Transparency Rwanda asbl

RWANDA BRIBERY INDEX 2010

Part 1. Introduction

Background

Transparency Rwanda has decided to undertake a Bribery Index Survey to establish the current state of this specific form of corruption in Rwanda. The overall objective of the study was to establish the experiences and perceptions of Rwandans with regard to service delivery and corruption in the country. The specific objectives of the survey were as to:

i.   Determine the prevalence (evidence and perception) of corruption on Rwanda as reported by Rwandan households;

ii.   Identify Rwandan institutions and organisations particularly vulnerable to corruption;

iii.   Assess the impact of corruption on service delivery in Rwanda;

iv.   Gather concrete information on the size of bribes paid by Rwandan citizens while seeking to access a specific service.

Methodology

The survey used a combination of desk research and quantitative research methodologies. The desk research involved taking a comprehensive review of relevant literature pertaining to corruption and was employed to obtain secondary data that was used to develop the final instruments for the survey.

Rwandans aged 18 years and above were targeted in the survey. The most appropriate, reliable and current sample frame at the time of the survey was the registered voters according the figures released by National Electoral Commission in 2010. The sample was 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)   p = estimated proportion

e = desired margin of error

N = population size

In this estimation the confidence level is taken as 95% with a margin of error of 2%. As a result, a sample size of 2,401 respondents was used in the survey.

The statistical unit of the survey was the village. As per the geographical scope, all five Provinces were included in the survey; only eleven Districts were selected, using a combination of random and purposive sampling technique, to capture all potential interactions in cities and border areas: Nyarungere, Gasabo, Kicukiro (Kigali city); Huye, Kamonyi (Southern province); Rubavu, Ngororero (Western province), Rulindo, Gicumbi (Northenr province); Nyagatare and Kirehe (Eastern province). The sample size in each District was proportional to the population size of the District itself.

The household selection was done using the 'random route' selection process. Interviews were undertaken with the head of household in the selected house or next available decision maker in the home. The instrument used for the survey was a questionnaire with both closed and open ended questions which was administered face to face.

Literature review

Rwanda has made significant steps in the fight against corruption, as demonstrated by a number of achievements. Firstly, the Government has created some new institutions such as the Rwanda Public Procurement Authority, the Office of the Auditor General, the Ombudsman's Office, the Anti-Corruption Unit in the Rwanda Revenue Authority, the Rwanda Development Board, the National Bureau of Standards in charge of the quality of different types of importation in the country and the National Examinations Council which prepares and corrects different tests.

Secondly, several laws have been put in place in order to fight against corruption, particularly the Law n° 23/2003 approved on 07/08/2003 on prevention and repression of corruption and related offences. The penal code also shows the commitment to fight against corruption in articles 220-227. Other laws concerning specific bodies or sectors also include measures to prevent and fight corruption, such as the regulation of the Chamber of Deputies (article 38, Organic Law n° 06/2006) and of political parties (Organic Law n° 16/2003) as well as the deontological code of journalists and media.

Moreover, Rwanda has signed and ratified several international conventions including the UN Convention Against Corruption, the African Union Anti-corruption Convention and the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crimes.

The globally recognised corruption measures i.e. Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index (CPI) and East African Bribery Index (EABI) have in the recent past revealed that Rwanda is the best performing country in the East Africa region and is ranked 9th in the African continent when it comes to corruption control.

The political will to fight corruption has been demonstrated by consistent policies and efforts to combat corruption in the country. However, in spite of these efforts, corruption is still present in the country and there have been instances of tax and public funds embezzlement, fraudulent procurement practices, judicial corruption as well as high ranking officials involved in corrupt practices. Sectors most affected by corruption include the judiciary, public finance management, public administration and public procurement. As per the records of the prosecutor general, in 2010, out of 12 districts, there were 114 reported corruption cases.

Part 2. Findings of the survey

Respondents Demographics

The sample consists of predominantly young population in the age group of 18 to 35 that is reflective of Rwanda population. The age group with the highest concentration is 26-35 years which makes up 34.6% of the respondents while the lowest is above 56 years which consist of 8.4% of the respondents. In terms of sex, male respondents are slightly more (56%) than the female respondents (44%). Most of the respondents have basic level education, as 60.9% have primary level education, however significant minorities have secondary, professional and tertiary level education (19.3%, 6.8% and 3% of respondents respectively). Moreover, most of the respondents (75.7%) have a very low household income of less than 35,000 Rwf per month. Finally, more than half of respondents are farmers (61.9%), meaning that most respondents live in rural areas.

