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Rwanda bribery Index 2018



Norwegian People's Aid

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Transparency International Rwanda (TI-Rw) is a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO), registered in Rwanda as a non-profit organization according to the Rwandan law. It was created in 2004, with the mission “To contribute in the fight against corruption and promoting good governance through enhancing integrity in the Rwandan society”. TI-Rw is a leading anti-corruption actor in Rwanda; it is increasingly being seen as a reliable partner by the government of Rwanda, the private sector, development partners and other fellow CSOs. Furthermore, since 2011, TI-Rw is a national chapter of Transparency International, the global movement fighting corruption with over a hundred national chapters worldwide and a coordinating Secretariat located in Berlin, Germany

Author: Transparency International Rwanda, December 2018

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The Rwanda Bribery Index provides a solid basis for a coordinated effort in the fight against corruption in Rwanda and regularly shows the importance of civil society's role in the fight against corruption, alongside the Government and other public institutions.

Transparency International Rwanda is grateful for the collaborative effort of the government of Rwanda and civil society organisations in promoting good governance, transparency and accountability as well as the fight against corruption to the minimum level. More particularly, the Rwanda Bribery Index which is now on its 9th edition is made possible thanks to a high political will from government institutions at both central and local level.

First, we would like to express our gratitude to the Norwegian People's Aid for the continuous financial support provided to Transparency International Rwanda to carry out this study.

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This study has been successful with the support of respondents in eleven districts who despite their everyday duties took their time to provide us with their opinions and experiences of bribe in selected institutions and services through the questionnaire administered to them.

We are very thankful for their active participation in this endeavour.

Mrs. Marie Immaculée Ingabire
Chairperson of Transparency International Rwanda.



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1. INTRODUCTION

Corruption is a covert phenomenon, often unpredictable, and with characteristics that vary across time, location, and context. It can take many forms such as bribery, extortion, fraud, embezzlement, collusion, abuse of discretion, favouritism, gift-giving, nepotism, cronyism, patronage. It occurs at all levels of power, from global, national, provincial, and local levels. It is conducted by agents of all types, either willingly or not: individuals, businesses, public officials, politicians, state and non-state actors.

Corruption is a continuously evolving phenomenon affected by various factors and determinants, which includes social and cultural settings, institutional and organizational structures, political environments, and economic and structural policies¹. One of the key issues remains: how can a country combat corruption and break the vicious circle around corruption?

Rwanda put the fight against corruption very high on the political agenda and along the efforts of enforcing strong mechanisms for national transformation; Rwanda has also strengthened its behaviours to combat corruption. This includes for example improving integrity and accountability in its governance by establishing a zero-tolerance policy to corruption as a national value. The Government of Rwanda has undertaken a number of anti-corruption measures and these coupled with immense political will and public support have led to a low impunity environment. These efforts have resulted in a reduction of corruption in general, which is also visible in the annual Corruption Perception Index (CPI), published by Transparency International, where Rwanda was ranked as the third least corruption country in Africa (and 48th least corruption globally) in 2017.

The efforts are ongoing, for example in 2018, the Government of Rwanda has enacted the new penal code where the crime of corruption was also reviewed to remove the ambiguity under the previous law. Embezzlement, bribery, self-enrichment and many such others are all corruption according to the new penal code. The conceptual clarity will therefore help sanction offenders for corrupt behaviours. The Government also moved to make corruption cases imprescriptible, and not subject to being taken away by prescription nor by lapse of time. This means, if someone is pursued for corruption, the offense will not die before the offender is presented to the relevant Courts.

Despite the tangible effort in the fight against corruption by the Government of Rwanda, there are still challenges of corruption, such as persistent petty corruption or low levels of reporting bribe in Rwanda. In fact, the 2017 RBI revealed that 23.9 percent of people who interacted with a service provider in the past 12 months in Rwanda have demanded or offered a bribe while seeking for a service which increased from 2012. The report further showed that around 1.5 million of Rwandans have encountered bribe in the last 12 months. Also other research undertaken by Transparency

¹ UNDP, Users guide to measuring corruption and anti-corruption
[file:///C:/Users/arwego/AppData/Local/Packages/Microsoft.MicrosoftEdge_8wekyb3d8bbwe/TempState/Downloads/Users-Guide-Measuring-Corruption-Anticorruption%20\(1\).pdf](file:///C:/Users/arwego/AppData/Local/Packages/Microsoft.MicrosoftEdge_8wekyb3d8bbwe/TempState/Downloads/Users-Guide-Measuring-Corruption-Anticorruption%20(1).pdf)

International Rwanda in 2018 pointed to tangible levels of corruption encounter, such as gender-based corruption in public workplaces, corruption encounter in the Vision Umurenge Program or in bribery encounter in service delivery in local government entities.

The fight against corruption will remain difficult as long as the vast majority of those who encounter corruption, are not reporting it. This is a very striking result of most of TI-RW's research and also already emphasized in the last edition of the RBI 2017. Moreover, this is an indication that citizens lack confidence and/or knowhow in the existing laws, their enforcement as well as reporting mechanisms with regard to corruption issues.

Transparency International Rwanda committed to carry out Rwanda Bribery Index as an annual survey that displays experiences and perceptions of bribery in Rwanda in the framework of advocacy tool in the fight against petty corruption which continues to hinder service delivery within public, private and civil society institutions in Rwanda.

2. OBJECTIVES OF THE RBI

The overall objective of the study is to analyse the experiences and perceptions of Rwandans with regard to bribery in the country.

The specific objectives of the RBI are to:

- i. Determine the likelihood and prevalence (perception and evidence) of bribery in Rwanda as reported by Rwandan households;
- ii. Identify Rwandan institutions and organizations particularly prone to bribery;
- iii. Assess the impact of bribery on service delivery in Rwanda;
- iv. Gather concrete information on the size and share of bribes paid by Rwandan citizens while seeking to access a specific service.

The Rwanda Bribery Index is analysed through five bribery indicators as follows:

1. Likelihood =
$$\frac{\text{\# of bribe demand situation for organization x}}{\text{\# of interactions for organization x}}$$
2. Prevalence =
$$\frac{\text{\# of bribe payments for organization x}}{\text{\# of interactions for organization x}}$$
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 amount =
$$\frac{\text{Total amount of bribes paid in organization x}}{\text{Individuals who paid a bribe in organization x}}$$

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Approach

The research is based on a quantitative approach, using a household as a statistic unit. The surveyed population consist of Rwandan citizens, aged 18 years and above, that interact with public officials while seeking a service. Furthermore, the survey used both random and purposive sampling techniques. This technique aimed to enable urban districts to be included in the sample as they are more likely to have more interactions than rural areas due to more services to be delivered. Furthermore, in urban areas higher risks of corruption are expected. The survey helped also to capture data on bribery incidences.

3.2 Sampling frame and sample size

The RBI 2018, like the previous ones, is a nationwide survey. 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 2016, based on the 2012 census, estimates the Rwandan population aged 18 and above at **6,206,552** (study population). The sample was calculated using the formula below.

$$n = \frac{N(zs/e)^2}{N-1+(zs/e)^2}$$

Where:

z = 1.96 for 95% level of confidence

s = $p(1-p)$ p = estimated proportion

e = desired margin of error

N = population size

In this estimation the significance level is taken at 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 2018 survey was 2400 respondents. This sample was reached by enumerators who went beyond the desired sample (2424 out of 2400) as shown in the table below.

TABLE 1 DISTRICT SAMPLE ALLOCATION

PROVINCE	DISTRICT	FREQUENCY (N)	PERCENT (%)
KIGALI CITY	GASABO	125	5.2%
	KICUKIRO	80	3.3%
	NYARUGENGE	79	3.3%
		284	11.7%
SOUTH	HUYE	297	12.3%
	KAMONYI	301	12.4%
		598	24.7%
EAST	KIREHE	250	10.3%
	NYAGATARE	301	12.4%
		551	22.7%
NORTH	GICUMBI	237	9.8%
	RULINDO	181	7.5%
		418	17.2%
WEST	NGORORERO	264	10.9%
	RUBAVU	309	12.7%
		573	23.6%
TOTAL		2424	100.0%

3.3 Data collection

The survey was carried out by skilled interviewers and team leaders that were recruited and trained according to their experiences in data collection. The training covered issues such as survey methods, questionnaire structure and content, interviewers'/supervisors' responsibilities, as well as on survey ethics. The questionnaires were conducted face-to-face with respondents in the selected districts included in this study as shown in the table above. Only those who interacted with any institution in the last 12 months were eligible to be interviewed, similar as in the 2017 RBI. RBI 2018 study looked specifically at the incidence of bribe in services that are more likely prone to corruption than those included in the previous RBI. Those are for example: construction, recruitment, detention, driving licence, etc.

3.4 Pilot survey

Before starting the data collection, a “pilot survey” was organized in a sector which was not covered by the actual survey sampling. 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 interviewers and supervisors to get used to the tools they have to use during the actual survey.

After this stage the research tools were submitted to an *ad hoc* workshop for validation of research tools and methodology by TI-RW stakeholders. After securing all required authorizations, the fieldwork has immediately started.

3.5 Data analysis

For the purpose of data entry, clerks were recruited and trained for the data entry by an IT specialist. Based on the questionnaire, a specific data entry application was designed using Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS). A mask for the data entry was used to enter data from collected questionnaires. After the data entry, a tabulation plan was conceived to facilitate the data analysis.

