an annual publication conducted by Transparency International Rwanda (TI-RW) since 2010 with the financial Support of the Norwegian People's Aid (NPA) through PPIMA Project. It aims at establishing experiences and perceptions of this specific form of corruption in Rwanda and its rationale hinges on the Sustainable Development Goal 16 specifically target 16.5: "Substantially reduce Corruption and Bribery".

RBI findings have been the benchmark to TI-RW's advocacy activities geared towards influencing positive systemic change in the fight against corruption and promotion of good governance in Rwanda. At this juncture, we are proud of the remarkable progress and efforts made by the government of Rwanda in the fight against corruption. This is not only depicted in RBI findings but it is also evidenced by other various corruption analyses and surveys such as the Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI), the East Africa Bribery Index (EABI) and many others.

On behalf of TI-RW, it is my privilege to thank all those who make it possible to conduct this crucial study and extend our gratitude to citizens across 11 districts in which the 2022 study was conducted. Regardless of what had to keep them busy, they actively participated in the research and provided their opinions and experiences of bribe through the questionnaires administered to them.

I take this opportunity to also thank TI-RW research team led by Albert Rwego Kavatiri, TI-Rw's Programme Manager who, by their expertise, tirelessly worked hard to make the research successful.

Moreover, my great thanks go to TI-Rw's Executive Director, Mr. Apollinaire Mupiganyi, for his encouragement, guidance and quality control throughout the process of this research.

Marie Immaculée Ingabire

Chairperson of Transparency Rwanda

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Since 2010, Transparency International Rwanda (TI-RW) annually publishes the Rwanda Bribery Index (RBI) with the aim of analyzing the experience and perception of Rwandans with regard to bribe incidences in the country. This 2022 report, which is the 13th edition, sought to determine the current status of perceived corruption in Rwanda, likelihood and prevalence of corruption and identify Rwandan institutions and organizations particularly vulnerable to corruption. It also assessed the impact of bribery on service delivery in Rwanda and gathered concrete information on the size and share of bribes paid by Rwandan citizens while seeking access to specific services.

The survey was conducted in all 4 provinces of Rwanda and City of Kigali in 11 quasi-randomly selected districts with 2,475 respondents as the sample size. As both random and purposive techniques were used, the purposive technique allowed urban districts to be included in the sample as they are more likely to provide more services than rural areas hence, higher risk of corruption. This survey used exclusively a quantitative approach and the questionnaires were administered to sampled respondents.

According to RBI 2022 findings, 39% of respondents consider the level of corruption to be low in Rwanda while 22.10% % perceive that it is high.

As in the previous RBI editions, the majority of Rwandans (70.2%) commend the effectiveness of the government's efforts in the fight against corruption. However, since the outbreak of Covid-19, the perception of effectiveness has slightly decreased from 81.9% in 2019 to 75.9% in 2020, 71.9% in 2021 and 70.2% in 2022.

Over the last 12 months of 2022, 29.10% of Rwandans directly or indirectly demanded or offered a bribe in an interaction with an institution. Compared to the previous editions (before Covid-19), this bribe encounter has increased by 10.60% in the last three years – from 18.50% in 2019 (before Covid-19) to 19.20% in 2020, 22.90% in 2021 and 29.10% in 2022.

The survey also indicates that the private sector and traffic police have registered the highest likelihood and prevalence of bribe with 21.20% and 16.40% of likelihood; and 10.20% and 8.30% of prevalence respectively. While the national prevalence of bribe stands at 4.50% in 2022 from 2.30% in 2021, 2.50% in 2020 and 2% in 2019, the findings reveal that the prevalence of bribe has particularly kept increasing in the Private Sector (from 4.23% in 2019 to 7% in 2020, 9.78% in 2021 and 10.20% in 2022).

The report underpins that a low level of reporting remains to be among the challenges impeding the fight against corruption. The findings reveal that 87.5% did not report corruption cases encountered (from 89.4% in 2021). The main reasons provided were that "it did not occur to me that I should report" (26.5%), fear of self-incrimination (23.8%), and that they knew no action would be taken even if they reported corruption (18.7%).

The report recommends all the line institutions in the fight against corruption to strengthen corruption reporting systems and whistle-blowers' protection. It also urges all public and private institutions, at large, to increase transparency and accountability mechanisms by putting in place controls, audits, check and balance mechanisms and an anti-corruption focal person. Rwandan community, CSOs and Media are also recommended to establish strong monitoring and oversight measures that provide information needed to hold the public sector to account.

1. BACKGROUND

Corruption is a complex and evolving phenomenon which takes on many forms, is perpetrated by various actors and has a detrimental impact on political, social, cultural, institutional and organizational structures, on economic and structural policies, and can affect numerous aspects of everyday life. Citizens are most often in contact with government when they seek public services such as health, education, and police.

According to U4 (2015), in countries with corrupt public employees, people may need to pay petty bribes to get these services whereby survey data shows that 1.6 billion people annually have to pay a bribe to get public services. In developing countries, petty bribes can reduce the effectiveness of donor aid for programmes intended to reduce poverty.

In the same vein, empirical studies have shown that the poor pay the highest percentage of their income in bribes. Some studies have suggested that the poor may even be preyed upon since they are seen as powerless to complain. Every stolen or misdirected dollar, euro, peso, yuan, rupee, or ruble robs the poor of an equal opportunity in life and prevents governments from investing in their human capital(World Bank , 2020).

The adoption of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development is a major breakthrough, with Member States explicitly recognizing the importance of promoting transparency, accountability and integrity for sustainable development. Sustainable Development Goal 16 and its targets on reducing corruption; developing effective, accountable and transparent institutions; ensuring responsive, inclusive, participatory and representative decision-making; and strengthening access to information, are not only valuable and important aspirations in their own rights to build just, peaceful and inclusive societies, they are also important conditions for the successful achievement of all the Sustainable Development Goals (UNODC, 2018).

To fight corruption more effectively, there is a need to improve comprehension of its different manifestations and to make regular, scientifically-based efforts to measure its occurrence. The development of evidence-based policies to prevent and counter corruption helps inform the public about trends and patterns of corruption and increases the accountability of Governments.

It is against this perspective that the Rwanda Bribery Index is used to examine which service providers are most involved in asking or receiving bribes, whether respondents

have had to pay a bribe for a particular public service and how many times in the past year they paid a bribe as well as the amount of the bribe paid.

The above data provide an evidence-based advocacy used by Transparency International Rwanda as a local actor Civil Society involved in the fighting against corruption. As the United Nations on Drugs and Crime (UNODC, 2003) puts it, the fight against corruption requires the involvement of strong civil society and media. Generally, this includes both the ability to obtain and assess information about areas susceptible to corruption (transparency), and the opportunity to exert influence against corruption where it is found. This includes fora such as free communications media, which in detecting and publicly-identifying corruption, create political pressures against it, and academic and other sources which can assess the problem of corruption, assist in developing countermeasures, and provide objective assessments.

2. OBJECTIVE OF THE SURVEY

The overall objective of the study was to establish the experiences and perceptions of Rwandans with regard to service delivery and corruption in the county.

The specific objectives of the survey include:

- Determine the current status of perceived corruption in Rwanda;
- Determine the likelihood and prevalence of corruption in Rwanda;
- Identify Rwandan institutions and organizations particularly vulnerable to corruption;
- Assess the impact of corruption on service delivery in Rwanda;
- Gather concrete information on the size of bribes paid by Rwandan citizens while seeking to access a specific service.

3. OVERVIEW OF CORRUPTION IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTOR

3.1. Introduction

Literature on corruption has concluded that it has become one of the world's most pressing challenges, affecting "environmental protection efforts, human rights, national security, access to healthcare and justice services, economic development and the legitimacy of governments around the world" (Feathers 2014, p. 287). In fact, researchers and policy makers have observed that corruption is particularly harmful to humans and society because it threatens to undermine progress with respect to several commitments such as those developed under the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) to reduce inequality and improve living standards (Trapnell et al. 2017).

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) agenda developed by the United Nations (UN) is comprised of 17 goals that have been designed to protect the planet and improve the living conditions of its inhabitants. One of these goals (SDG 16) targets to "substantially reduce corruption and bribery in all their forms" (United Nations 2015). The gravity of this imperative is undeniable given the recent observation that more than 80% of the world's population lives in a country with "a serious corruption problem" (Transparency International 2016).

Corruption takes place in two different manifestations: public and private. Public and private sector corruption differ greatly at a conceptual level. If a person or business is exploited or victimized by a private company, the victim can choose to work with other companies in the future that engage in fair treatment of suppliers, customers, and competitors. On the other hand, when doing business with the state, the government has a monopoly over the goods and services that one requires (e.g., licenses, business permits, public contracts), so there is no place else to go to obtain these services (Bauhr, 2017).

Transparency international (https://www.transparency.org/en/what-is-corruption) endorses the operational definition of corruption as "the abuse of entrusted power for private benefit" that includes also the private sector; nevertheless, its Corruption Perception Index (CPI) uses sources that define corruption as the "the misuse of public power for private benefit".

The World Bank Group (2020) has come to play a prominent role as a global anti-corruption actor as part of the new emphasis on governance. While it defines corruption as something pertaining only to the public sector, it also discusses the problem of

"corporate corruption". On the one hand, these idiosyncrasies indicate that the issue of private corruption has not been discussed openly. On the other, when we go from the issue of corruption to many of its practices and impacts, the focus necessarily includes the private sector.

3.2. Corruption in public sector

The public sector corruption is manifested through the administrative services for the branches of government (executive, legislature and judiciary) and public services such as health, education, policing, military, infrastructure, water and transportation. The public sector further includes the oversight and accountability organizations that monitor and audit the performance of these services. , Article 15 of UNCAC(2004) defines bribery in the public sector as "the promise, offering or giving, to a public official, directly or indirectly, of an undue advantage, for the official himself or herself or another person or entity, in order that the official act or refrain from acting in the exercise of his or her official duties".

Corruption manifests differently in different areas of the public sector. For example, in the health sector it may refer to kickbacks that patients have to pay to their doctors or abuse of healthcare funds by public officials and doctors. In the area of education, corruption occurs when lecturers demand favours from their students to pass an exam or to receive a diploma (Anti-Corruption_Module_4_Public_Sector_Corruption.pdf).

Although the opportunity for public employees to demand bribes comes from their discretion and from contact with users, the extraction of bribes varies according to sector, country and specific local conditions. According to Afro barometer (AFR Barometer, 2019), among key public officials, the police and judges are most widely perceived as corrupt. Police as a law enforcing agency is an important institution for social control which exists in some form or the other in all societies of all ages. A society in the present set-up, cannot live and progress without an effective, sincere and honest police force. Corruption exists in one form or the other in the police system as elaborated below.

Police corruption: The police is said to be the most corrupt sector in most of developing countries where bribes are taken by constables upwards to high status officers. What is surprising is that the police take money both from the accused and the complainants. The powers enjoyed by the police are so wide that they can accuse, arrest, and harass even an honest person(https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Sigit-Somadiyono).

As a matter of fact, In Rwanda, the police continue to be perceived as one of the most corrupt institutions in the country. According to the Rwanda Bribery Index 2021 (TI Rwanda

2021), traffic police was ranked second after the private sector, in Twenty institutions with the highest likelihood of bribery.

According to Singh (2022), there are several typologies in terms of practices of corruption in police that identify nine activities which seems to overlap with police deviance and misconduct:

1. Corruption of authority: Attaining perks without contravening the law, such as receiving free meals, beverages, and services.

2. Kickback: Money, services, or goods obtained for business referrals promoting a company or individual.

3. Opportunistic theft: Stealing from people who have been arrested, engaged in accidents, or from victims or deceased persons.

4. Turning a blind eye: Bribes undertaken for omitting a felony, arrest, or seizure of property.

5. Protection of illegal activities: Protecting criminal groups or individuals engaged in illegal practices, such as protection rackets (drugs, gambling, and prostitution rings) in vice areas.

6. Fixing: Undermining criminal investigation or deliberately losing traffic or speeding tickets.

7. Direct criminal activities: Engaging in a crime against an individual or property to attain individual advantage.

8. Internal payoffs: When promotions, annual leave, and shift allocations are bought, traded, and vended.

9. Adding or planting of evidence: When evidence is planted to frame an individual or group, which is usually within drug case.

It is therefore worth noting that police officers may begin accepting minor gratuities, such as free coffee or discounted meals, near the outset of their career and gradually engage in more serious forms of police corruption.

Judicial Corruption entails the breaking of the rules or manipulation of a system of procedure for the determination of issues brought before the court for personal gains. The gains may come in the form of money, favour from the beneficiary, among others. A judge

who has taken a bribe cannot be independent, impartial or fair. When a litigant bribe a judge, that party immediately acquires a privileged status in relation to other parties who have not offered a bribe or inducement (World Bank, 2000).

Moreover, preferential treatment secured and the resulting discrimination among litigants may affect negatively the objectivity and neutrality from the judicial process and as a result, the legitimate aim of the judicial system is not assured. As Bontur (2020) puts it, a corrupt judge is more harmful to the society than a man who runs amok with a dagger in a crowded street. The latter can be restrained physically. But a corrupt judge deliberately destroys the moral foundation of society and causes incalculable distress to individuals through abusing his office while still being referred to as honorable.

Additionally, while judicial systems are the main instrument to prevent and fight corruption. In countries with weak anti-corruption mechanisms, corruption decreases public trust in justice and weakens the capacity of judicial systems to guarantee the protection of human rights, and it affects the tasks and duties of the judges, prosecutors, lawyers, and other legal professionals. This is in contradiction with the article 11 of the United Nations Convention against Corruption, a fundamental international treaty which emphasizes the decisive role of the judicial branch in the fight against corruption, and establishes that in order to carry out this role effectively, the judicial branch itself must be free of corruption, and that its members must act with integrity.

It is therefore difficult to expect citizens to abide by the law when governmental leaders such as judges and prosecutors and police are engaged in Corrupt Behavior and seemingly disregard the very laws, rules and procedures they are mandated to enforce. Until governmental leaders who publicly sidestep laws are prosecuted and convicted, the average citizen will consider himself foolhardy if he continues to abide by the very system his leaders are eschewing (USAID, 2003),

Local Government Corruption: Corruption is one of the most difficult problems confronting local governments. Decentralized entities generally face the challenge of developing accountable and transparent systems that deliver public services efficiently. Local administration is also confronted to the virtue of the closeness of their interaction with the public and have a better chance of meeting this challenge and controlling corruption than national-level governments (World Bank Institute, 2006).

Corruption at the local level can appear in many shapes and forms. The most common type of corruption, however, involves the acceptance or solicitation of bribes, patronage, nepotism, theft of public goods, political corruption and clientelism also commonly occur

at the local level. In many instances, corruption exists when officials enjoy large amounts of discretion and/or are exposed to high levels of face-to-face contact with the public where local government officials have a higher risk of being involved in corrupt practices.

Another room for corruption in local government as argued by Gonzalez de Asis (2000) is the increased discretion which is commonly associated with seniority but in local government administration may also be part of a specific role or function carried out at junior levels. The responsibility of junior staff in terms of managing huge amount from revenue-raising, often brought in with decentralization, has also become a particularly vulnerable area in local governments.

Private sector corruption: the existence of private sector corruption is manifested though fraud or economic crime, such as customer fraud, cybercrime, asset misappropriation, accounting/Financial Statement Fraud and money laundering to mention few (PwC, 2020). Corruption is mostly prevalent in areas of the Private sector such as finance and insurance, hospitality, accommodation, food services, professional services and education (KEPSA, 2019). Based on these findings, it is clear that there is certain level of losses of socio-economic value caused by high risk of corruption in private sector.

There are sectors that are most prone to corruption in the private sector including construction and procurement (OoO, 2020). Furthermore. public procurement in the infrastructure sector where private sector is highly involved is also vulnerable to corruption especially in the form of conflict of interest of the senior managers, conflict of interest for internal tender committee members and nepotism (TI-RW, 2021).