The demographic characteristics of respondents clearly indicates that very few high officials have participated in the survey. This in turn means that most bribe occurrences analysed in this study belong to the so-called petty corruption rather than to the grand corruption.

Corruption Witnessed and Encountered

The findings reveal that corruption is not very prevalent in Rwanda with most of the population (82%) saying that they have not witnessed any form of corruption over the period of study (12 months). This could imply that there is very little corruption known in Rwanda or that the public are reluctant to reveal the corruption cases they have witnessed. For those who admit to have witnessed corrupt practices, the most significant form of corruption witnessed is bribery. Bribery to obtain service is witnessed by 11% of the people while bribery to secure a job is witnessed by 3% of them. Similarly, only 17% of the respondents have encountered corrupt practices compared to 83% who have not.

The finding on corruption encountered was disaggregated by gender, education, age and income of respondents. The analysis reveals that educated people are less likely to encounter corruption: those with tertiary or university education are those who encounter the least corruption (3.5%) while those with primary education encounter the most corruption (55.9%). An even stronger link is found with income, as the likelihood to encounter corruption is the highest for people whose income is the smallest and decreases for those whose income is higher. In terms of age, Rwandans who are aged 36 and above are clearly less likely to encounter corruption than their younger fellow citizens, with the 26-35 age bracket being the most at risk. Finally, men are clearly more exposed to corruption than women. As a consequence, the profile of the person most likely to encounter corruption is a young, poor and uneducated man.

In instances where the public encounter corruption, the demand side of corruption appears to be the driving force in encouraging corruption: out of the 17% of respondents who declared they encountered corruption, in 69.9% of cases the bribe was demanded while in only 7.8% of the cases was it offered by the person to access a needed service.

Reasons, forms and means of bribery

Respondents were asked about reason for corruption. Need to access services is the main reason of corruption as attested by 30.7% of the people who encountered corruption. Bribing to get employment is mentioned by 12.9% of the people as the second most common reason of corruption in Rwanda. Other reasons are payment of bribes to avoid law enforcement (9%), issues surrounding conformity to regulation (8.1%) and business-related procedures (6.2%).

The survey asked respondents to indicate the forms and means in which they have encountered bribery. Bribes are mostly paid in the form of money (94%) while in a few cases it is indirectly given through gifts (6%). The bribe is mostly paid directly to the person demanding the bribe or to whom the bribe has been offered (86.7%); in fewer instances other means are used to pay bribe i.e. through a third party (10.6%) and mobile telephone services (0.5%).

Interactions with institutions and bribery

Corruption practices can only take place during interactions with institutions, organisations or individuals. For this reason it is important to provide information on the frequency of citizens' interactions with such institutions.

It was established that there were a total of 16,581 interactions by respondents with different institutions in Rwanda in the last 12 months. The findings show that the institutions with the most citizens' interactions are those at the local government level, primarily the Sector institutions (5044 interactions, 30.4% of the total) followed by the Cell institutions (3368), while banks (including the so-called banques populaires which are widespread in rural areas) come immediately after (1933). On the other hand, Reco Rwasco (now EWASA) and local defences register a very limited frequency of interactions with citizens (47 and 18 respectively).

Out of interactions with different institutions, the survey established institutions where the respondents experienced bribe demand situations. Out of 16,581 interactions, there were 321 bribe demand occurrences: institutions with the highest demand occurrences are Cell institutions followed by the Police and Village institutions with 70, 50 and 48 bribe demand situations respectively.

The survey further established the institutions with bribery offer situations, in other words the cases in which the bribe was offered by the client or service seeker. There were a total of 36 bribery offer occurrences in the institutions with the Cell, Police and Sector institutions having the highest occurrence of 8, 7 and 7 respectively.

Again it is worth highlighting that the number of bribes offered is significantly lower than the number of bribes demanded. This shows that, given the current strong political will to fight corruption in the country, citizens are reluctant to offer bribes (or to admit that they have offered bribes) because they fear the consequences or because they have been sensitised on the negative effects of corruption. However it is also important to highlight that it is easier to reveal that someone else requested a bribe rather than acknowledging that it is yourself who offered the bribe.

The survey established amounts of bribe actually paid in the institutions that reported bribe paying occurrences, both when bribes were demanded and when they were offered. Almost 90% of the bribes paid were below Rwf 50,000 and indeed 40.5% were below Rwf 5,000, which confirms once again that this survey has

Bribery Indices

Five bribery indices were derived from the above findings: likelihood of encountering bribe demand occurrence, prevalence of bribery, impact of bribery, average size of bribe and share of bribery.