3.6 Quality control

To ensure data quality, the data collection was supervised by skilled team leaders recruited based on their experience in carrying out such activity. Other quality control measures included:

- Recruitment of skilled interviewers and supervisors
- Extensive training of data collectors and data entry clerks;
- Two levels of supervision at the stage of data collection and data entry;
- Large data sample calculated at the significance level of 0.05 which provides 95% confidence in the data reliability
- Data cleaning: removing outliers, missing data interpolation to improve the data quality
- Assessment and approval of the 2018 RBI tools and methodology by the NISR;

3.7 Demographics distribution

This section presents key characteristics of the respondents who participated in the survey such as: age, gender, type of residence, level of education and income as shown in the table 3 below.

TABLE 2 DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

VARIABLE	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE (%)
SEX		
MALE	1294	53.4%
FEMALE	1130	46.6%
<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>2424</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
TYPE OF RESIDENCE		
URBAN	928	38.3%
RURAL	1496	61.7%
<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>2424</i>	<i>100.0%</i>

AGE GROUPS		
18-24	305	12.7%
25-29	471	19.6%
30-34	464	19.3%
35-39	301	12.5%
40-44	312	13.0%
45-49	147	6.1%
50-54	183	7.6%
55-59	103	4.3%
60+	122	5.1%
<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>2408</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION		
PRIMARY ONLY	1085	45.1%
SECONDARY ONLY	709	29.5%
UNIVERSITY DEGREE	163	6.8%
VOCATIONAL TRAINING	94	3.9%
NO SCHOOL ATTAINED	353	14.7%
<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>2404</i>	<i>100.0%</i>
PERSONAL INCOME PER MONTH		
LESS THAN 1.500 RWF	290	12.7%
1.500- 4.500 RWF	391	17.1%
4.500 -15.000 RWF	580	25.3%
15.000 -30.000 RWF	320	14.0%
ABOVE 30. 000RWF	709	31.0%
<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>2290</i>	<i>100.0%</i>

EMPLOYMENT STATUS		
STUDENT	42	1.8%
UNEMPLOYED	187	7.8%
SELF-EMPLOYED/ EMPLOYED IN FAMILY BUSINESS OR FARM	1720	71.9%
EMPLOYED IN PRIVATE SECTOR	313	13.1%
EMPLOYED BY GOVERNMENT/LOCAL AUTHORITY/ PARASTATAL	77	3.2%
EMPLOYED IN COMMUNITY SECTOR E.G. CHURCH, NGO, COOPERATIVE	36	1.5%
RETIRED	17	0.7%
<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>2392</i>	<i>100.0%</i>

Source: TI-Rwanda RBI 2018 primary data

The data in the table above suggests that males represent the majority of respondents (53.4%). This also substantiates the fact that, generally, men are more visible than females in various institutions seeking for services related to business of their daily life. With regard to the age structure, the data shows that around 64 % of respondents belong to people between 25 and 45 years. The findings further show that the majority of respondents were from in rural setting (61.7%) and the majority of them are self-employed, which also includes farmers (71.9%). Notably, the proportion of those living in urban areas is higher (38.3%) than the national average (around 20%²) as the survey sample included all the districts with urban characteristics to maximise the chance of getting services that are frequently used by Rwandans.

Concerning the education level, the majority of respondents (45.1%) have completed the primary school, while 14.7 % of respondent's never attained school, 29.5% have secondary education level and only 6.8 % of respondents who hold a higher learning/university degree.

The majority of respondents (69%) belong to the population with a monthly income of less than 30,000 RWF. This corroborates the findings from other studies conducted by Transparency International Rwanda, such as the Citizen Report Card (CRC) in climate change where 97.2% of respondents belonged to people with a monthly income of less than 35.000 RWF.

²National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda, Fourth Population and Housing Census, 2012: Projections of the size of the Total, Urban and Rural Population , p 138.

4. PRESENTATION OF THE RBI 2018 FINDINGS

4.1 Perception of Corruption

The RBI measures citizens' perception of corruption in Rwanda along four dimensions: a) current state of corruption, b) comparison of the current state of corruption with the past, c) comparison of the current state of corruption with the next year, d) Respondents' views on the effort of the government of Rwanda to fight against corruption.

First, the current state of corruption is presented by using different indicators. As in the 2017 RBI, the majority of respondents in Rwanda, 58.3%, perceive corruption to be low, while a minority (12.5%) perceive it as high (see Figure 1). The low level of corruption in Rwanda is also substantiated in many studies, such as in Oyamada (2017), highlighting that in Rwanda "*corruption has been minimized by eradicating opportunities for misconduct and by focusing on governance reforms and maintaining a zero-tolerance policy against corruption. Political will and strong leadership, the active role played by the anti-corruption agency, and effective governance reform have made Rwanda's anti-corruption activities successful*".³

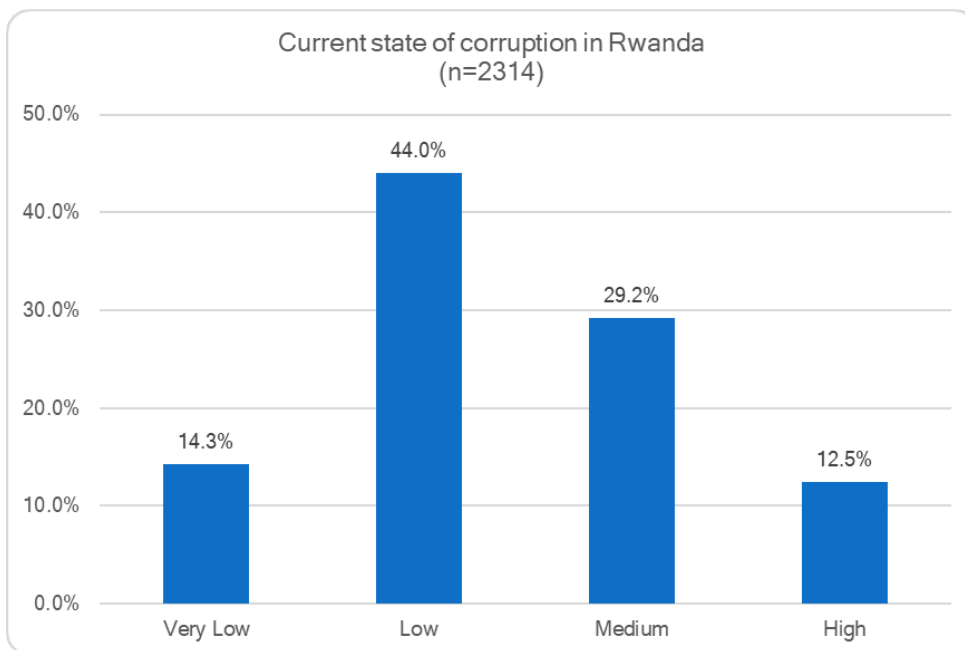


FIGURE 1 PERCEPTION ON THE CURRENT STATE OF CORRUPTION IN RWANDA

In terms of perceived changes of corruption, the data below show that the vast majority of respondents (84%) perceive that corruption decreased compared to last year and a mere proportion (2.2%) of them

³ Eiji Oyamada, (2017) "Combating corruption in Rwanda: lessons for policy makers", Asian Education and Development Studies, Vol. 6 Issue: 3, pp.249-262, <https://doi.org/10.1108/AEDS-03-2017-0028>.

consider corruption has increased a lot. This finding can be also supported by the CPI (Transparency International 2017)⁴, whereby Rwanda has made a remarkable improvement in its ranking from 102nd place in 2008 to 48th position as least corrupt nation out of 175 countries in 2017.

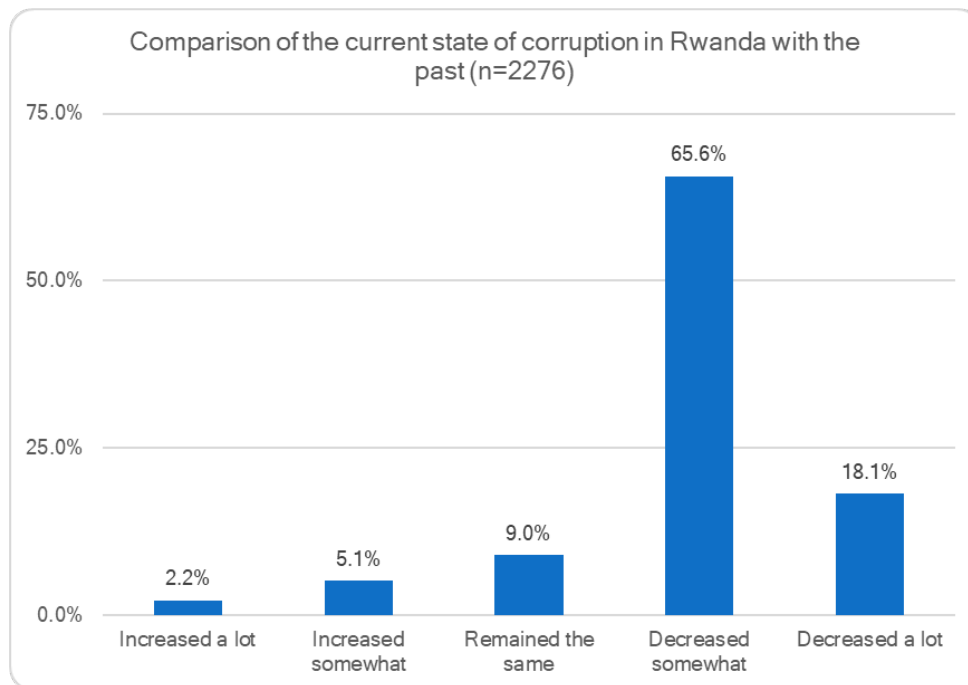


FIGURE 2 CURRENT STATE OF CORRUPTION COMPARED TO 2017

As shown by the findings above, there is a consistence of opinions from respondents that corruption has decreased last year. A similar picture of this trend can be drawn with regard to perception on corruption in the next year, as 88.8% of respondents believe that corruption will decrease next year. This is an indication that Rwandans are confident towards the efforts in the fight against corruption, for example through the Government of Rwanda to curb corruption to a minimum level.