Briefly, public corruption is a more serious public threat because it undermines confidence in government, the legitimacy of government institutions, and the ability of citizens to be treated fairly in their interactions with government entities. When operating appropriately, government entities perform an arbitration role to resolve conflicts or decide among bidders (e.g., police arrest decisions, prosecution decisions, judicial rulings, government procurement decisions).

Public corruption has far-reaching societal implications beyond that of corruption in the private sector, because private sector corruption affects some people, whereas public corruption affects all people. It can also be said that controlling public sector corruption is a prerequisite for controlling private sector corruption because without government operations characterized by non-corrupt transactions, it is impossible to regulate the private sector effectively (see Andvig et al, 2001)

4. METHODOLOGY

4.1. Approach

The Rwanda Bribery Index uses predominantly a quantitative approach to establish the level of bribe occurrence in Rwanda' s institutions and services as witnessed by citizens who interact with public officials while seeking for services. However, interviews were also conducted to complement quantitative data in order to provide more details and testimonies on the incidence of corruption experienced by service seekers. Furthermore, the Index uses both random and purposive techniques to allow both urban and rural districts to be included in the sample.

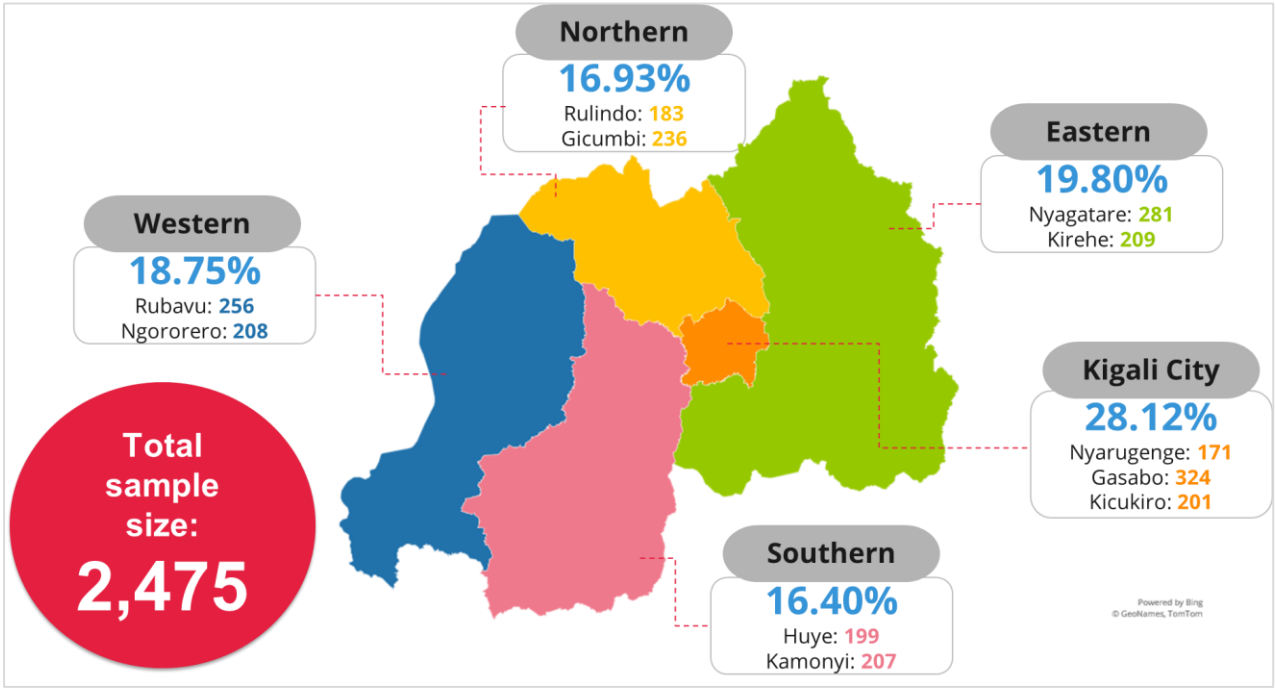
4.2. Sampling frame and sample size

Like in the previous RBI, the sample size is computed on the basis of various parameters such as the desired degree of precision, target population size, timing and budget. Data from Population projection for 2021 based on 2012 census places the Rwandan population aged 18 and above at 6,801,051 (study population). The choice of the population projection of 2021 is due to the fact that this survey is measuring people's experience of bribery in the last 12 months. The sample is calculated using the formula below.

n = (N(zs/e)2)/(N-1+(zs/e)2)
Where:
z= 1.96 for 95% level of confidence
s = p(1-p) where p = estimated proportion
e = desired margin of error
N = population size

In this estimation the significance level is taken as 95% with a margin of error of 2%. Such a sample size provides a base for meaningful comparison to undertake statistically valid sub stratifications that fall within acceptable confidence level. Based on the above formula the sample size for the RBI 2022 survey is 2401 respondents. Nonetheless, after the data collection, it was observed that some enumerators had interviewed more respondents than initially planned. Resultantly, the total operational sample size ended up being 2475 (i.e. 74 additional respondents).

Figure 1: District sample allocation



Source: TI-Rwanda RBI 2022 primary data

4.1. Data collection

The data collection was performed by skilled enumerators and team leaders recruited and trained to this end. The training covered issues such as survey methods, questionnaire structure and content, enumerator's/supervisors' responsibilities, survey ethics and the use of tablets for data collection. The questionnaire was administered to sampled respondents aged 18 years and above. For the sake of efficiency and data quality assurance, the questionnaire was tablet-based and relied on CsPro software. Similarly, for efficiency purpose, enumerators were requested to meet respondents in their respective households for the data collection purpose. Respondents were selected randomly based on the list availed by the head of villages included in the survey sample.

Before starting the data collection process, a "pilot survey" was organized in a sector other than those which were covered by the actual survey. The pilot survey allowed testing the research tools with regard to the clarity, wording, coherence and consistency of the

questions. It also served as an opportunity for enumerators and supervisors to get used to the tools they have to use during the actual survey (especially getting used to CsPro and the use of tablets).

4.2. Quality control

In a bid to ensure data quality, the data collection activity was implemented by enumerators while team leaders and supervisors were responsible for supervision and coordination. Supervisors include TI-RW's researchers while team leaders were recruited based on their experience in carrying out such exercise. For data quality control purposes, the following measures were taken:

- Assessment and approval of the RBI tools and methodology by the NISR;
- Recruitment of skilled interviewers and supervisors
- Training of interviewers and supervisors
- Setting the questionnaire in Kobo Toolbox and introducing it into tablets
- Testing of the questionnaires
- Supervision of data collection activity
- Overall coordination of the field work
- Use of SPSS software for data analysis
- Data cleaning prior to analysis

4.3. Data analysis

As it has been highlighted above, quantitative data were collected using a questionnaire already set in CsPro and installed on the tablets to avoid the use of papers and the need to conduct data entry later. Data introduced in the tablets were exported in SPSS, cleaned and analyzed by the statistician using SPSS software. In the framework of controlling all the information generated in this survey, all data were entered in the tablets as they are collected and then submitted to the national supervisor on a daily basis. This allowed monitoring the progress of the research, ensure quality and safety of data collected. The Rwanda Bribery Index is analyzed through eight indicators with five indicators measuring

the victimization of corruption and 3 perception- based indicators as follows:

1. **Likelihood =** $\frac{\text{\# of bribe demand situation for organization x}}{\text{\# of interactions for organization x}}$

2. **Prevalence =** $\frac{\text{\# of bribe payers for organization x}}{\text{\# of interactions for organization x}}$

3. **Impact =** $\frac{\text{\# of service deliveries as a result of bribe paying for organization x}}{\text{\# of interactions for organization x}}$

4. **Share =** $\frac{\text{Total amount of bribes paid in organization x}}{\text{Total amount of bribes paid in all organizations}}$

5. **Average size** = $\frac{\text{Total amount of bribes paid in organization x}}{\text{Individuals who paid a bribe in organization x.}}$

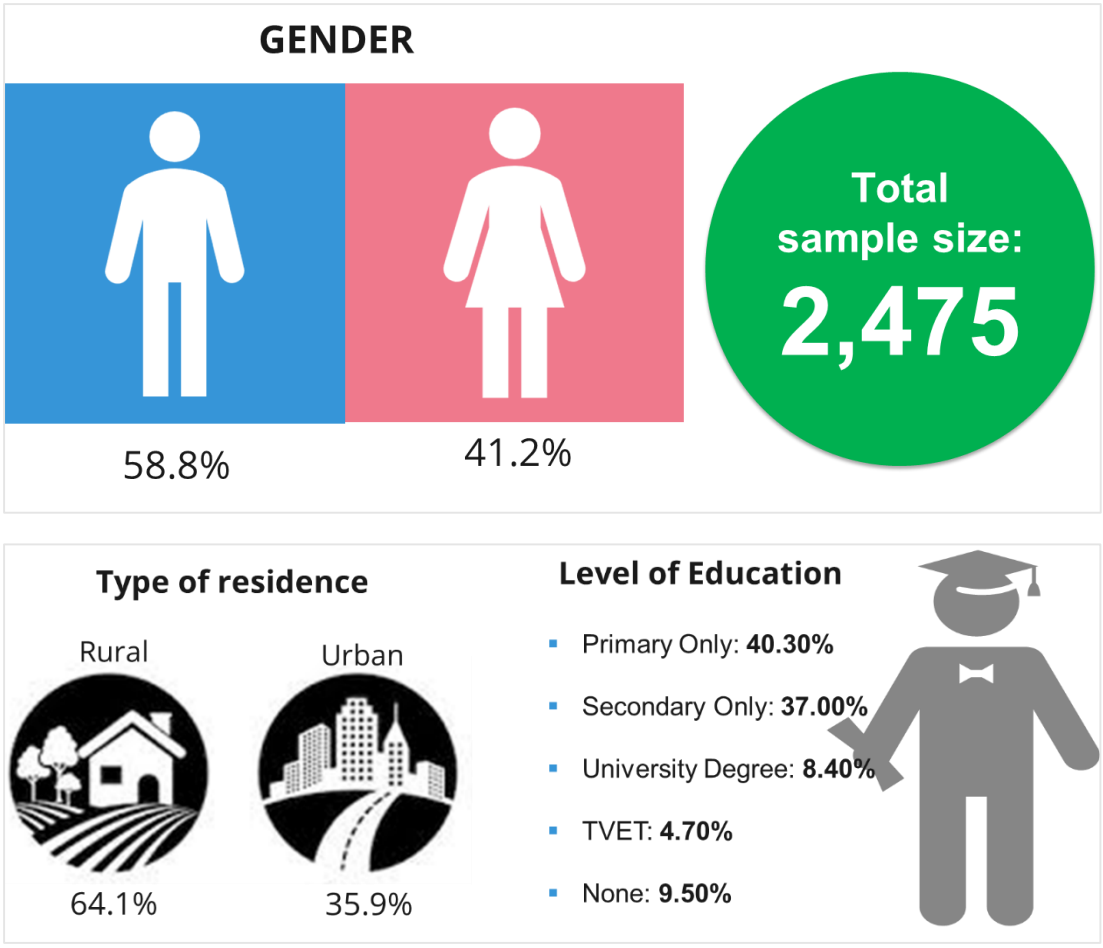
6. **Perceived current level of corruption**
7. **Level of government's commitment to fight corruption**
8. **Perceived causes of corruption**

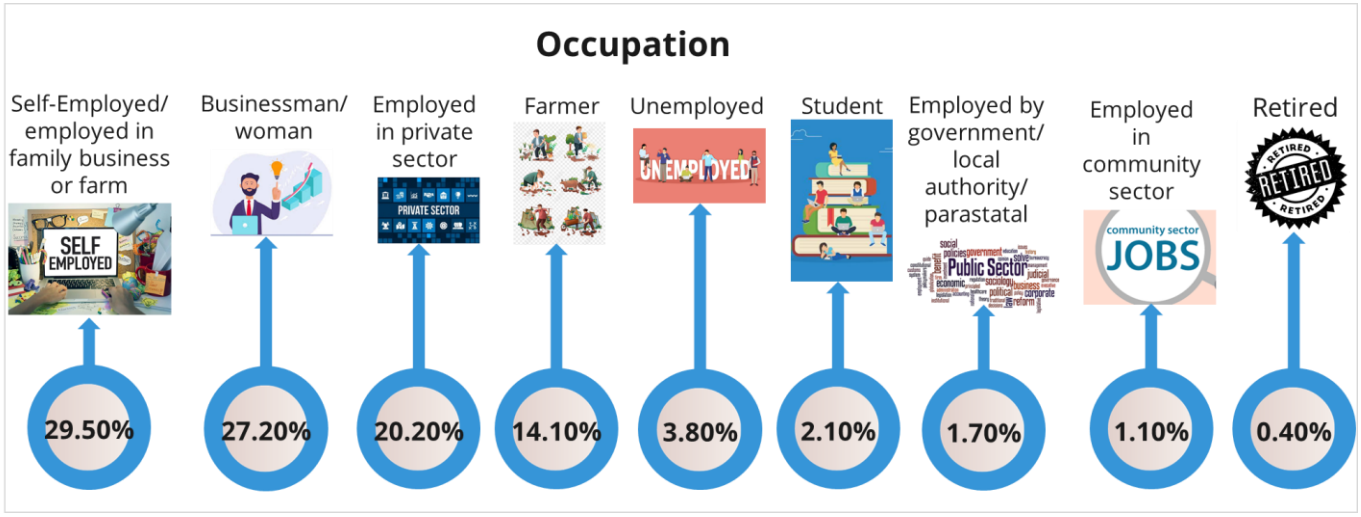
5. PRESENTATION OF THE FINDINGS

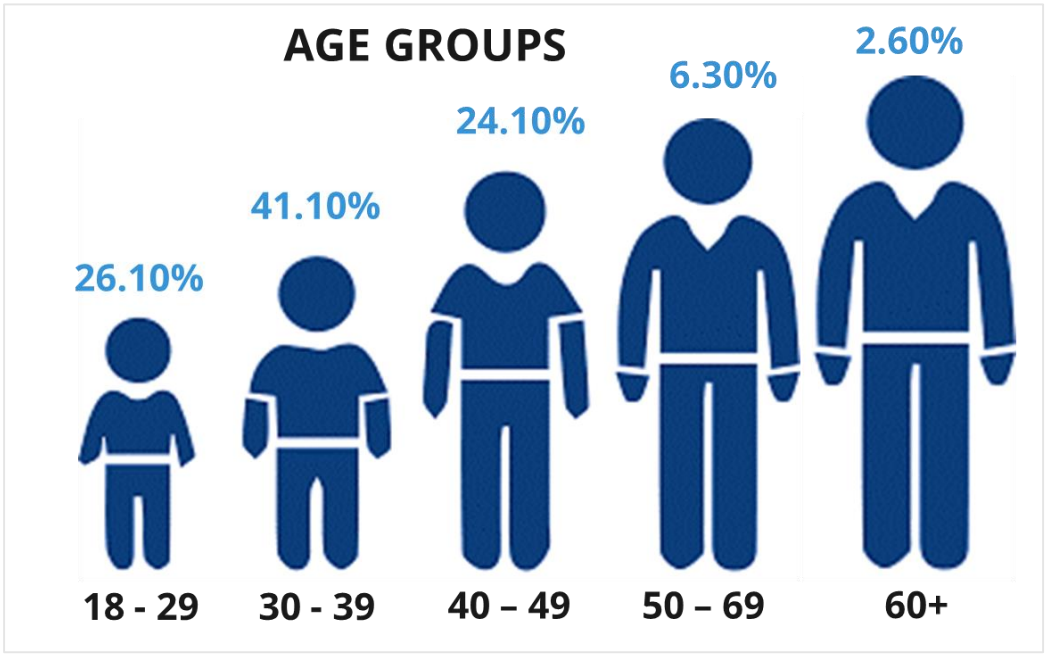
5.1. DEMOGRAPHICS

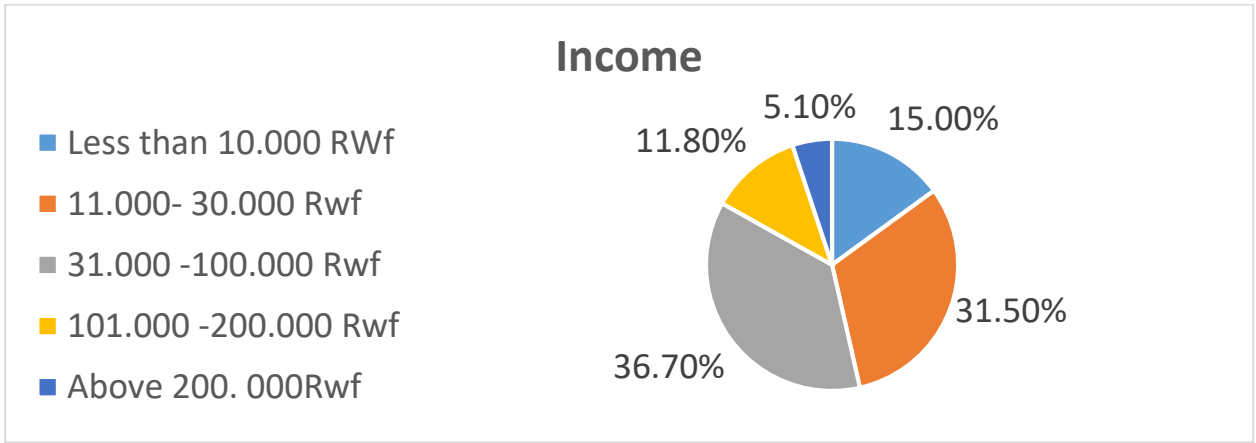
This section describes key demographic variables of the respondents who took part in this survey such as: age, gender, type of residence, level of education, employment status and income as shown in the figures below.