⁴ Transparency International (2017): Corruption Perception Index 2017, accessible [here](#).

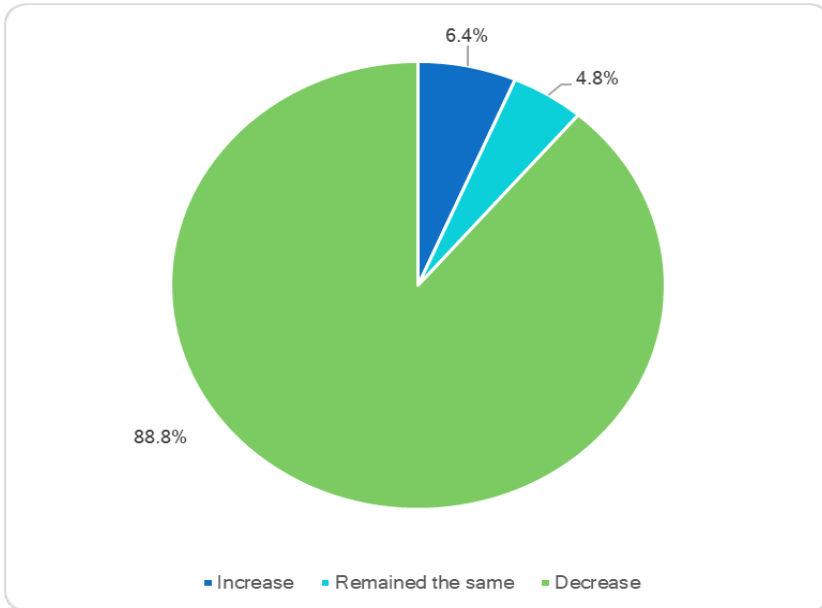


FIGURE 3 CURRENT STATE OF CORRUPTION COMPARED TO NEXT YEAR

The above figure shows that 88.8% of respondents believe that corruption will decrease next year. This is also supported by the figures on the effectiveness of Governments' action to fight against corruption. Here, 78.4% of respondents recognize the effort of their government in fighting corruption as effective. The previous RBI findings revealed similar information (85.9%). The confidence of Rwandans in their government to fight corruption is also confirmed in many other studies such as the Citizen Report Card published by the Rwanda Governance Board whereby 92.3% of citizens are satisfied with the effort of their government to fight corruption and injustice⁵.

Rwanda ranked the first country in Africa in terms of accountability by the 2017 Ibrahim Index⁶ of Governance in Africa. In this accountability indicator, Rwanda scored 72.1%, 85.5% in public sector accountability and transparency as well as 97.8% in diversion of public funds. Moreover, the Mo Ibrahim Index⁷ 2018 ranked Rwanda at first with regard to the absence of corruption in the public with a score of 88.4%. Furthermore, the effort of the Government of Rwanda in the fight against corruption was echoed during the launching ceremony of the study on the effectiveness of anti-corruption agencies in East Africa conducted by Transparency International Rwanda in 2017. *“Our drive to ensure that the cost of corruption remains high is our determination to stopping the practice even before it starts; we are aided by a strong mandate and strengthened by the support of government, and the Rwandan citizens to deploy this mandate,”* said Aloysie Cyanzayire, former Chief Ombudsman Rwanda⁸.

⁵ RGB, 2017: Citizen Report Card

⁶ Mo Ibrahim Foundation (2017): Ibrahim Index of African Governance. London, UK.

⁷ Mo Ibrahim Foundation (2018): Ibrahim Index of African Governance. London, UK.

⁸ Aloysie Cyanzayire, former Chief Ombudsman Rwanda (2017), accessible here: <http://ngoforum.or.ug/rwanda-presents-an-opportunity-for-positive-peer-learning-on-how-to-fight-corruption/>

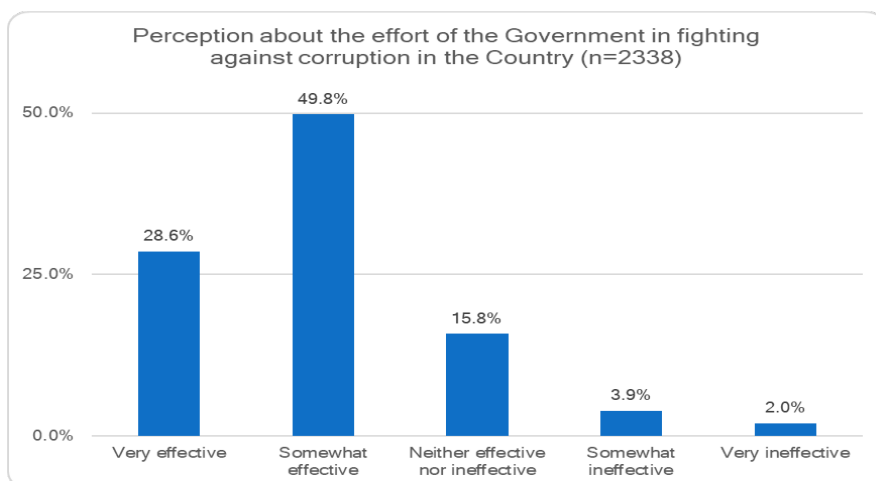


FIGURE 4 GOVERNMENT'S COMMITMENT TO FIGHT CORRUPTION

4.2 Personal experience with bribery

Everyday citizens are victims of abuse of entrusted power by public officials, private actors and CSOs in their interactions when they are trying to access basic goods or services in place. The section below analyses the experience of bribes faced by respondents in accordance with the level of their interaction with service providers.

4.3 Bribe encountered

Bribe encountered refers to both bribe demanded and offered. Figure 5 below shows the share of citizens who have demanded or offered bribes while interacting with service providers in the last twelve months.

According to Gutmann "Respondents systematically hesitate to report their direct involvement in acts of crime. In some countries it is a punishable offense to bribe a public official. In other countries social stigma deters respondents from answering honestly. The difference between perception and experience based data are also systematically related to individual socio-demographic characteristics as well as the political, economic, and social environment in which they operate".

Interestingly, comparing the perception and encounter of corruption, a similar trend is observed. We determined that 88.8% of respondents *perceived* that corruption decreased between 2017 and 2018, which is also true for corruption *encountered*. Corruption encounter has decreased from 23.9% in 2017 to 20.4% in 2018, but has not yet reached the levels of 2012-2015 (see figure 6 below). However, despite the decrease in encountering bribe, the comparison between levels of experienced corruption and perceived corruption may not be that

clear. Subjective data, such as the perception data, may rather reflect opinions than experience. Moreover, we also expect the actual number of people encountering corruption (either demanding or offering) slightly higher, as people might not admit to be demanded or offered a bribe, bearing in mind that corruption is a crime. According to Guttman (2015), the difference between the two measures exists and has been proven by empirical evidence. According to Gutmann "*respondents systematically*

hesitate to report their direct involvement in acts of crime. In some countries it is a punishable offense to bribe a public official. In other countries social stigma deters respondents from answering honestly. The difference between perception and experience based data are also systematically related to individual socio-demographic characteristics as well as the political, economic, and social environment in which they operate⁹.

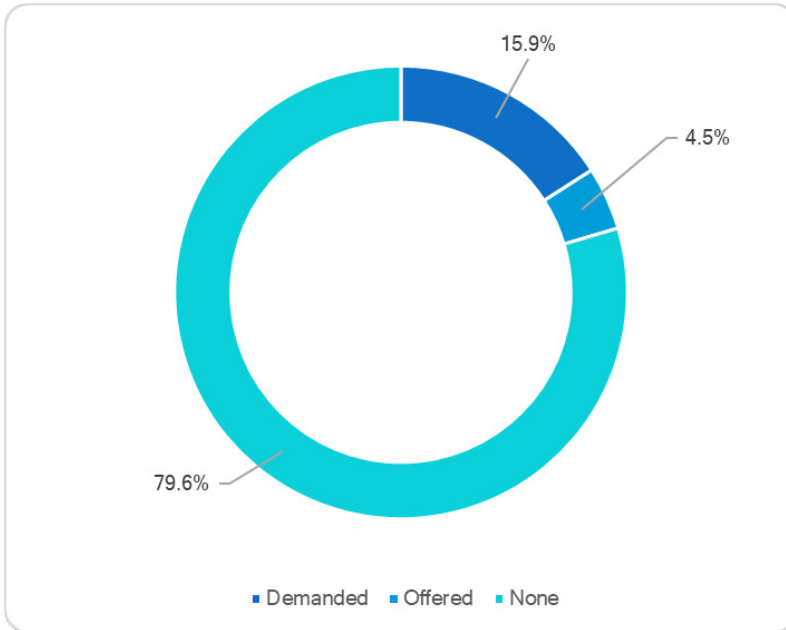


FIGURE 5 BRIBE ENCOUNTERED (N= 2424)

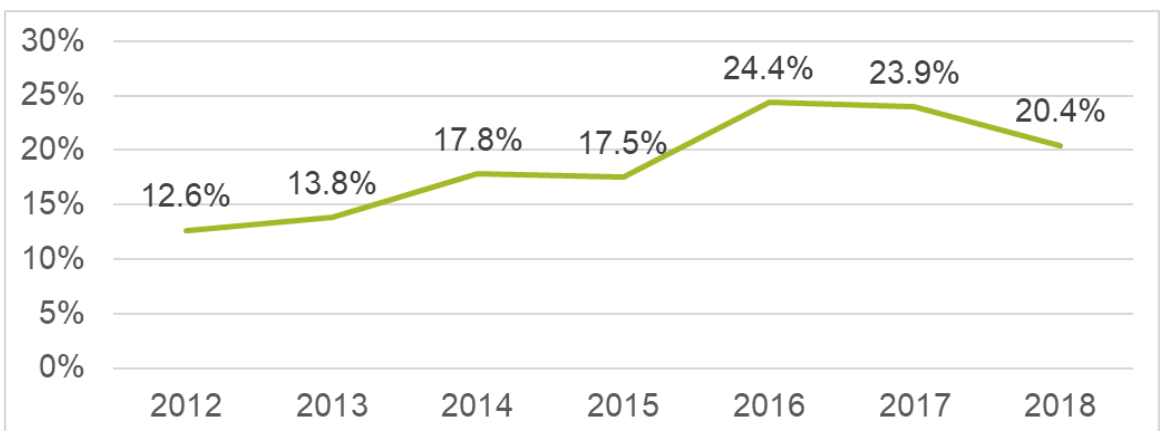


FIGURE 6 CORRUPTION ENCOUNTER OVER TIME

⁹Jerg Gutmann, 2015: Perception vs. Experience: Explaining Differences in Corruption Measures Using Microdata

Further disaggregating the data gives a more precise picture who encountered corruption. According to the RBI 2018, corruption levels differ with regard to socio-economic characteristics of the respondents, such as residence, sex, age, education and income. The data in the Table 3 show that people in rural settings are more likely corrupt than those in urban areas, males are more vulnerable to corruption than females, adults and older people prove to be more corrupt than the youth, more educated citizens and those with no education at all are likely to be more corrupt than those who attained primary and secondary education and finally those with higher income appear to be more corrupt than those with lower revenues.

TABLE 3 BRIBE ENCOUNTER DISAGGREGATED BY SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS		TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	RESPONDENTS WHO ENCOUNTERED BRIBE	% ENCOUNTERED BRIBE
Residence	Urban	928	182	19.6%
	Rural	1496	313	20.9%
Sex	Male	1294	302	23.3%
	Female	1130	193	17.1%
Age group	18-24	305	47	15.4%
	25-29	471	81	17.2%
	30-34	464	88	19.0%
	35-39	301	76	25.2%
	40-44	312	70	22.4%
	45-49	147	35	23.8%
	50-54	183	39	21.3%
	55-59	103	28	27.2%
	60+	122	28	23.0%
	Education level	Primary Only	1085	188
Secondary Only		709	135	19.0%
University Degree		163	41	25.2%
Vocational Training		94	30	31.9%
No School Attained		353	99	28.0%
Employment	Student	42	4	9.5%
	Unemployed	187	35	18.7%
	Self-Employed/employed in	1720	352	20.5%

Personal income (rwf per month) of respondents	family business or farm				
	Employed in private sector	313	66		21.1%
	Employed by government/local authority/parastatal	77	17		22.1%
	Employed in community sector e.g. church, NGO, cooperative	36	11		30.6%
	Retired	17	5		29.4%
	Less than 1.500 Rwf	290	45		15.5%
	1.500- 4.500 Rwf	391	90		23.0%
	4.500 -15.000 Rwf	580	111		19.1%
	15.000 -30.000 Rwf	320	71		22.2%
	Above 30.000Rwf	709	163		23.0%
Household income (rwf per month) of respondents	Less than 1.500 Rwf	189	30		15.9%
	1.500- 4.500 Rwf	328	76		23.2%
	4.500 -15.000 Rwf	531	98		18.5%
	15.000 -30.000 Rwf	313	72		23.0%
	Above 30.000Rwf	985	209		21.2%

4.4 Likelihood of encountering bribe occurrence

The likelihood of encountering bribe is derived from the number of all bribery situations *demanded* to respondents while seeking for service. The Figure 7 below presents the likelihood of bribe among the selected institutions in the last twelve months.

The 2018 RBI shows that the likelihood of encountering bribe at the national level has *decreased from 4.5% to 3.24%*. The RBI 2018 determines the following institutions with the highest likelihood of

bribes incidences in Rwanda: 1) private sector (19.28%), 2) Traffic Police (15.14%), 3) Rwanda Energy Group (12.93%), 4) Judiciary (9.41%) and 5) Civil Society (8.54%).

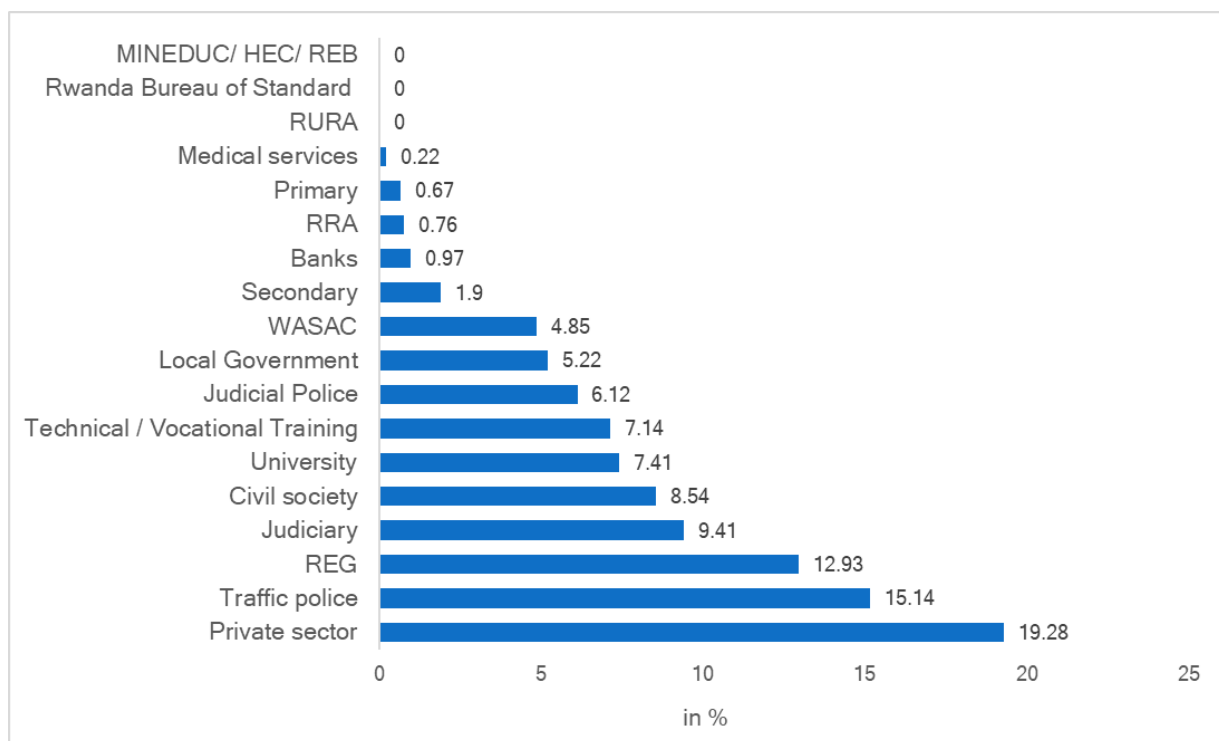


FIGURE 7 LIKELIHOOD OF BRIBERY

A trend analysis reveals that from last year, only three institutions namely the private sector, the traffic police and REG remained among the most prone to corruption in 2018. In contrast, the Local Government has improved from 7.78% in 2017 to 5.22% in 2018. Notably, Private sector, Traffic Police, REG have not only remained on the list of those with highest corruption incidences from 2017 but also their likelihood of encountering bribe have increased in the last twelve months (see Figure 8). Especially with regard to the private sector the likelihood of bribe has increased by 10% compared to 2017. Moreover, the data reveal that the likelihood of bribe have constantly increased from 2016 in four institutions namely the private sector, traffic police, judiciary and Civil Society (see figure 8 below).

Private sector corruption is typically facilitated by weaknesses in the regulatory and institutional framework that make it difficult to monitor the enforcement of rules and fraud deterrent mechanisms. Private sector corruption deserves as much attention as public sector corruption due to its equally debilitating effects on economic activity. It erodes the strength of country's economies and the trust of citizens in private and public institutions if nothing is done to prevent bribery. According to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)¹⁰, bribery and corruption risks in the

¹⁰ <https://www.oecd.org/corruption/anti-bribery/Anti-Bribery-Policy-and-Compliance-Guidance-for-African-Companies-EN.pdf>

private sector are deterring higher rates of investment. In this respect, the African Development Bank estimates that USD 148 billion is lost to corruption in Africa every year.