Figure 2: Distribution of respondents by selected demographic variables









Source: TI-Rwanda RBI 2022 primary data

The data in the figure above show a slightly higher proportion of male respondents than that of female ones (58.8% and 41.2% respectively). Concerning age structure, the vast majority of respondents (above 90%) are in active age. In fact, around 90% (cumulatively) of respondents are between 18 and 50 years old.

With regard to the education level, it is worth to note that nearly 90 % of respondents have at least attained school level with the majority of them (77.3%) who have cumulatively completed the primary and secondary education. More interestingly, a mere proportion of respondents (below 10%) have not attained any education level.

Furthermore, the data suggest that respondents' occupation is mainly found in self-employment in family business or farm followed by business and private sector related employment, while the rest are scattered in other activity sectors such as students, retired and civil servants. It is also worth noting that nearly 3.8% of respondents had no occupation by the time of data collection.

As regards the type of residence, respondents predominantly live in rural setting. In fact, 64.1% of respondents live in the said setting as opposed to 35.9% who live in cities (main in the City of Kigali and secondary cities). The data reveals also that the largest portion of respondents' monthly income range between FRw11.000 RFW and FRw100.000. This shows that citizens in the lower income category are the ones most affected by corruption incidences.

5.2. Perception of corruption in Rwanda 2022

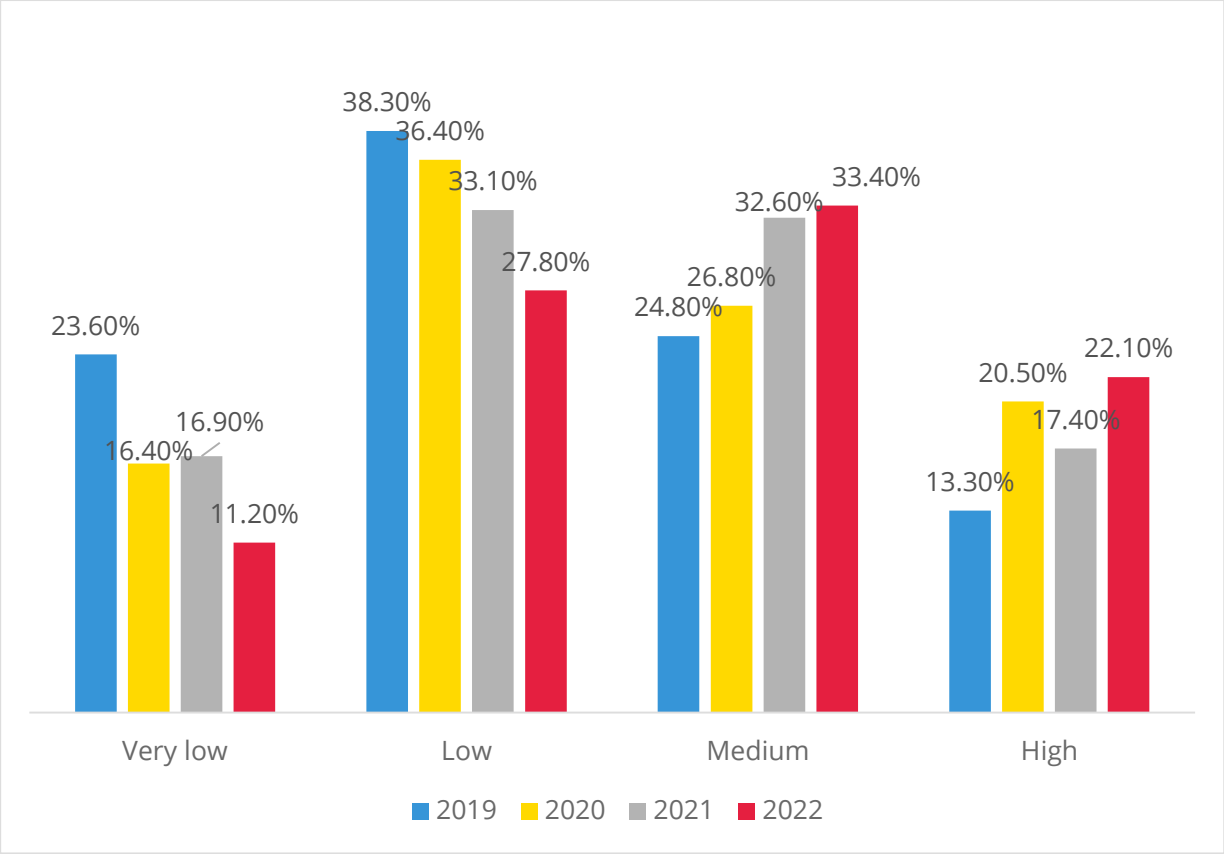
In this study, the perception of corruption is examined through three dimensions including the current state of corruption, perceived causes of corruption and the perception on the effort of the government of Rwanda to fight against corruption.

5.2.1. Perception on the current state of corruption in Rwanda (2022)

On annual basis since 2010, the Rwanda Bribery index has been showing the extent to which Rwandans perceive corruption in general. This year (2022), respondents have

provided their views on whether corruption in Rwanda is very low, low. medium or high. This is what is presented in the figure 3.

Figure 3: Perception on the current state of corruption in Rwanda (2022)



As in the previous year, RBI 2022 also shows that the perceived level of corruption is progressively inclined to a medium rather than to a low level. In 2022, 33.4 % of citizens who interacted with service providers in the last 12 months perceive corruption as medium as opposed to 27.8% of those who believed that corruption is low in Rwanda. In similar vein, this study indicates an increased perception of the level of corruption in Rwanda since the last Four years as shown in the figure 3. As a matter of fact, the proportion of respondents who declared that corruption is getting high in the last twelve months kept increasing since 2019 up to date (13.3%, 20.50%, 17.4%, 22.1% respectively).

In similar vein, according to the figure 3, a negative trend is observed for those who ascertain that corruption is very low or low in Rwanda indicating that in Rwanda, citizens have the perception that corruption is increased between 2019 and 2022. Indeed, it is apparent that from 2019 to 2022 the proportion of citizens who said that corruption is very low has decreased from 23.6%, 16.4%, 16.9% and 11,2% respectively, implying a decrease

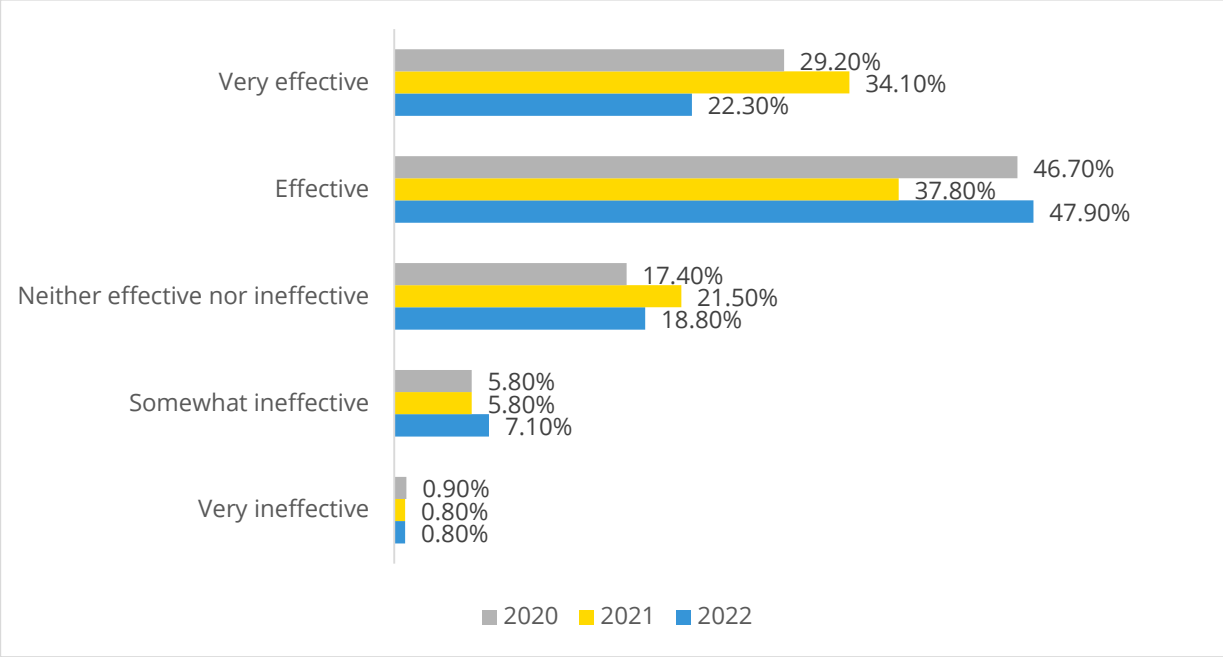
of people who believe that corruption is declining or in other word an increase of citizens who perceive that the level of corruption has become higher than before. The same trend is applied for those who perceived that corruption is low between 2019-2022(38.3%, 36.4%, 33.10%, 27.8% respectively) which also denotes a decrease in terms of proportion of respondents who believe that corruption is low in Rwanda during the period mentioned above.

Is the increased perception of corruption in Rwanda between 2019 and 2022 associated with a relatively reduced effort by the government of Rwanda in the fight against corruption during the period under review? The section below examines the respondents' views about the effort of the Government of Rwanda in fighting corruption and perceived causes on why people continue to indulge in corrupt practices.

5.2.2. Respondents' view about the effort of the government in fighting against corruption in the country

The figure below illustrates the views of respondents with regard to the effort of the GoR in the fight against corruption in the last Two years.

Figure 4: Trend on the GoR effort in the fight against corruption

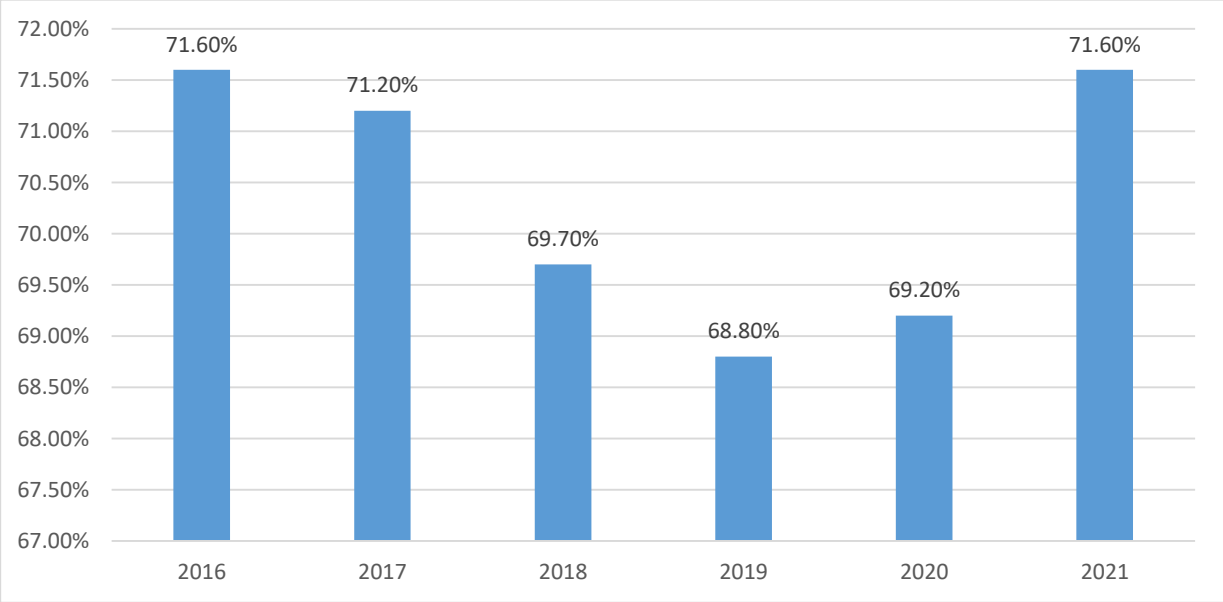


Source: TI-Rwanda RBI 2022 primary data

As in the previous 2021 RBI, the government of Rwanda has made tangible effort in the fight against corruption according to more than 70% of Rwandans interviewed in this study. It is worth noting that cumulatively, 71.9%, 75.9% and 70.2 % of respondents believe the government effort in the fight against corruption is very effective and effective from 2020, 2021 and 2022 respectively. This trend shows a decline of the existing efforts by the government of Rwanda to fight corruption in the last Three years.

Similarly, compared to the previous year, the 2022 RBI shows a small decrease of nearly 7% of respondents who believe that the government effort to fight corruption is very effective (from 29.2% to 22.3%). This is not surprising as the consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic continue to exacerbate the existing initiatives aimed to reduce the pace of corruption in the Rwanda. This finding corroborates that of the World Bank (2022) on the control of corruption between 2016 and 2021. It shows that from 2016 up to 2021, Rwanda has been scoring around 70 % in terms of control of corruption and since 2016 has not showed any improvement on this indicator (see figure 5).