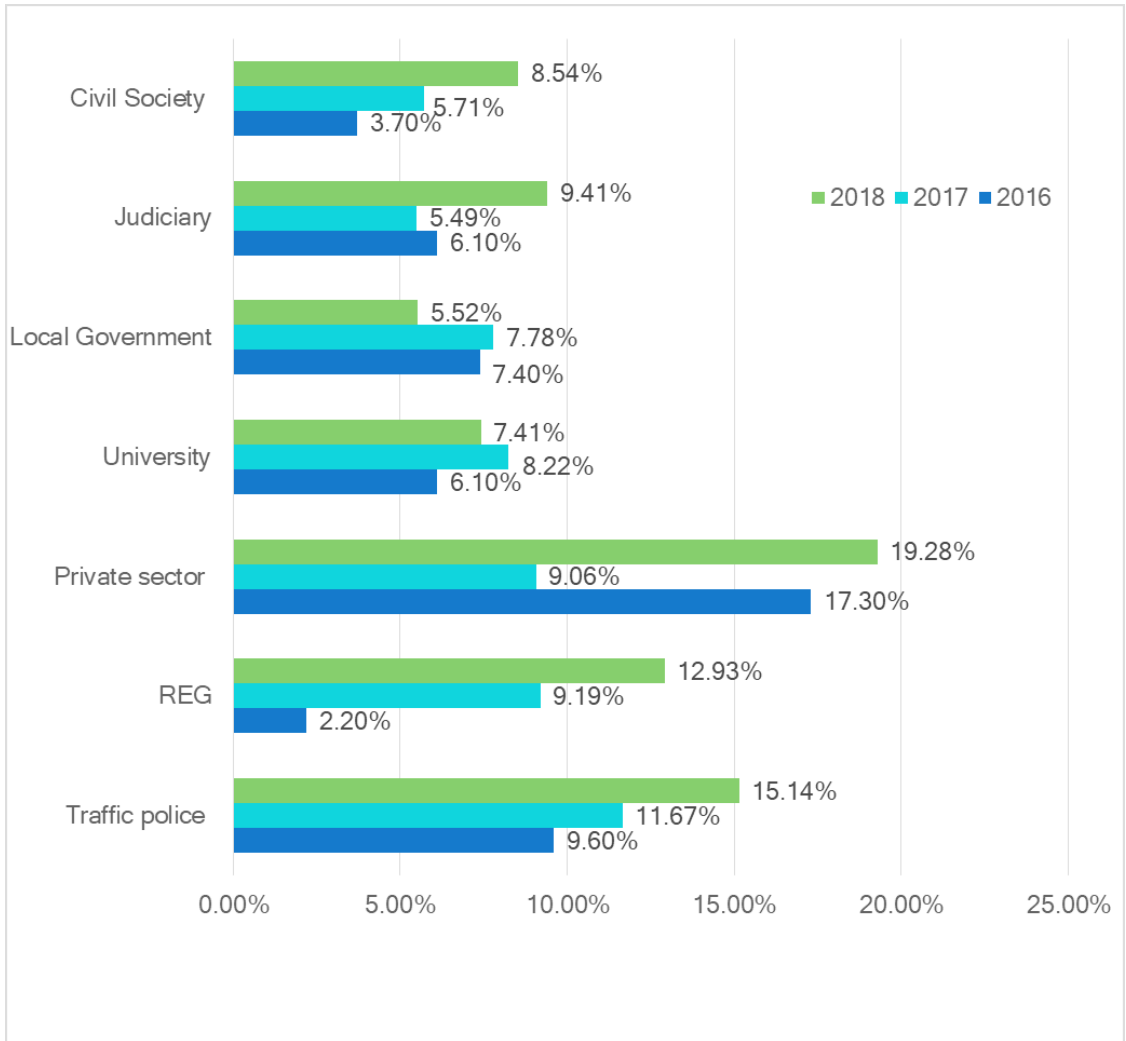


FIGURE 8 LIKELIHOOD OF BRIBE BY INSTITUTIONS OVER TIME (2016-2018)

4.5 Prevalence of bribery

The indicator prevalence of bribery captures the bribe paid to a service provider upon interaction with the service seeker. The table below presents the outcome.

The survey findings reveal that the prevalence of bribe in Rwanda is steadily decreasing looking at the figures over time since from 4.2 % 2016, 3.28% in 2017 to 2.08% in 2018. The Traffic Police, Judiciary, Private sector and REG remain with the highest levels of both likelihood and prevalence of bribe in 2018.

It is also worth noting that high political will in the fight against corruption in the Judiciary is evident. For example, in 2018, TI-Rw in collaboration with the Supreme Court developed a Web and SMS based tool for monitoring service delivered by courts and tribunals in Rwanda. The effective use of this tool will contribute to reduce corruption in the Judiciary as it will be a channel for citizens to submit injustice cases in courts and tribunals and additionally, will enable the Judiciary, the Office of the Ombudsman, National Public Prosecution Authority and Rwanda Bar Association to handle the complaints submitted to them by citizens.

However, the Citizen Report Card¹¹ published annually by Rwanda Governance Board shows that corruption in public institutions is most prevalent in Education (29.2%) followed by the Police (21.1%) and Local Government (15.2%), the Judiciary accounting for 5.1% only. Similarly, statistics from the Judiciary indicate that from 2005 up until last year (2017) only 35 court staffs (judges and court registrars) had been dismissed due to corruption¹². It is also worth noting that high political will in the fight against corruption in the Judiciary is evident. For example, in 2018, TI-Rw in collaboration with the Supreme Court

developed a Web and SMS based tool for monitoring service delivered by courts and tribunals in Rwanda. The effective use of this tool will contribute to reduce corruption in the Judiciary as it will be a channel for citizens to submit injustice cases in courts and tribunals and additionally, will enable the Judiciary, the Office of the Ombudsman, National Public Prosecution Authority and Rwanda Bar Association to handle the complaints submitted to them by citizens.

The figure 10 below indicates that between 2016 and 2018 the rise of prevalence of bribe in the Judiciary is among the most significant (almost doubled). This increase may be explained by the fact that some advocates may be requested to act as intermediaries between their clients and judges or prosecutors in corrupt transactions. As a matter of fact, TI-RW's ALAC centers in Musanze and Kigali have received this year three complainants who claimed to offer bribe to their advocate with the purpose of influencing the decision of judges and a prosecutor. It was noted that advocates took the money from the clients but this money was never offered to judge or the prosecutor which put the clients in unfavorable outcome.

The RBI as well as the CRC rank Traffic Police among the public service delivery structures that are most vulnerable to corruption. Despite of this negative perception, in the framework of the zero tolerance policy by the government of Rwanda, more than hundred police officers are dismissed over corruption allegations, through a ministerial order. Furthermore, we are witnessing commendable actions of some Police officers who immediately arrest citizens who attempt to indulge them in corruption actions (proposing them bribe against disregarding an unlawful action).

¹¹ Rwanda Governance Board, 2018: Citizen Report Card

¹² <https://www.newtimes.co.rw/section/read/230132> Published : February 13, 2018

However, as per the findings of RBI and other surveys on corruption in Rwanda (EABI), it seems that the effort made does not yield tangible results. Especially in specific services (see Figure 11) provided by the police, such as getting a driving license, retention and disposal of seized vehicles in the police stations, the prevalence of bribe is remaining comparably high. Strategies to discourage corrupt behavior in these services would correspond with the reduction of bribe prevalence in the police in general.

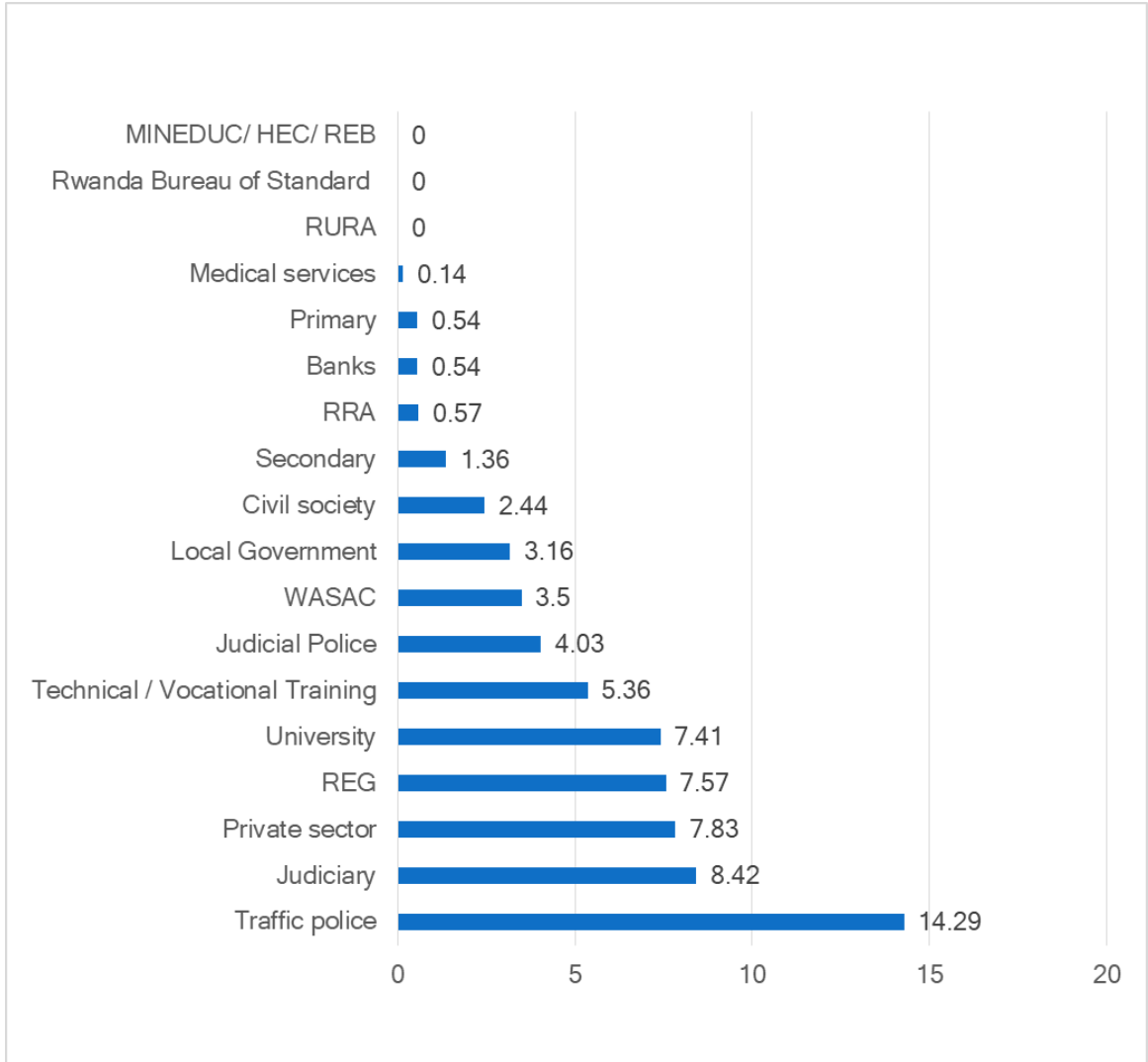


FIGURE 9 **PREVALENCE OF BRIBE**

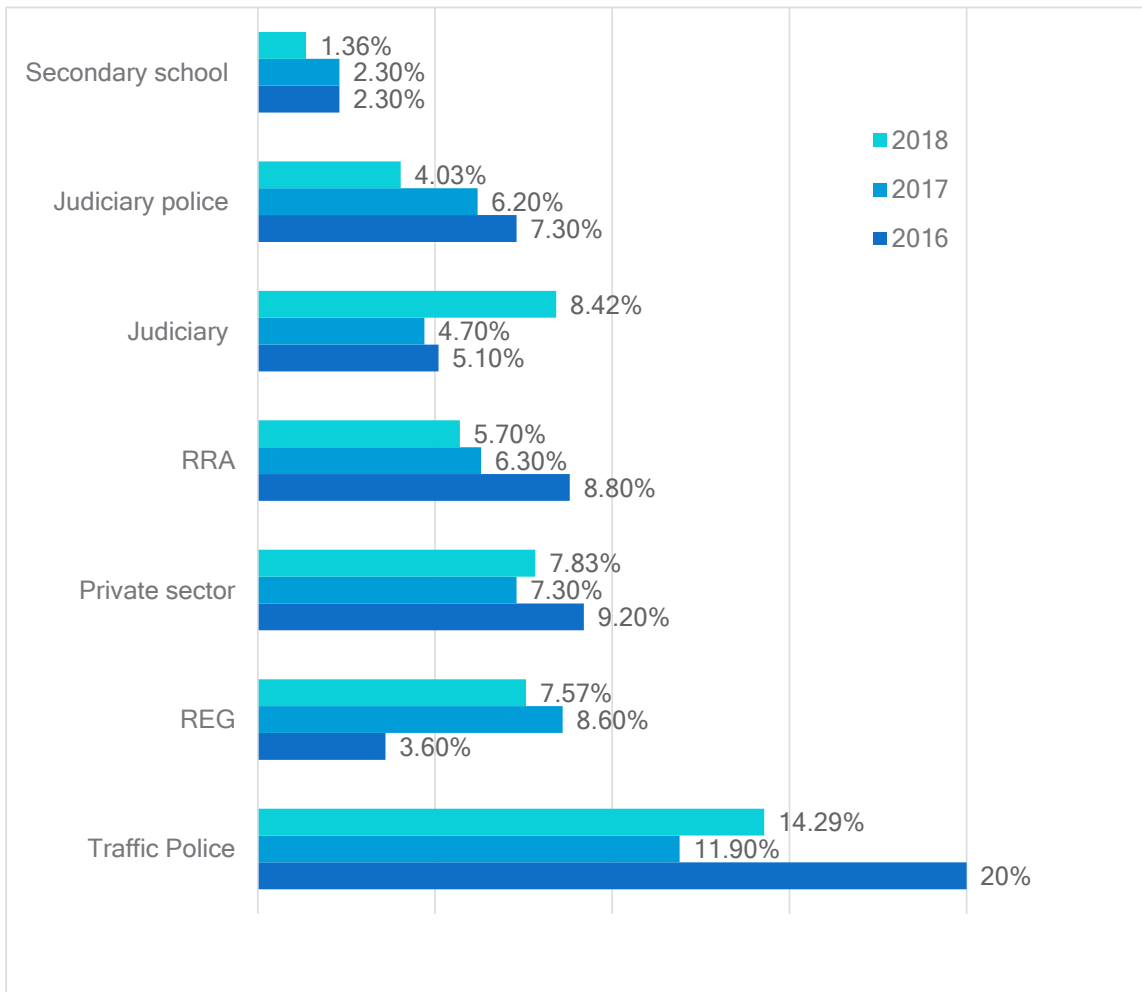


FIGURE 10 PREVALENCE OF BRIBE IN SELECTED INSTITUTIONS OVER TIME (2016 – 2018)

Figure 11 displays the results of prevalence of bribe in selected services, for instance, for those asking for a driving license, almost 39 % experience corruption. Even though the incidence of corruption in Local Government has decreased in 2018, the toleration of unlawful construction comes as most vulnerable to corruption according to 2018 RBI with around 44% of respondents. This means that 44 % of citizens experienced bribe while seeking construction related services in the last 12 months. This service was also found as the most prone to corruption in the previous RBI surveys. If nothing is done to rebuke this malpractice, illegal building activity can be a major environmental violation when the works infringe upon preserve areas like nature reserves. Illegal building can also be the consequence of overpopulation in cities and the increase of informal settlement.

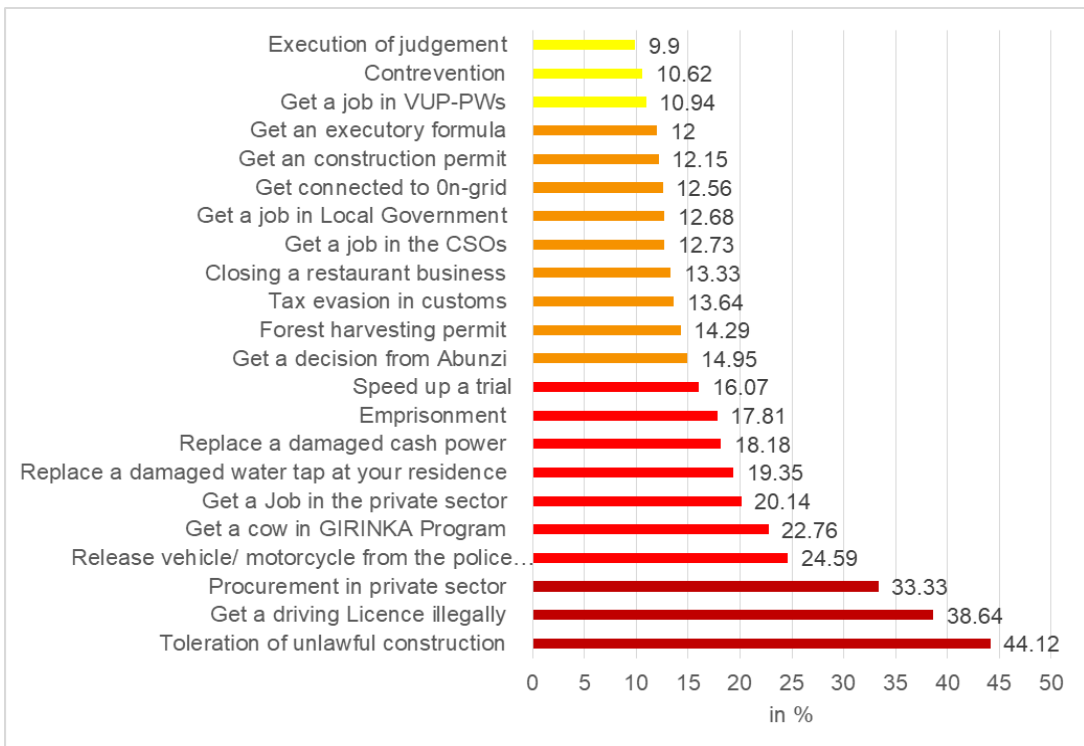


FIGURE 11 SERVICES WHERE BRIBE IS MOST PAID IN SELECTED SERVICES

4.6 Most common reasons for paying bribe

The reasons why one is paying a bribe can vary a lot. The RBI 2018 gives some evidences on the reasons behind the bribe occurrence in the mentioned institutions and services. The most common reasons revealed by respondents include (see Figure 12): to speed up the service (45.3%), it was the only way to access the service (32.9%), to access a service illegally (17%), avoid a problem with authorities (16.3%) and avoiding paying full cost of service (7.3%).

The payment of bribe to speed up the service is frequent in the Judicial sector, where 16.07% of respondents affirmed that they did so to speed up a trial.