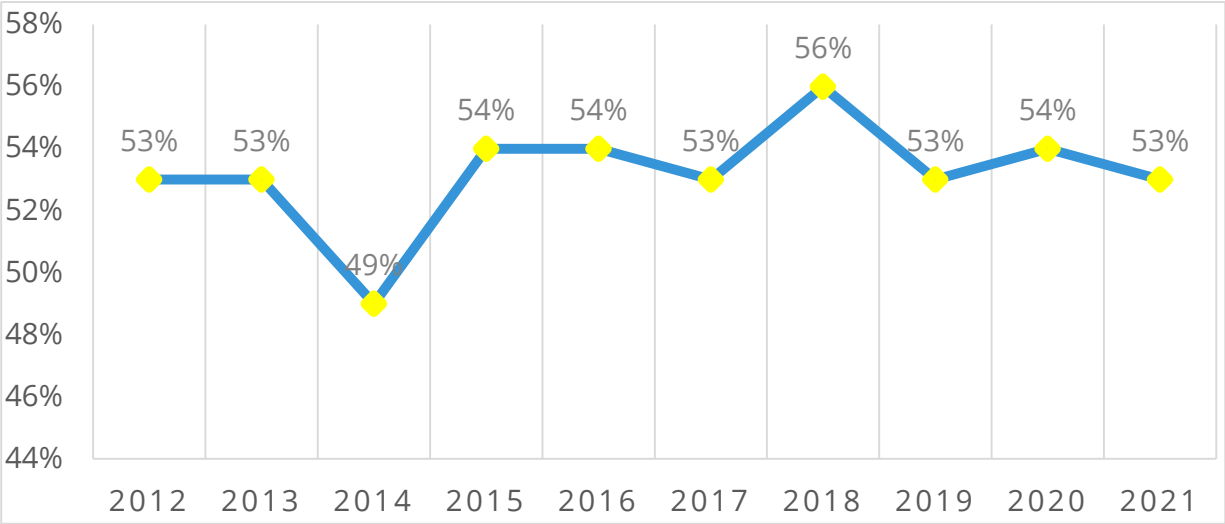
Figure 5: Rwanda's performance on the Control of Corruption Index, 2016 – 2021 Percentile rank among all countries



Source: World Bank, 2022

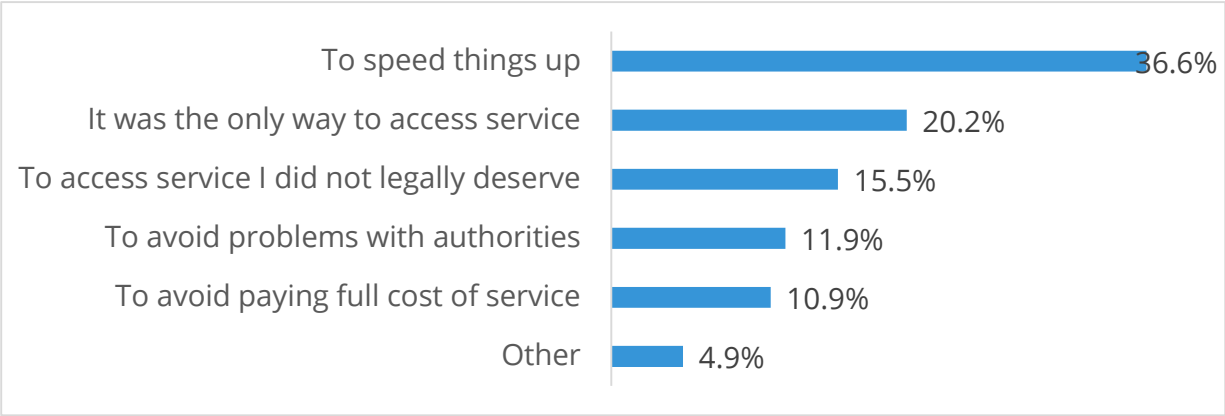
Similar trend is also observed according to the Transparency International Corruption Perception index from 2012 to 2021 whereby Rwanda' s score in terms of the fight against corruption has also oscillated around 53% since 2012 up to now (see figure 6)

Figure 6: CPI for Rwanda (2012 - 2021)



The study sought to know about the main causes of why people continue to be involved in corrupt practices. According to the findings in the figure 7, it is revealed that the majority of those who indulge in corruption did it in a bid to speed up the service while seeking for service (36.6 %), whereas another significant proportion of them paid bribe because it was the only way to access to the service (20.2%). These causes are thus an indication of the correlation between corruption and bad service delivery generally due to the fact that some service seekers cannot refrain from corruption in circumstances where the service is denied to them or when the service requested is delayed. As a result of being denied service or delaying it, service seekers decide to pay bribe in exchange of service as it is the only way to get the requested service or paying bribe in order to speed up the service when it is delayed.

Figure 7: Perceived causes of corruption



Source: TI-Rwanda RBI 2022 primary data

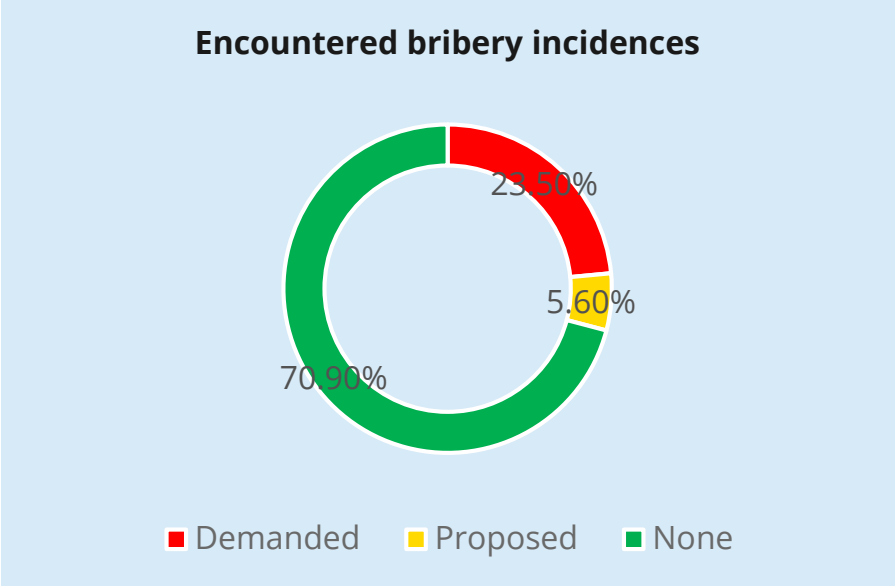
5.3. Personal experience with bribery

Beside the perception of corruption, the Rwanda Bribery Index analyses the experience of bribes encountered by respondents in accordance with the number of their interaction with service providers. The section below describes the personal experience of respondents with bribe encountered, demanded and paid while seeking for services in selected institutions and services.

5.3.1. Bribe encountered

Bribe encountered refers to both bribes demanded and offered. The Figure 8 shows the proportion of citizens who have demanded or offered bribes while interacting with service providers in the last Twelve months.

Figure 8: Encountered bribery incidences by number services (2022)



Percentage of people who have been directly or indirectly demanded of offered bribe in an interaction with an institution in the last 12 months.

Source: TI-Rwanda RBI 2022 primary data

The 2022 RBI indicates that cumulatively 29.1% of respondents, that is 23.5% and 5.6% of demand and proposed bribe respectively, encountered bribe in the last twelve months. The current RBI shows an increase of bribe encountered compared to the last three years (from 18.5% in 2019 to 19.2% in 2020 and from 22.9% in 2021 to 29.1% in 2022). A part from the said causes of corruption analyzed above, it is also important to note that though COVID-19 pandemic crisis has been dropped, its consequences on the national economy and on citizens' livelihood continue to significantly impact negatively on the people's living conditions especially the poor and thus could be among other reasons for which corruption keeps increasing in Rwanda. For the latter category of people, the issue here

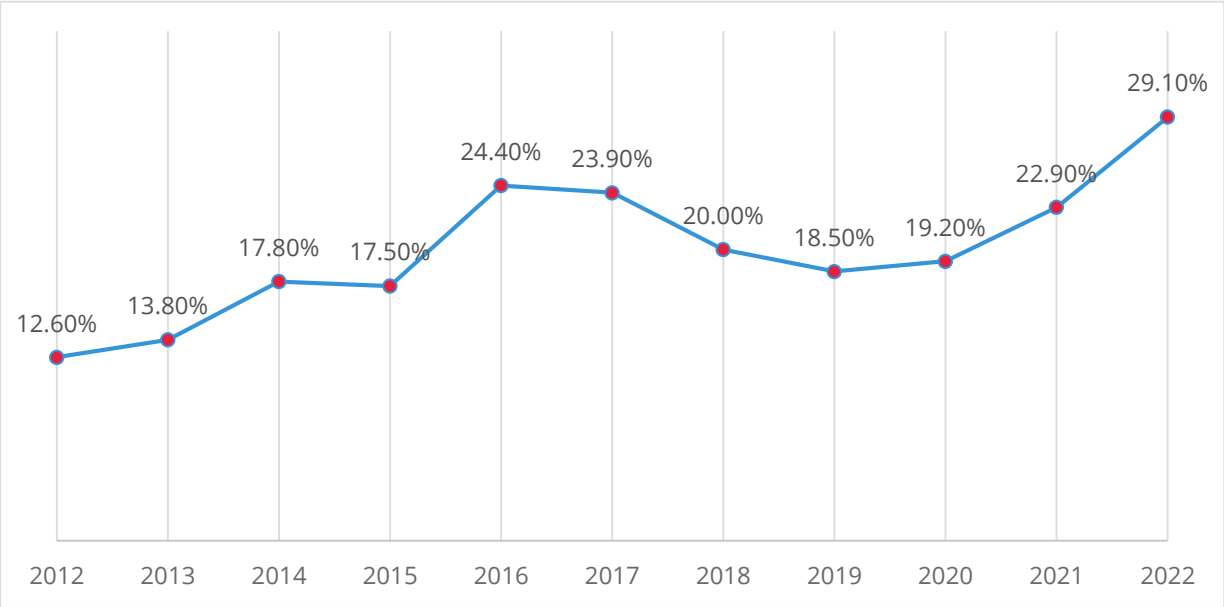
relates for example to their capacity to quickly recover from the economic crisis caused by the pandemic in the last Two years.

Moreover, the Russia-Ukraine conflict has triggered disorder in the financial markets, and drastically increased uncertainty about the recovery of the global economy. In Rwanda, the price of food and non-alcoholic beverages increased by 25.1 percent on annual basis in June 2022, housing, water, electricity, gas and other fuels increased by 7.9 percent on annual basis while local products increased by 12.6 percent on annual change (NISR, 2022).

Evidence from researchers indicates that the rise of prices at market is a hindrance to the anti-corruption effort as even people with positive attitudes to refrain from corruption would be tempted to indulge in corrupt practices as to balance their earnings with their pressing life related expenses.

According to Tosun (2002: 81), inflation affects negatively the purchasing power of individuals and groups by lowering the real wage level. In fact, Individuals and groups must fulfil their needs although their purchasing power decreases. This might result in corruptions as individuals and groups can look for illegal methods. This said, the rise of corruption between 2021 and 2022 is partly be associated with the inflation rate that Rwanda is facing as a result of the war between Russia and Ukraine. The figure 9 illustrates the trend of bribe encountered from 2012 to 2022.

Figure 9: Bribe encounter trend in Rwanda (2012 – 2022)



Source: TI-Rwanda RBI 2022 primary data

5.3.2. Bribe encounter disaggregated by selected demographic variable

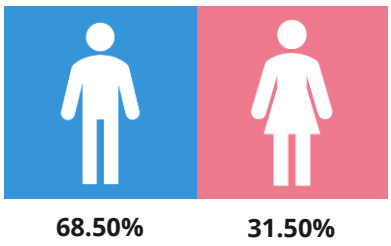
The study indicates that females are less involved in corrupt practices than males (68.5% against 31.5%). This also applies for youth and elderly citizens (35-39 age group being most likely to be corrupt than elderly. It was also revealed that corruption mostly affects people living in rural areas than those in urban settings. As for the education attained by respondents, the study shows that people with primary (38.4%) and secondary education (39.3%) are more likely to engage in corrupt practices than those with University education level (9.6%) and those who did not attain school (9%).

With regard to income, the data presented in figure 10 suggests that people with an average monthly income between RFW 11.000 and 100.000 are most prone to corruption (37, 0%) than those with a monthly income below RFW 10.000(14.6%). Unexpectedly, people with a monthly income of 200.000 emerge as the least corrupt than those with lower monthly income. This is unfortunate in that corruption may exacerbate the living conditions of the poor which can make them more dependent.

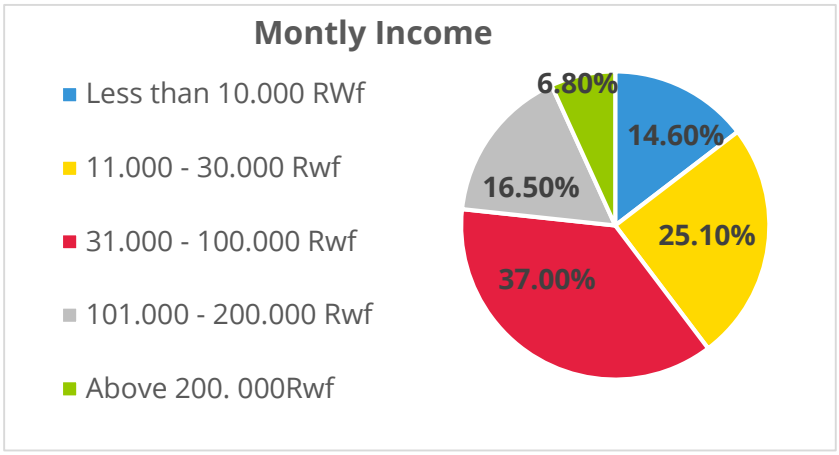
Like in the previous RBI, the current data also reveals that students and people employed in community sector are less likely to engage in corrupt practices that those employed in family business and private sector.

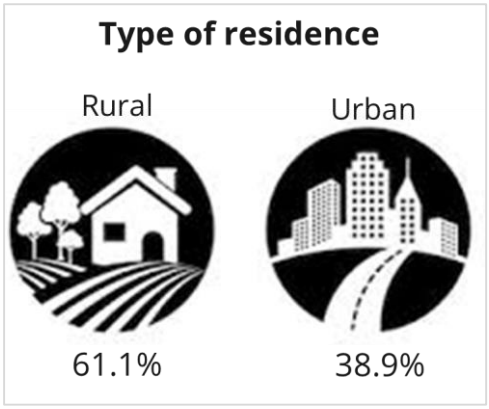
Figure 10: Bribe encounter disaggregated by selected demographic variable

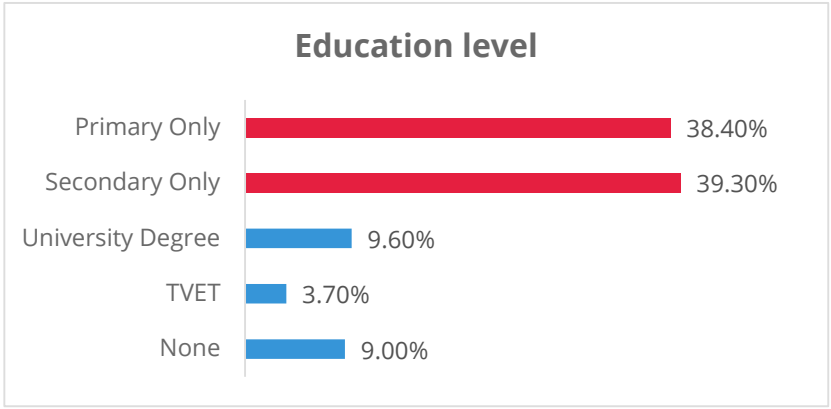
Male are more likely to experience bribery than female