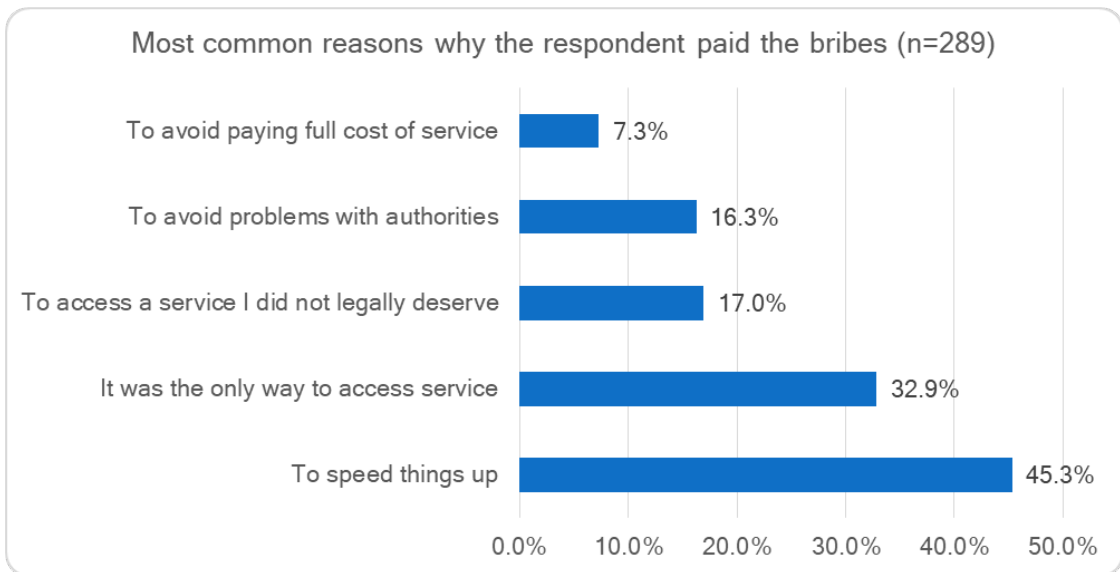


FIGURE 12 COMMON REASONS WHY BRIBE WAS PAID

4.7 Average size of bribes paid

The national average size of bribe paid by respondents is RFW 58.065, indicating an increase of the average amount of bribe paid from the 2 consecutive RBI 2016 (RWF 43,743) and 2017 (RWF 36,173). The 2018 RBI reveals that the amount of bribe paid in the Universities, Judiciary, Traffic Police and Vocational Training institutions are seemingly highest with RWF 525.000; 206.000; 128.000 and 133.000 respectively. It is surprising that the average size of bribe paid by the judiciary has significantly increased from 2016, from RFW 46,500 in 2016 to RFW 206.000 in 2018.

The increase of the average size of bribe paid in the Judiciary from RFW 46.500 to RFW 206.000 may partially be associated with important amount of bribe requested by advocates to play the role of intermediary between their client and the judges as mentioned above. As a matter of facts, just two cases were received by TI-RW ALAC staff where whistleblowers reported that advocates requested RWF 500.000 each to assist them in influencing the decision of the judge and the prosecutor to reduce their penalties.

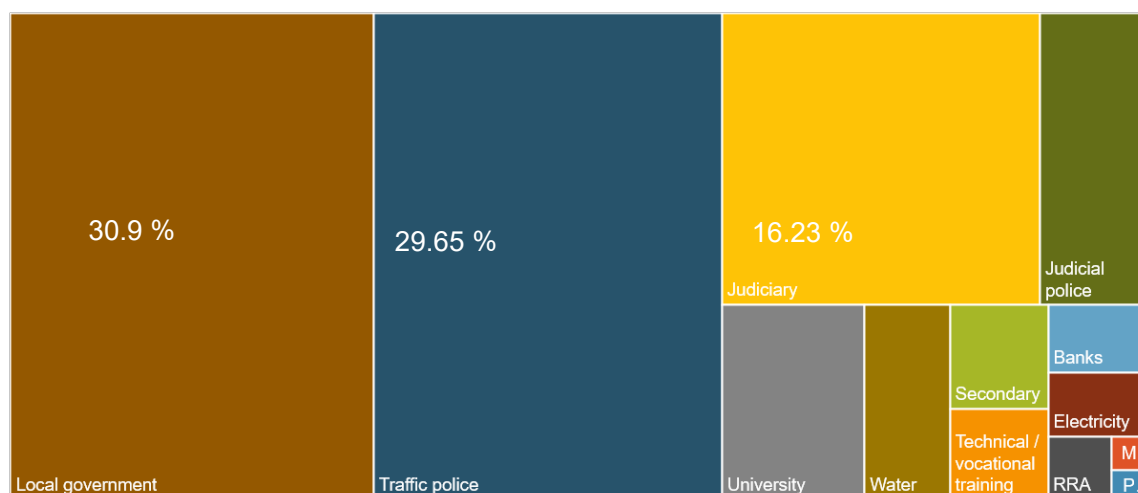
TABLE 4 AVERAGE AMOUNT OF BRIBE PAID

Institution type	Number people who paid bribe	Total amount paid (rwf)	Average size of bribe (rwf)	Share of bribe (%)
Mineduc /HEC /REB	0	0	0	0
Primary	4	40,000	10,000	0.19
Secondary	5	385,000	77,000	1.78
Technical / vocational training	3	340,000	113,333	1.57
University	2	1,050,000	525,000	4.86
Judiciary	17	3,505,000	206,176	16.23
Medical services	7	44,800	6,400	0.21
Traffic police	50	6,405,000	128,100	29.65
Judicial police	25	1,184,500	47,380	5.48
Local government	187	6,674,700	35,694	30.90
RRA	6	152,000	25,333	0.70
RURA	0	0	-	-
Rwanda bureau of standard	0	0	-	-
Water	13	626,500	48,192	2.90
Electricity	24	239,000	9,958	1.11
Banks	14	253,500	18,107	1.17
Civil society	2	155,000	77,500	0.72
Private sector	13	545,000	41,923	2.52
OVERALL	372	21,600,000	58,065	100.00

4.8 Share of bribe amount

The local government, the traffic police and the Judiciary have the largest share of bribe in 2018 accounting for around 77% of the national share (see Table 4). The large share of bribe in the traffic police and the local government is mainly due to the fact that the two institutions have more interactions with citizens than other institutions selected in this study. Moreover, local government provides various services which not only have more interactions with citizens but are also found among the most vulnerable to corruption such as the authorization of construction permit, Girinka program, services related to forest harvesting permit, etc.

SHARE OF BRIBE BY INSTITUTION



4.9 Perceived Impact of Bribe

When officials or institutions asking for a bribe to deliver the service but the person are refusing, they are running the risk of not receiving the service. Table 5 below presents findings on whether respondents would have received the services they sought from particular institution if they failed to pay a bribe. All the RBI findings have revealed that perceived impact of bribe in Rwanda stands very low indicating that in Rwanda getting services is not necessarily connected to paying bribes. However, the 2018 RBI shows that the impact of bribe in the private sector is relatively significant as it stands at 10.84%. As discussed above, it is difficult to monitor the enforcement of rules and procedures within the private sector due to its weaknesses in the regulatory and institutional framework which makes the sector vulnerable to corruption to the extent that getting service may be often connected to paying bribes.

TABLE 5 SERVICE DELIVERY WHEN REFUSING TO PAY THE BRIBE

Institution type	Number of interactions with the institution	Number of people with who were not given services as result of refusing to pay bribe	Impact of bribe (%)
MINEDUC /HEC /REB	6		0.00
Primary	746	1	0.13
Secondary	368	1	0.27
Technical / vocational training	56	0	0.00
University	27	0	0.00
Judiciary	202	0	0.00
Medical services	4,997	4	0.08

Traffic police	350	4	1.14
Judicial police	621	10	1.61
Local government	5,923	32	0.54
RRA	1,053	2	0.19
RURA	22	0	0.00
Rwanda bureau of standard	3	0	0.00
Water	371	5	1.35
Electricity	317	13	4.10
Banks	2,581	6	0.23
Civil society	82	5	6.10
Private sector	166	18	10.84
OVERALL	17,891	101	0.56

4.10 Reporting of bribe cases

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 13). As in the previous RBI, also in 2018, the vast majority of 81.4%, who encountered corruption, did not report it. However, one can mention that for the first time since 2 years, this figure has increased again from 14.9 % in 2017 to 18.6% for instance (see figure 14). The main reasons (figure 15) are that reporting did not occur to them (38.2%), it was perceived that no action would be taken (20.7%) or fear of self-incrimination (23.3%), indicating the lack of confidence in the existing laws and their enforcement with regard to tackling issues of corruption.

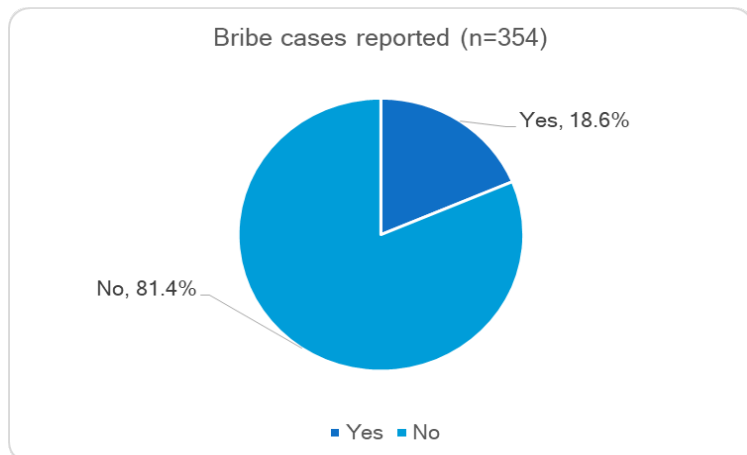


FIGURE 13 BRIBE CASES REPORTED

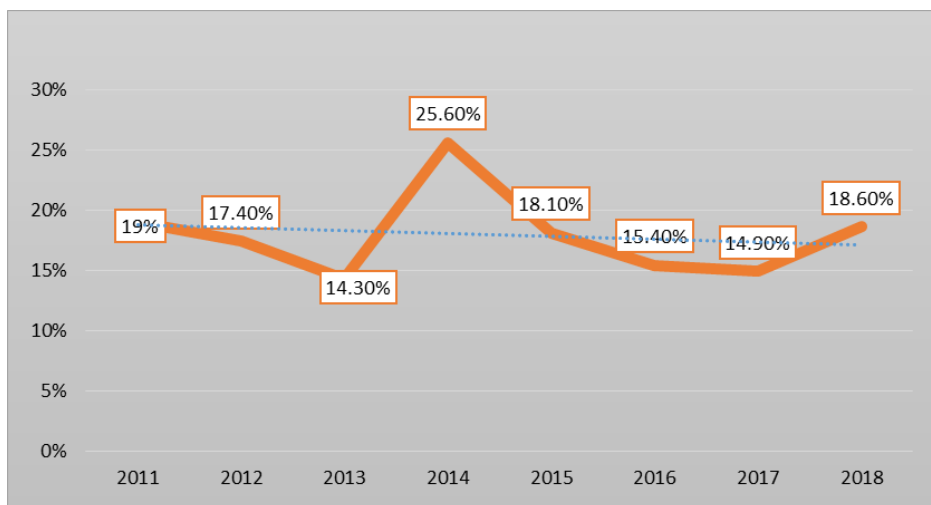


FIGURE 14: REPORTING CORRUPTION TREND (2011-2018)

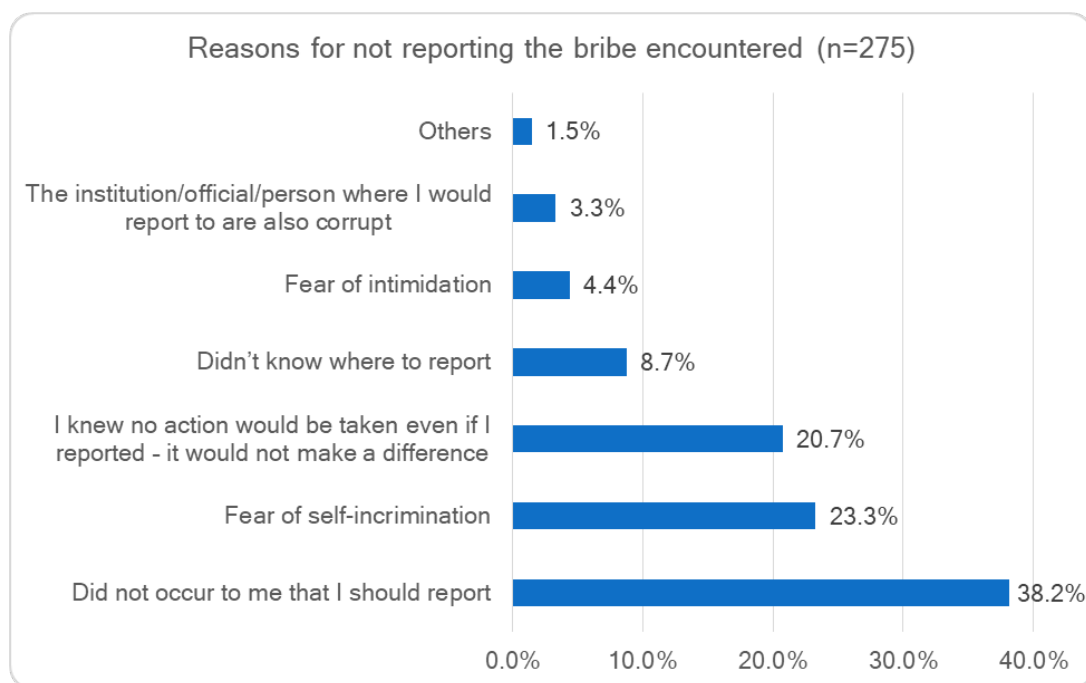


FIGURE 15: REASONS FOR NOT REPORTING BRIBE ENCOUNTER

The reasons of not reporting corruption corroborate also the level of satisfaction of respondents with the action taken after reporting corruption. The data in Figure 15 shows that only 29.8% of respondents were satisfied with the action taken by relevant institutions after reporting bribe as opposed to 47.3% who were dissatisfied with the action taken.

The survey further looked at the level of satisfaction of victims after reporting the incidence of corruption. The figure 16 below shows that in 2018, only 29.8% of victims of corruption were satisfied with the action taken after reporting corruption. This explain the fact that reporting corruption remains low in Rwanda as 20.7% did not report because they knew no action would be taken.

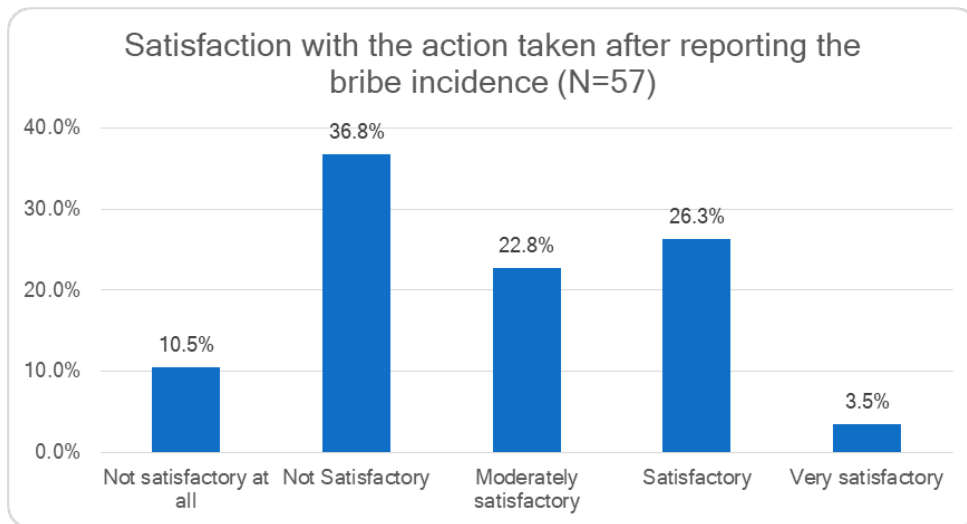


FIGURE 16 :SATISFACTION WITH THE ACTION TAKEN AFTER REPORTING

5. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The RBI is a unique annual corruption report pointing out the overall level of bribery likelihood as well as the actual encountered bribes by the surveyed citizens in Rwanda. With this survey, TI-Rwanda is able to point to those sectors where the likelihood and the prevalence are highest, but also where improvements over time could be recognized. As this is the 9th RBI report, the positive and negative trends over time can be systematically observed. With this years' analysis, it became evident that for instance the prevalence of bribes with Judicial Police and the local government has decreased, which is most probably due to new measures undertaken to curb corruption. In contrast the prevalence of bribe in the private sector has drastically increased. Looking at specific provenances of bribes in LG, especially the toleration of unlawful construction, Girinka program and forest harvesting permits are affected by bribes.

In addition, the report also pointed out that with an overall average amount of bribes which increased from Rwf 36.000 (2017) to Rwf 58,000 (2017) and which especially occur in the Local Government, and Traffic Police, many Rwanda citizens are not able to afford the cost of bribe and are thus limited in receiving those services.

Unfortunately, the reporting of bribes is still limited, especially due to limited confidence in an intended case solution or lack of knowledge to whom to report.

With these findings of the RBI 2018, TI-Rwanda recommends the following issues to be addressed:

- Victims and witnesses of corruption are still reluctant to report corruption in Rwanda. Awareness raising combined with incentives, strong measures of witness protection should be implemented to reinverse the trend; CSOs and government institutions should build the trust for citizens to report! ICT tools can help to encourage reporting!
- CSOs, RGB and high council are responsible to build the capacities for investigative journalism on corruption among media practitioners to amplify citizen's voices and expose in public domain corruption perpetrators
- The use of mobile technology and applications to empower citizens in remote areas, making information on corruption more accessible from government, civil society, private sector and media should be strengthened.
- Bribe remains high in key institutions (private sector, Traffic Police and Judiciary and some LG services including construction, public tender, pro-poor programs, execution of court judgment)

MIFOTRA, OoO and all public institutions should effectively implement anti-corruption measures, such as encouraging anti-corruption focal points in the respective institutions

- The ongoing trend of bribery in the judiciary sectors has to be addressed: Change of payment methods of advocate fees, e.g. by using IBM, to increase traceability of fees.
- Asset declaration for all judges (including judges under definite contract) can prevent corruption in the judiciary sector (and even extended to family members), effective use of SOBANUZINKIKO.ORG;
- Private Sector Federation, Rwanda Development Board should double their efforts to enhance mechanisms of transparency and accountability: following standards of fairness in recruitment
- Local Governments should restrict the provision of unlawful construction permit by establishing strong punitive measures towards officials involved in such malpractice

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