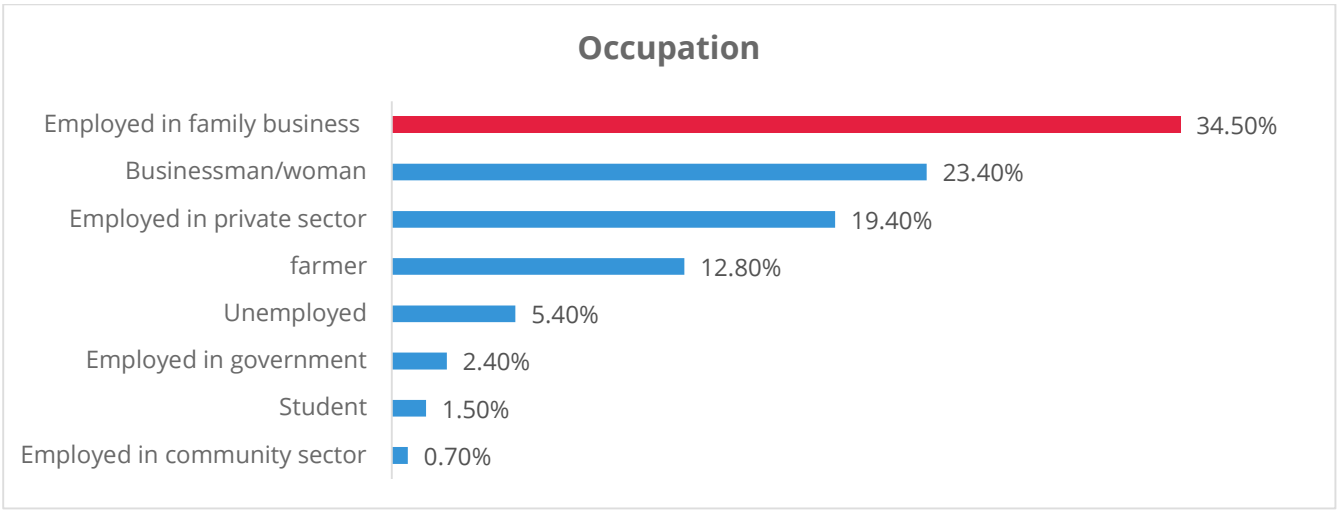


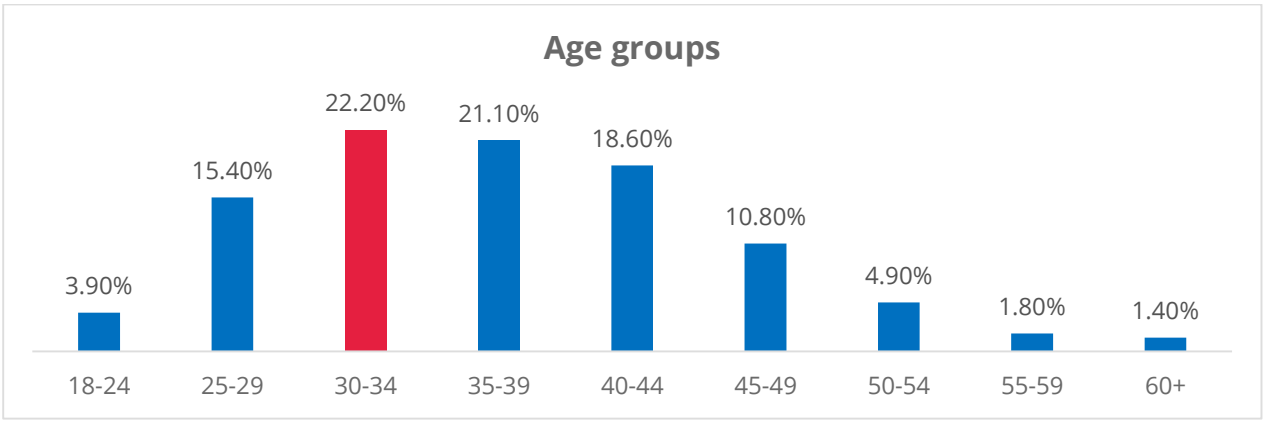
Individuals and households with 31,000Rwf to 100.000Rw monthly income are more likely to encounter corruption than others.









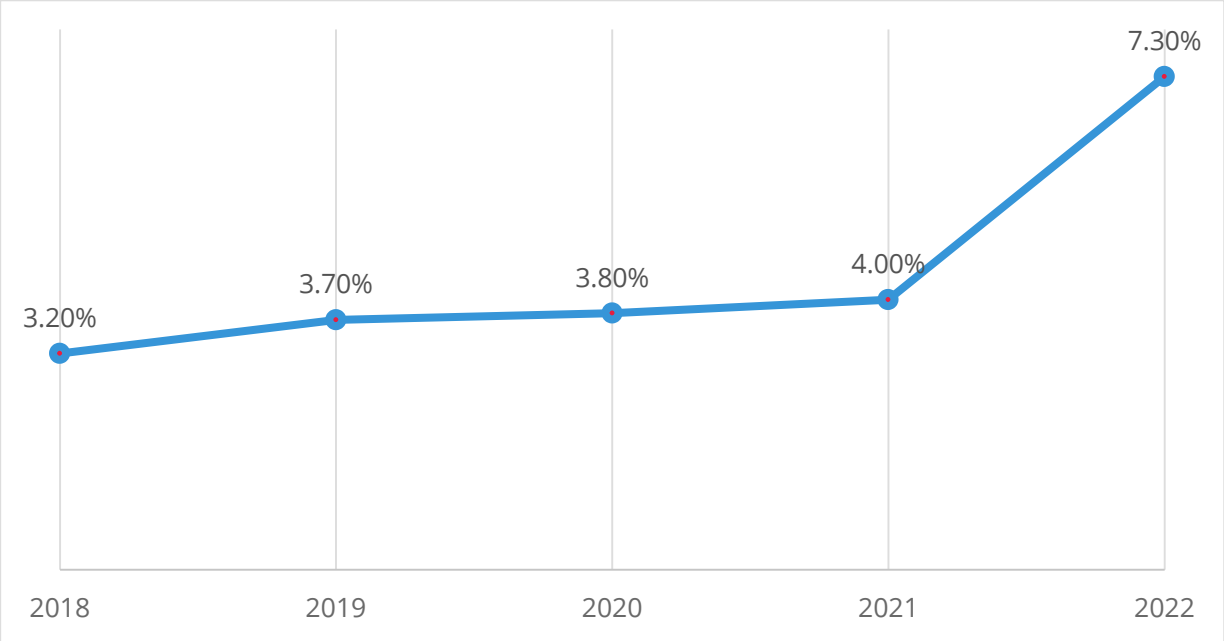


Source: TI-Rwanda RBI 2022 primary data

5.3.3. Likelihood of bribe occurrence

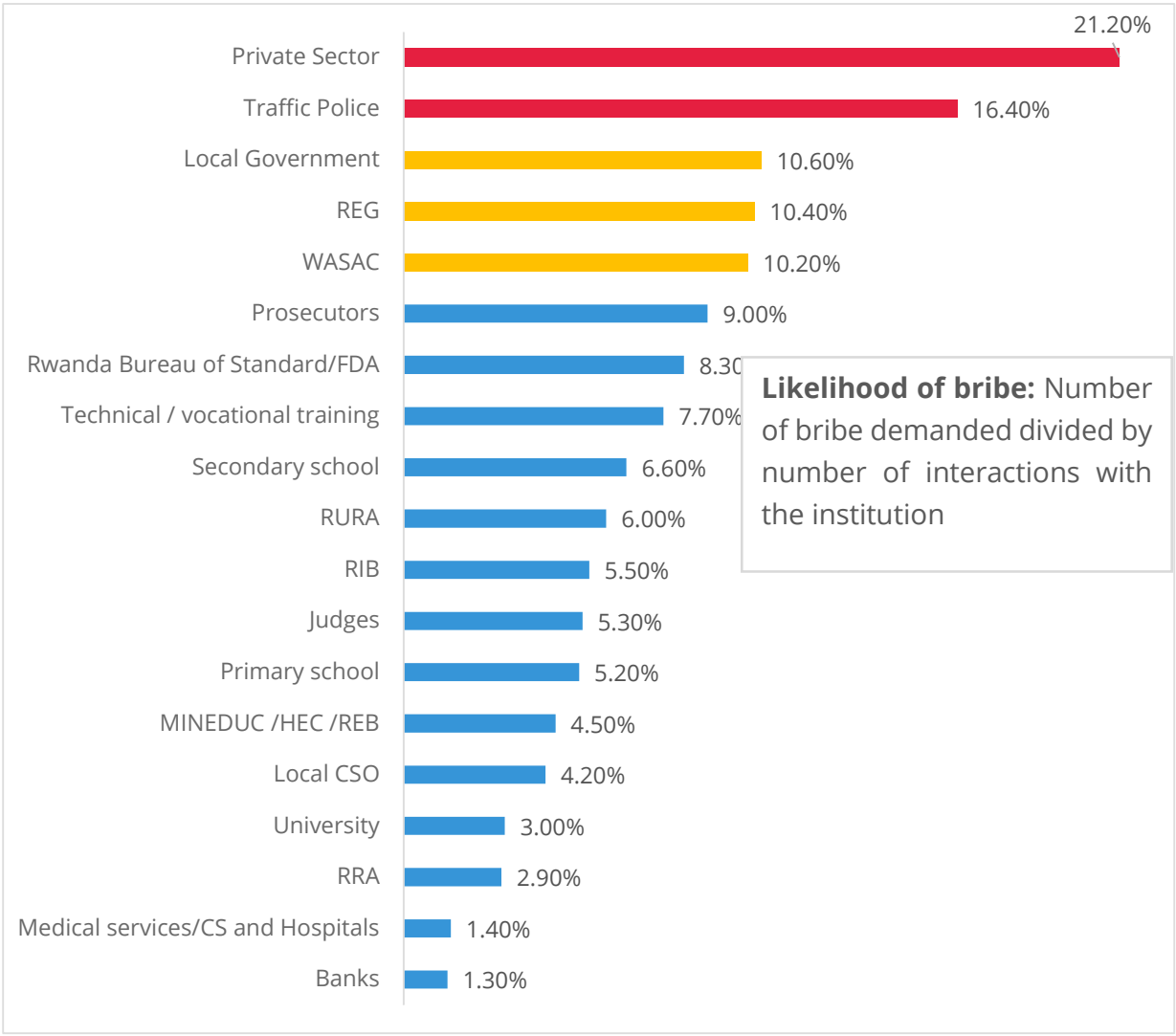
The likelihood of bribery refers to the extent to which bribes were demanded by service providers while interacting with service seekers in the last Twelve months. The figure below illustrates the results.

Figure 11: National average of Likelihood (2018-2022)



It is emerged from the 2022 RBI that bribe occurrence has kept increasing since 2018 up to now. However, the current study did not analyze the reasons behind the rise of corruption between 2018 and 2022. The study sought to examine the extent for which selected institutions are ranked in terms of demanding bribe while providing services to citizens (see figure 12).

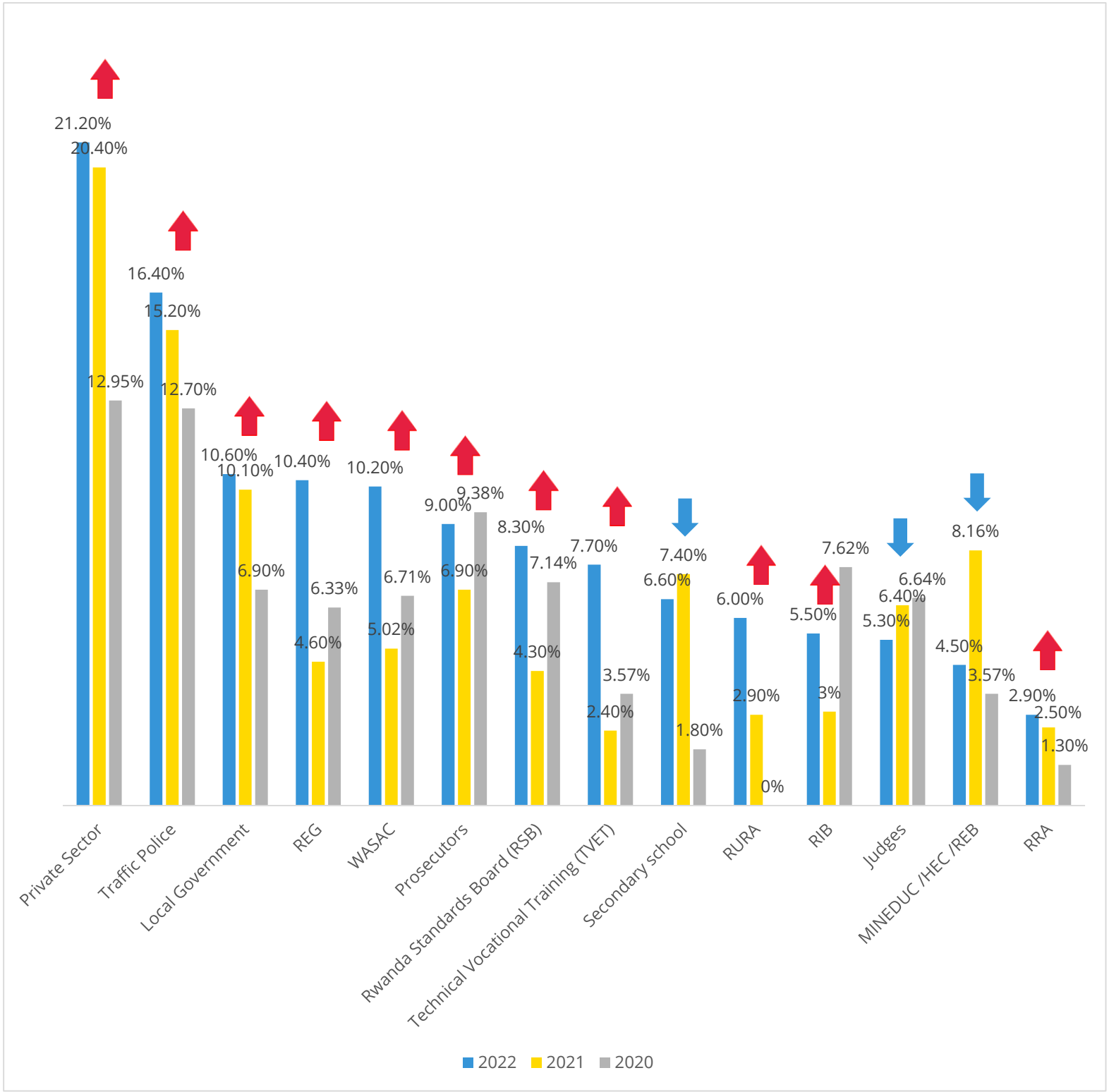
Figure 12: Likelihood of bribe in (2022)



Source: TI-Rwanda RBI 2022 primary data

As in previous RBI, the current study also reveals that the Private sector and the Traffic Police continue to take the lead in as far as the likelihood of bribe is concerned accounting for 21.2% and 16.4% in 2022 respectively. This year, the top Five institutions coming in the second category of those with relatively highest likelihood include Local Government (10.6%), REG (10.4%), WASAC (10.2%), Prosecutors (9%), FDA (8.3%). The study further looked at whether or not these institutions have made any effort to internally reduce corruption during the last Three years. This is what is observed in the figure 13.

Figure 13: Comparison of likelihood of bribery between 2020-2022



Source: TI-Rwanda RBI 2022 primary data

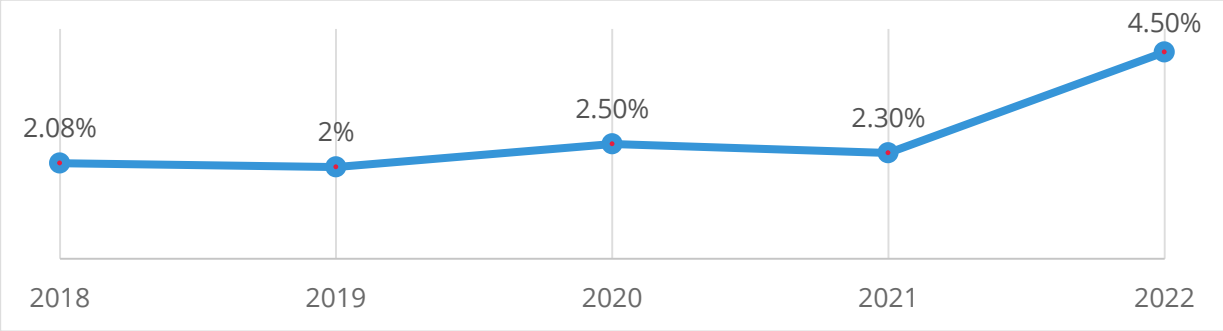
The trend analysis of the likelihood of institutions involved in the Rwanda Bribery Index shows that between 2020 and 2022 Three institutions namely the private sector, the Traffic Police and the Local Government have registered a persistent increase of likelihood of bribe since 2020. As a matter of fact, the likelihood within the Private Sector increased from 12.9% in 2020, 20.4% in 2021 and up to 21.2% in 2022. The same trend was observed for Traffic Police and Local Government whereby the likelihood in the Traffic Police rose from 12.7% in 2020, 15.2% in 2021 and to 16.4% in 2022 whereas it did so within the Local Government (from 6.9% in 2020, 10.1%in 2021 and to 10.6% in 2022).

As per the data in the above figure, REG and WASAC have also shown an increase of likelihood between 2021 and 2022, rising from 4.6% to 10.4% and 5.02% to 10.2% respectively. As it has been highlighted in the literature review, public corruption has far-reaching societal implications beyond that of corruption in the private sector and it can also be said that controlling public sector corruption is a prerequisite for controlling private sector corruption. This proves true due to the fact that without government operations characterized by non-corrupt transactions, it is impossible to regulate the private sector effectively. In this perspective, the increase of corruption in public institutions and affiliated agencies constitutes a hindrance in the fight against corruption in the private sector.

5.3.4. PREVALENCE OF BRIBERY

This section provides the probability of paying bribes (prevalence) to service providers in Rwanda while interacting with the service seekers. The figure below presents the outcome.

Figure 14: Prevalence of Bribe in Rwanda (2018 – 2022)

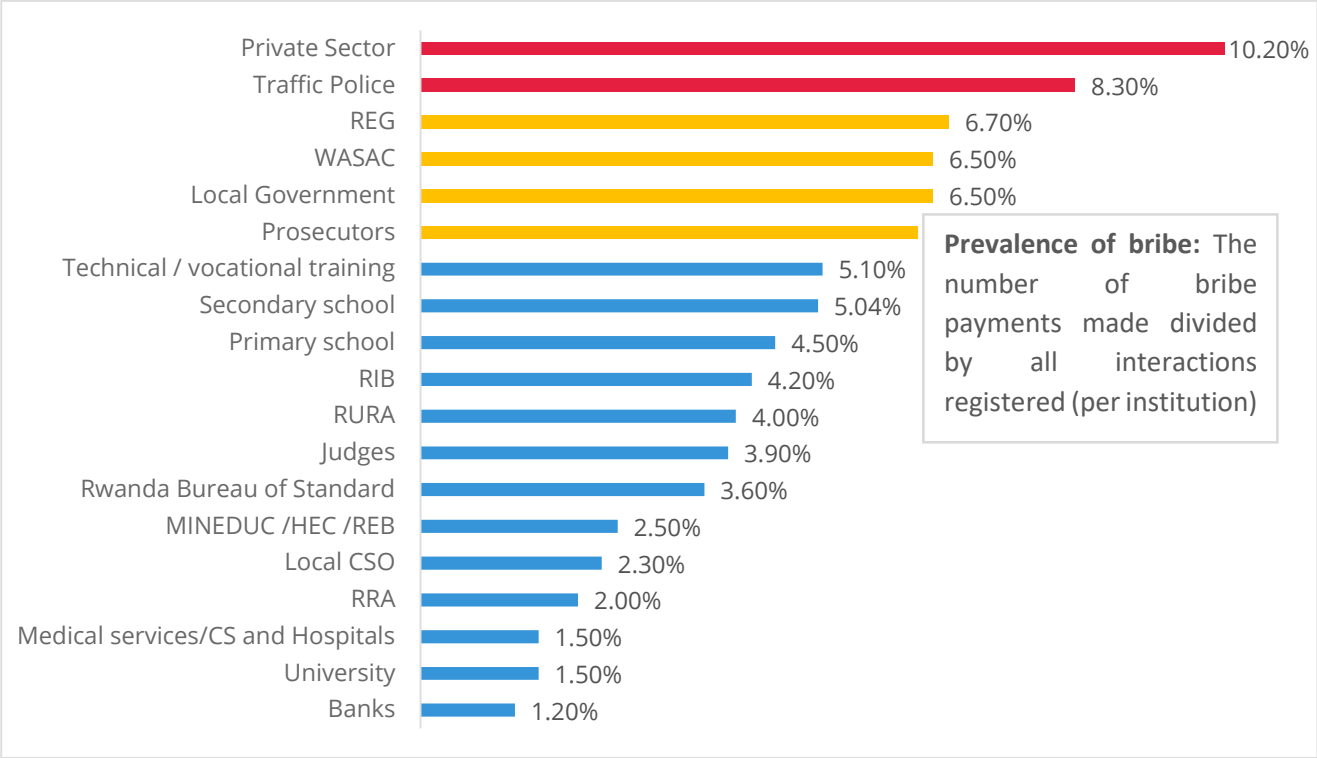


Source: TI-Rwanda RBI 2022 primary data

Likewise, a trend analysis of the prevalence of bribe in Rwanda between 2018 and 2022 indicates that corruption has increased for the last Five years from 2.08% in 2018, 2% in 2019, 2,5% in 2020, 2,3% in 2021 to 4.5% in 2022. Though in general, the national average of the prevalence is low in Rwanda, the 2022 RBI reveals that the level of bribes payment has doubled since the previous year only (from 2.3% to 4.5%). As discussed earlier, COVID-

19 pandemic related consequences and the sharp rise of prices at the market in Rwanda have been among the reasons behind the increase of corruption in the country. The figure 15 displays institutions with the highest prevalence of bribe in the last 12 months.

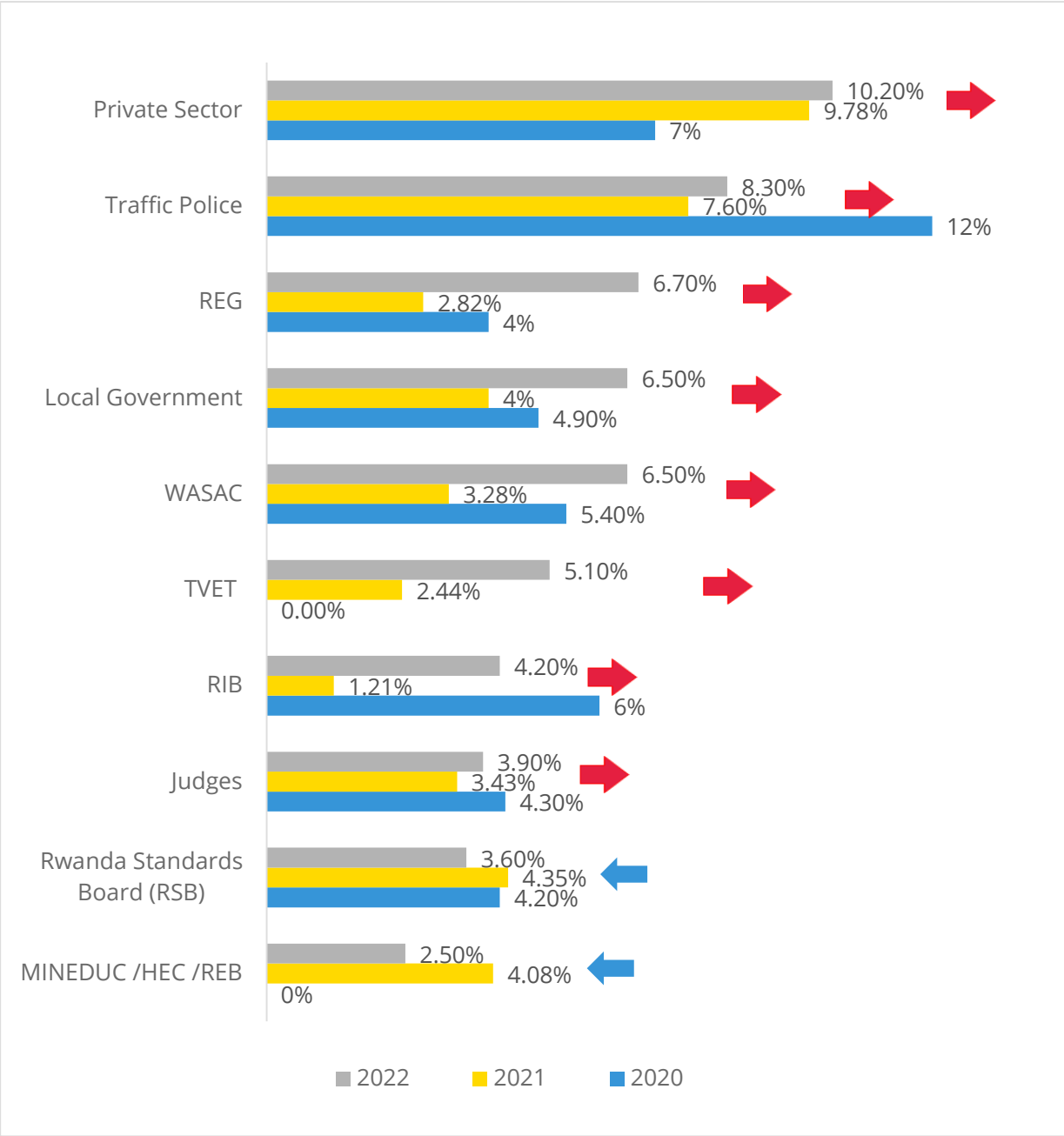
Figure 15: Institutions with the highest prevalence of bribe in the last 12 months



Source: TI-Rwanda RBI 2022 primary data

The selected institutions in the analysis of bribes demand occurrence were also examined in a bid to assess their level of prevalence of bribes in the year under review. The 2022 survey highlights the institutions that are most prone to bribes payment than others including the Private Sector (10.2%), Traffic Police (10.3%), REG (6.7%), WASAC (6.5%) and Local Government (6.5%). Remarkably, those institutions with the highest likelihood are the ones with the highest prevalence of bribe in 2022 in Rwanda. This calls for appropriate anti-corruption measures targeting these specific institutions. The RBI sought to also analyze the trend of prevalence of bribes among institutions for the period between 2020 and 2022. This is shown in the figure 16.

Figure 16: Trend of the prevalence of bribe in selected institutions (2020 – 2022)

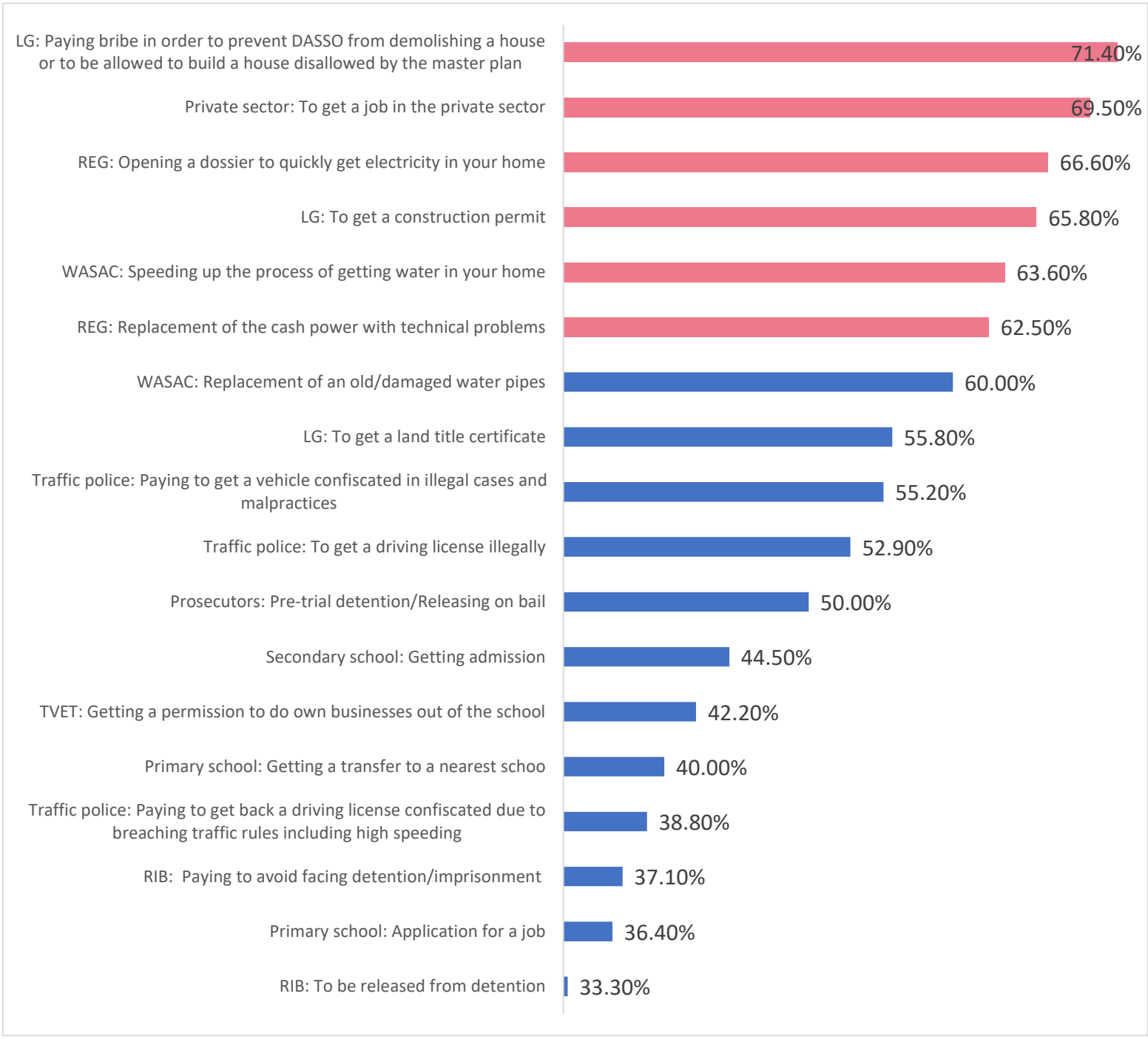


Source: TI-Rwanda RBI 2022 primary data

The figure 16 reveals a positive trend in terms of the reduction of prevalence for some institutions such as Traffic Police, RIB, and Judges. They lowered the level of prevalence from 12% to 8.3% (Traffic Police); from 6% to 4.2% (RIB) and from 4.4% to 4.9% (Judges). This is a good indication of the efforts made by these in institutions to refrain from bribes payment proposed by service seekers in the last 12 months.

Nevertheless, the current Rwanda Bribery Index indicates an increase in the prevalence of bribe in other institutions such as Private Sector, Local Government, REG and WASAC. The services for which most of bribe payment was made are listed below.

Figure 17: Services with highest bribe payment in 2022



Source: TI-Rwanda RBI 2022 primary data

The data in the above figure suggests that to pay bribe in order to prevent DASSO from demolishing or to be allowed to build a house illegally (71.4%), get a job in private sector (69.5%), to open a file and quickly get electricity in your home (66.6%), get illegally a construction permit in Local Government (65.8%), speeding up the process of getting water in your home (63.6%), were the Five services most affected by the payment of bribes in 2022. Qualitative data also confirmed the prevalence of corruption in private sector especially while seeking for a job as testified in the following quotes:

"In fact, I think there is no corruption possible in providing jobs in the mining sector especially due to the nature of work in mining. Because mining jobs require physical strength and endurance, many people do not look for them, making mineworkers in high demand. Furthermore, because miners are paid based on the amount of minerals extracted, they do not tend to stay in one company for long period and prefer to look for other jobs in various mining companies, especially where there are many minerals, making mineworkers unstable enough to pay bribes to get jobs". ***Argued by one of interviewed mining site managers in Muhanga district***

"Corruption, in my opinion, exists in the granting of mining licenses, particularly because they are frequently delayed, and some applicants are granted licenses very early, even before those who applied before them. I don't have any tangible evidence, but the fact that some people get licenses quickly while others are delayed indicates that there is definitely corruption going on, which could be based on friendship and family ties or bribery. There are even some mining companies that are granted operating licenses yet they do not meet all the requirements which often lead to gaps in their operations, especially the lack of proper equipment and facilities". An ***interviewed mining site manager in Ngororero district***

Similarly, construction permit in the City of Kigali is difficult without paying bribe as evidenced by the following testimonies:

It has become habit for anyone requesting a construction permit to first pay a bribe in order to receive the service. Even if a service applicant meets all of the requirements, he or she is frequently delayed until the bribe is paid. Service providers who need bribes, in particular, are known to visit the site several times and request minor changes until the applicants are tired and pay bribes to obtain the permit quickly. When an applicant does not meet all of the requirements or wishes to build in an unauthorized area, he/she is required to pay a large bribe so that the service providers can share the money with other inspection officials**. Interview with a resident of Kigali City**

> Corruption is evident in the construction permit process. When it comes to the issuance of construction permits at the sector level, the land officer, the security officer at the sector, cell, and village levels, as well as the cell and village leaders, are the ones who frequently demand bribes from applicants. A bribe of 100,000 to 200,000 FRw is requested for a permit to repair a house, while a bribe of at least 500,000 FRw is requested for a permit to build a new house. **Kigali city resident interviewed in the survey**

Getting water supply from WASAC is also hard unless you accept to be involved in corrupt practices. This was also supported by participants who took part in the qualitative data collection. In the words of a participant in Burera District, he says:

> In fact, getting a water supply is difficult; the service is frequently delayed, so people who want water at home pay a bribe to get it quickly. I have close friends who have paid bribes to be included on the list of people who will have water taps installed in their homes. WASAC frequently informs you that the equipment is not yet available and that you must wait an unknown amount of time when you request these services. As a result, those who are tired with waiting resort to bribery. **Burera District resident who participated in the survey**

Other participants from Rwamagana and Muhanga District urge that:

> It is extremely difficult to obtain repair services when water equipment gets damaged. People who request this service frequently complain about its delay; they are always told to wait, which is why some choose to pay a bribe to have the service faster. Bribing WASAC technicians has become a culture when a citizen need fast repair services. My friend told me that he paid a bribe of FRW 50,000 to get repair service. **A resident of the Rwamagana district who took part in the survey**

> A neighbor had a broken water meter tap, but it was extremely difficult to find a replacement. They kept telling him he had to wait up to 8 months. When he saw that it was still delayed, he offered a bribe, which they gladly accepted. He didn't say how much he gave, but they usually give between FRW 50 and 100,000. **A survey participant from the Muhanga district**

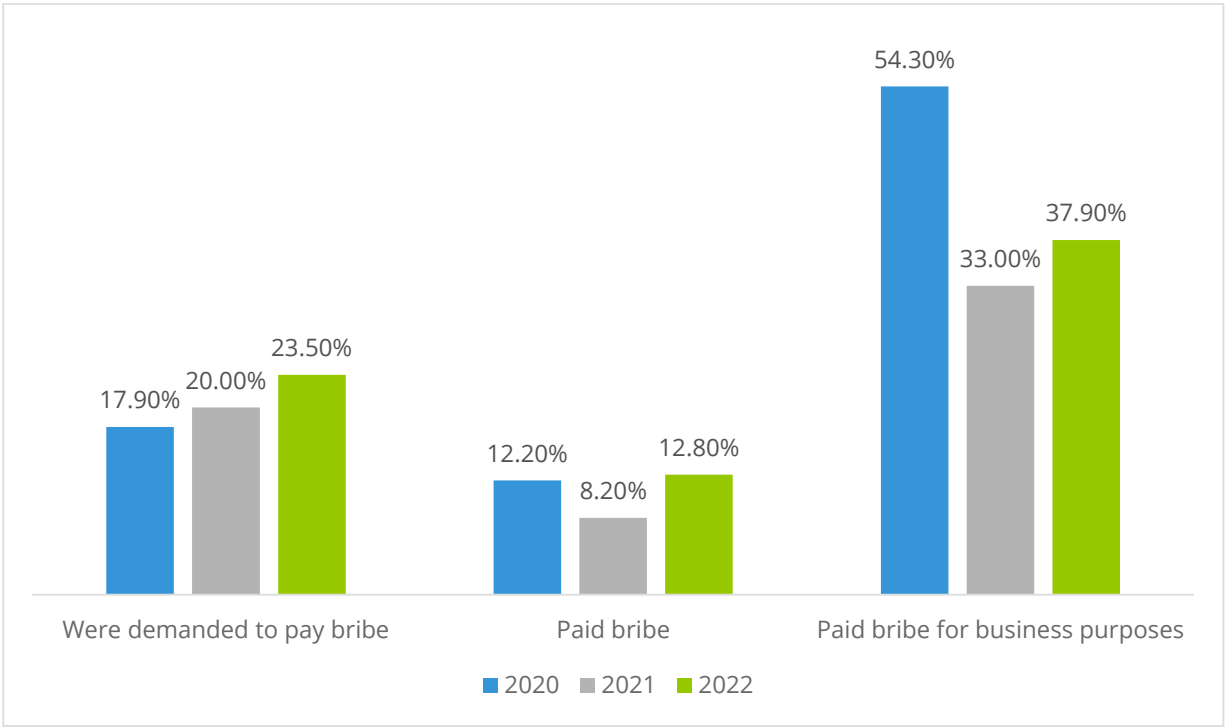
In this study, Transparency International Rwanda committed to avail data on the prevalence of bribes among business people for the sake of enabling the monitoring of the SDG16.5. The data in the figure 18 reveal that the proportion of bribe demand and paid

among the business community in 2022 in Rwanda stands at 23.5% and 12.8% respectively. The study indicates that of the 12.8% of the business people who paid bribe in the last 12 months, 33.9% of them paid it for business purposes (see the figure below). Moreover, the bribe demand and prevalence among business people also increased in 2022 (see figure 19).

Figure 18: Bribe occurrences among the business community (SDG16.5.1 and SDG 16.5.2)

Source: TI-Rwanda RBI 2022 primary data

Figure 19: Trend of prevalence and likelihood of bribe among business people – SDG 16.5



Source: TI-Rwanda RBI 2022 primary data

5.4. AVERAGE AMOUNT OF BRIBE PAID IN 2022

The data below shows the average amount of bribe paid during the last 12 months by respondents who sought services in the selected institutions.

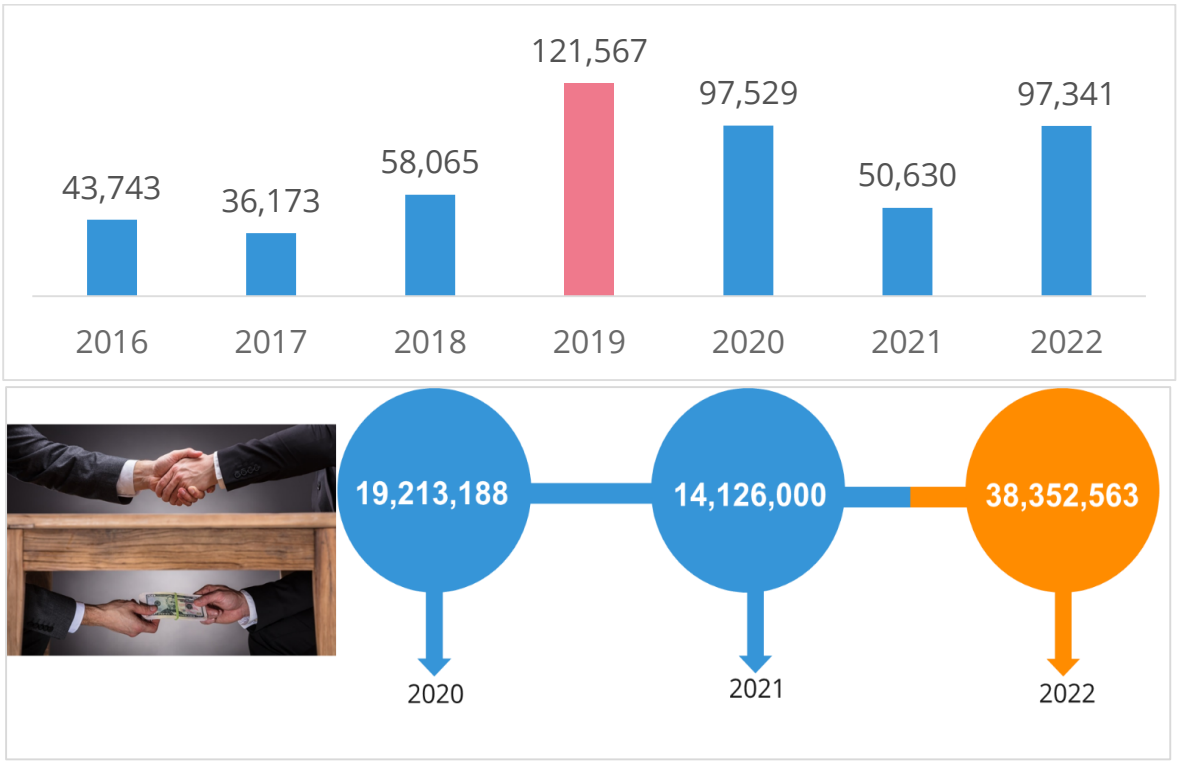
Table 1: Average amount of bribes paid

Institutions	Average size of bribe (RWF)
BANKS	618,900
Judges	348,000
Traffic Police	101,352
Local Government	88,880
Prosecutors	75,000
PRIVATE SECTOR	57,800
RIB	47,000
RRA	44,600
Secondary school	38,923
REG	32,600
University	30,000
TVET	25,000
WASAC	23,500
RURA	15,000
Primary school	12,222
National Average	**97,341**

Source: TI-Rwanda RBI 2022 primary data

The national average of the amount of bribe paid by respondents is amounted to **FRw97.341** implying an increase from the previous year which was higher (FRw50.630). This also applies for the total amount of bribe paid in 2022 which has increased from Rfw14,126,000 to **FRw38.352.563**. The figures below show the trend of the average amount of bribe paid in the last 6 years and the total amount paid in the last 12 months since 2020.

Figure 20: Average amount of bribes (FRw) paid (2016 – 2022) and Total amount paid in the last 12 months

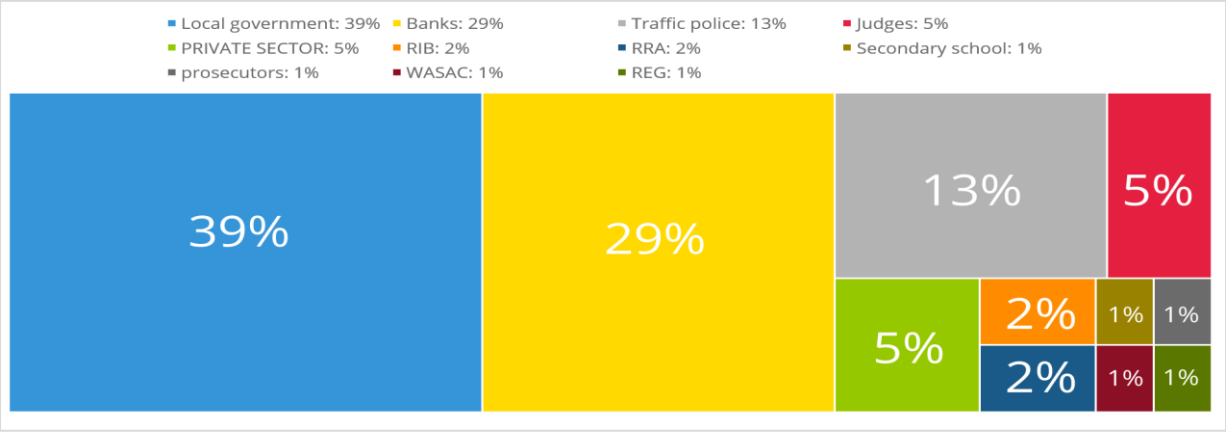


Source: TI-Rwanda RBI 2022 primary data

5.5. SHARE OF BRIBE 2022

This figure presents the share of bribe paid during the last 12 months by respondents who sought services in the institutions listed below.

Figure 21: Share of bribe



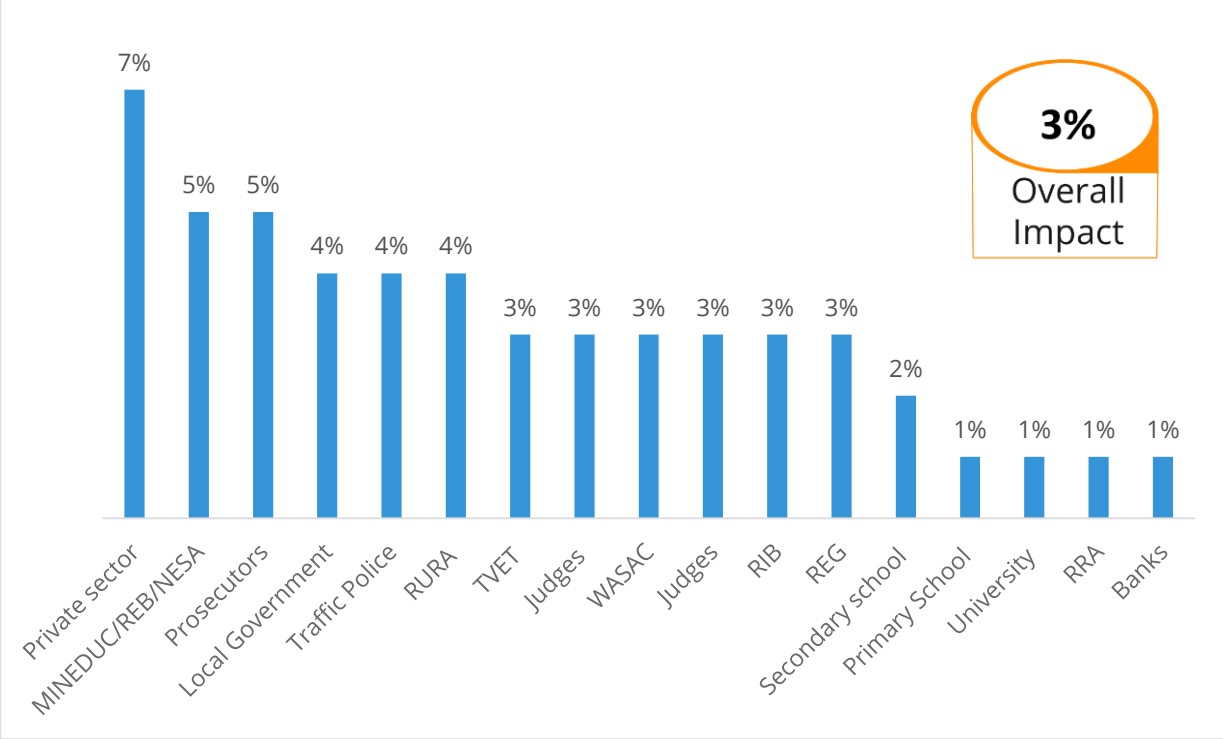
Source: TI-Rwanda RBI 2022 primary data

As shown in the figure 21, the large share of bribe paid in 2022 originates from the Local Government (39%), Banks (29%) and Traffic Police (13%) which together had received 81% of bribe paid in all the selected institutions for RBI 2022. The main reason of large shares in Local Government, Traffic Police and Banks were discussed earlier in this study (see figure 16).

5.6. PERCEIVED IMPACT OF BRIBE 2022

The figure 22 presents findings on whether respondents have been denied the services they requested for as a result of refraining to pay a bribe.

Figure 22: Impact of bribe



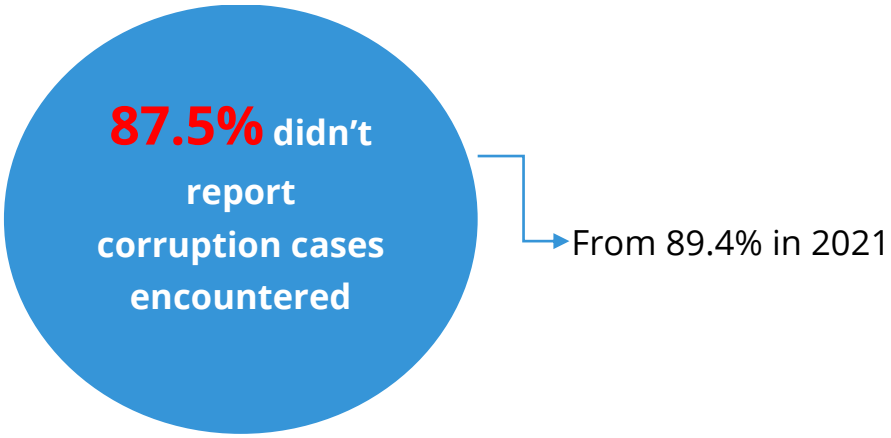
Source: TI-Rwanda RBI 2022 primary data

Overall, the perceived impact of bribe in Rwanda stands at 3%, meaning that only 3 in Ten who sought for service in the selected instructions and who refrained from paying bribes to get a service ended up being refused the requested services. As it has been shown in the previous RBI reports since 2010, the trend analysis of the perceived impact of bribe indicates that in Rwanda getting services is not necessarily associated to paying bribes (perceived impact of bribe in Rwanda since 2010 always scored very low (below 3%). However, the 2022 RBI shows that the impact of bribe in the private sector, education sector (MINEDUC/REB) and prosecution remain with the highest impact of bribe in the year under review.

5.7. REPORTING CORRUPTION

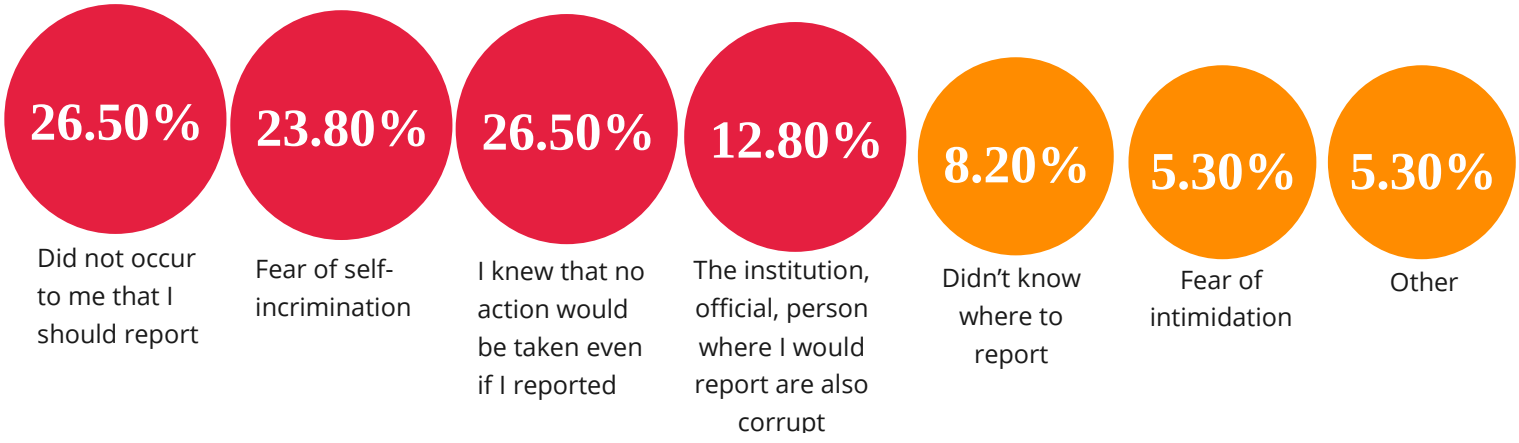
In this section, the reporting of bribe cases is illustrated and discussed. The survey shows whether the respondents who encountered corruption reported it or not (see Figure 23).

Figure 23: Reporting corruption



As in the previous RBI, the above figure indicates that the vast majority (87.5%) of respondents who encountered bribes did not report it. As described in the figure 24, the main reasons were that "it did not occur to me that I should report (26.5%), Fear of self-incrimination (23.8%), and that they knew no action would be taken even if they reported corruption (18.7%). These reasons are likely to affect the existing efforts aimed to fight against corruption if nothing is done to enforce the whistleblower protection law in Rwanda.

Figure 24: Reasons for not reporting corruption

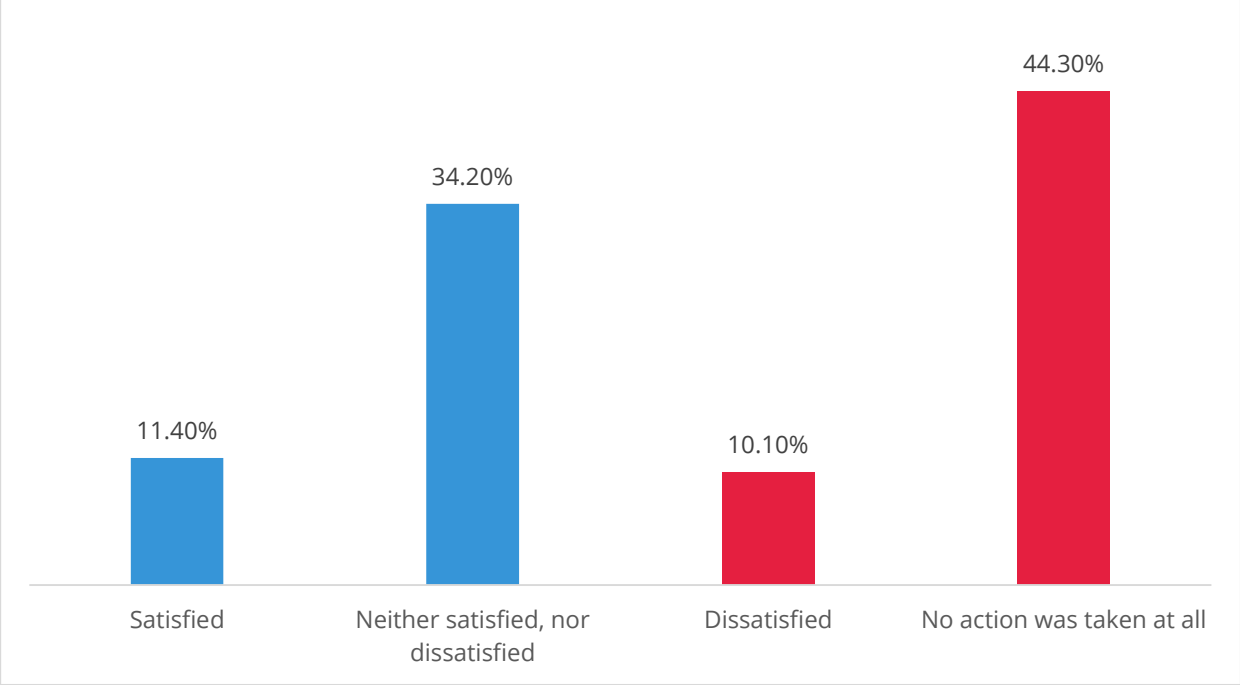


Source: TI-Rwanda RBI 2022 primary data

5.8. Satisfaction with the action taken after reporting bribe

The reasons of not reporting corruption led to respondent's dissatisfaction mainly due to nothing was done even after reporting bribe to relevant organization. As a matter of fact, only 11.4% were satisfied with the action taken after reporting bribe (see figure 25).

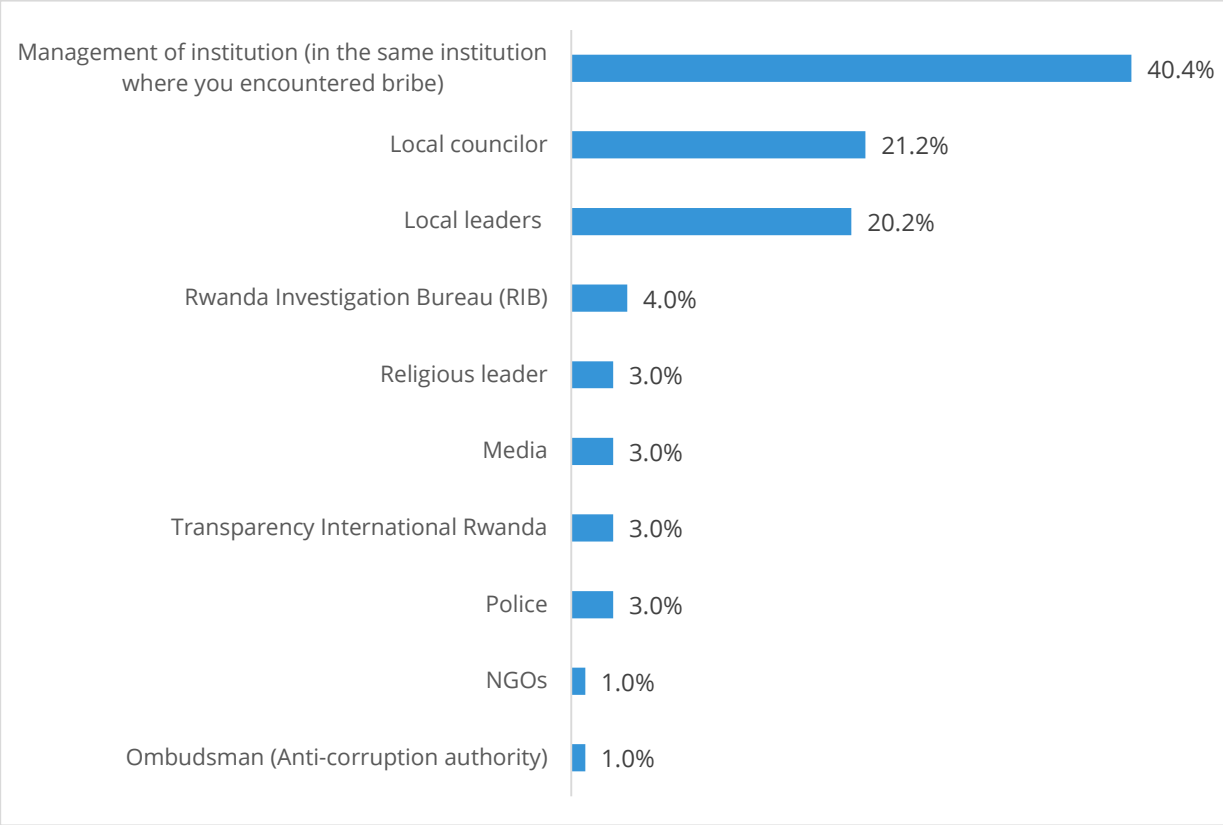
Figure 25: Satisfaction with the action taken after reporting bribe



Source: TI-Rwanda RBI 2022 primary data

The survey further looked at the institutions where citizens are reporting to. As mentioned in the figure 26, several channels for reporting bribery exist. At national level, media, CSOs, Police, RIB and the Ombudsman are contacted, while at the local level, the Local Government officials or elected leaders at local level are considered as focal point for reporting bribery. The figure below shows that in 2022 citizens have reported corruption mainly to the local leaders and the management of institutions where corruption was encountered.

Figure 26: Focal points for reporting bribery cases



This Rwanda Bribery Index is an unnual survey that aims to analysing the experience and parception of Rwandans with regard to bribe incidences in the country. The study uses mainly the quantitative approach to collect data from 2475 respondents aged beyond 18 years in Eleven districts of Rwanda. The RBI measures 5 indicators of bribe which are based on perception (perceived level of corruption, perceived causes of paying bribe and the level of government commitment to fight corruption), and another set of indicators that are based on personal experience with bribe (likelihood, prevalence, impact, share, average size and the proportion of reporting corruption encountered).

Concerning the perception of corruption in 2022, the study shows RBI 2022 also shows that the perceived level of corruption is progressively inclined to a medium rather than to a low level. In 2022, 33.4 % of citizens who interacted with service providers in the last 12 months perceive corruption as medium as opposed to 27.8% of those who believed that corruption is low in Rwanda. In similar vein, this study indicates an increased perception of the level of corruption in Rwanda since the last four years.

With regard to the experience of bribe, the 2022 RBI indicates that cumulatively 29.1% of respondents, that is 23.5% and 5.6% of demand and proposed bribe respectively, encountered bribe in the last twelve months. The current RBI shows an increase of bribe encountered compared to the last three years (from 18.5% in 2019 to 19.2% in 2020 and from 22.9% in 2021 to 29.1% in 2022). The rise of prices is partly associated with the increase of corruption in Rwanda, as the inflation and the prices at market have also increased since the beginning of Ukraine and Russia war. This may negatively affect the anti-corruption effort as even people with positive attitudes to refrain from corruption would be tempted to indulge in corrupt practices as to balance their earnings with their pressing life related expenses.

As in previous RBI, the current study also reveals that the Private sector and the Traffic Police continue to take the lead in as far as the likelihood of bribe is concerned accounting for 21.2% and 16.4% in 2022 respectively. This year, the top Five institutions coming in the second category of those with relatively highest likelihood include Local Government (10.6%), REG (10.4%), WASAC (10.2%), Prosecutors (9%), FDA (8.3%). Likewise, a trend analysis of the prevalence of bribe in Rwanda between 2018 and 2022 indicates that corruption has increased for the last five years from 2.08% in 2018, 2% in 2019, 2,5% in 2020, 2,3% in 2021 to 4.5% in 2022. Though in general, the national average of the

prevalence is low in Rwanda, the 2022 RBI reveals that the level of bribes payment has doubled since the previous year only (from 2.3% to 4.5%).

The national average of the amount of bribe paid by respondents is amounted to FRw97.341 implying an increase from the previous year which was higher (FRw50.630). This also applies for the total amount of bribe paid in 2022 which has increased from FRw14,126,000 to FRw38.352.563. The large share of bribe paid in 2022 originates from the Local Government (39%), Banks (29%) and Traffic Police (13%) which together had received 81% of bribe paid in all the selected institutions for RBI 2022.

As in the previous RBI, the above figure indicates that the vast majority (87.5%) of respondents who encountered bribes did not report it. As described in the figure 24, the main reasons were that "it did not occur to me that I should report (26.5%), Fear of self-incrimination (23.8%), and that they knew no action would be taken even if they reported corruption (18.7%). These reasons are likely to affect the existing efforts aimed to fight against corruption if nothing is done to enforce the whistleblower protection law in Rwanda.

Based on RBI 2022 findings , TI-Rwanda propose the following recommendations to relevant institutions or actors.

Issue	Recommendation	Concerned actors
Increased perception of corruption in Rwanda	Computerization of services in all public and private institutions can improve the efficiency and integrity among service providers and thus reduce significantly corruption in the service delivery chain. Increase transparency and accountability mechanisms in all institutions by putting in place controls, audits, check and balance mechanisms and an anti-corruption focal person. This requires to adopt (the four-eyes principle): The four-eyes principle refers to a requirement	All public and private institutions in Rwanda

	that some public sector activities or decisions must be approved by at least two people. The four-eyes principle is a tool for monitoring and increased accountability and operates on the basis that it is harder to corrupt two people than one person Systems of rewards and incentives: At a basic level, all institutions should establish a system that rewards appropriate behaviour and penalizes corrupt behaviour in the public sector. The system should include extrinsic motivations such as a decent wage and merit-based appointments and promotions.	
Increased levels of bribe in many public institutions	Establish strong monitoring and oversight measures that provide information needed to hold the public sector to account Human resources management: The rules and procedures for hiring, rotation, promotion, professionalization, and training of civil servants also play a role in the combating of corruption in the public sector. For example, staff rotation in jobs that are vulnerable to corruption is expected to assist in preventing corrupt relationships from forming and in disrupting established corrupt relationships	Rwandan community, CSOs, Media

Low rate of reporting corruption	Strengthen corruption reporting systems and whistle-blowers' protection	Office of the Ombudsman, NPPA, RIB, TI-Rw
	Conduct a specific study on people's experience and perception of corruption reporting to dig deeper into the issue by assessing people's perception of and experience with corruption reporting and whistle-blowers' protection in Rwanda factors hindering reporting	Office of the Ombudsman, TI-Rw

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