1. Likelihood of encountering bribe occurrence

Likelihood of encountering bribe occurrence = No. of bribe demand situations

$$\frac{\text{No. of bribe demand situations}}{\text{No. of interactions}} \times 100$$

Institution / Indicators	N¨ of interactions	Nber of bribe demand occurences	Likelihood of encountering bribe occurrence-%
Civil Society	119	20	16.8
Conciliators	140	9	6.4
Police	817	50	6.1
Justice Sector	164	8	4.8
Village institutions	1152	48	4.1
Private Sector	469	16	3.4
Rwanda Revenue Authority	333	8	2.4
Cell institutions	3368	70	2.1
District institutions	893	15	1.7
Education sector	468	8	1.7
Sector institutions	5044	45	0.8
Banks	1933	6	0.3
Health institutions	1616	1	0.1
RECO RWASCO	47	6	
Local defense	18	13	
Total	16581	323	
Bribery index(average)			**3.9%**

The likelihood of encountering bribery demand situations in Rwandan institutions is 3.9%. Institutions with which citizens had less than 50 interactions (Reco Rwasco and local defence) are not considered in this analysis, though it is worth mentioning that some cases of bribery were reported. The institution with the highest likelihood of encountering bribe demand occurrences is civil society (16.8%), followed by conciliators (6.4%) and the Police (6.1%), while health institutions have the least likelihood of encountering bribe demand occurrences with 0.1%. The likelihood of being asked a bribe in the Rwandan institutions that have been surveyed is therefore very low.

When comparing this data with the bribe demand occurrences some differences can be identified: the institutions with the highest number of bribe demands (Cell institutions and Police) are not those with the highest demand index when the number of interactions is taken into account. The institutions with the highest index are those where the number of demands is the closest to the number of interactions.

Prevalence of bribery

$$\text{Prevalence of bribery} = \frac{\text{No. of bribe paying situations}}{\text{No. of interactions}} \times 100$$

Institution / Indicators	N¨ of interactions	Nber of bribe demand occurences	Likelihood of encountering bribe occurrence-%
Police	817	66	8
Civil society	119	6	5
Conciliators	140	6	4.2
Private Sector	469	15	3.2
Village institutions	1152	33	2.8
Education Sector	468	7	1.4
Cell institutions	3368	38	1.1
Justice sector	164	1	0.6
Sector institutions	5044	35	0.6
District institutions	893	5	0.5
Rwanda Revenue Authority	333	1	0.3
Banks	1933	5	0.2
Health institutions	1616	1	0.1
Local defense	18	7	
RECO RWASCO	47	1	
Total	16581	227	
Bribery index (average)			2.15%

Prevalence of bribery in Rwanda institutions is 2.15%, therefore very low. Again the institutions with less than 50 interactions have not been considered. Police, civil society and conciliators have the highest prevalence rate of bribery with indices of 8%, 5% and 4.2% respectively. The lowest prevalence rate is in health institutions with 0.1%. These results broadly confirm the outcome of the bribe demand occurrences, as the top three institutions are the same in both cases. However it is clear that more bribes are demanded by institutions than actually paid by citizens.

3. Impact of bribery

Impact of bribery $=$ No. of service deliveries as result of paying bribe   X100

$$\overline{\hspace{3cm} \text{No. of interactions} \hspace{3cm}}$$

Institution / Indicators	N¨ of interactions	Nber of bribe demand occurences	Likelihood of encountering bribe occurrence-%
Civil Society	119	20	7.6
Police	817	49	6
Conciliators	140	5	3.6
Village institutions	1152	19	1.6
Private sector	469	7	1.5
Justice sector	164	2	1.2
Education sector	468	5	1.1
Cell institutions	3368	32	0.9
District institutions	893	7	0.8
Rwanda Revenue Authority	333	2	0.6
Sector institutions	5044	26	0.5
Banks	1933	3	0.2
Health institutions	1616	1	0.1
Local defense	18	4	
RECO RWASCO	47	3	
Total	16581	174	
Bribery index (average)			1.98%

Overall impact of bribery in Rwandan institutions is 1.98% which can be defined as very low. The institution with the highest impact of bribery is civil society with an index of 7.6%, followed by the Police and conciliators: they are the same three institutions which have been identified as those with the highest likelihood of bribe demand and prevalence of paying. The Police was mentioned earlier also as the one with the highest amount of bribes paid and the one with the greatest share of bribery.

4. Average size of bribe

Average size of bribe =   Total amount of bribes paid

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No. of people paying bribe

Institution type / Indicators	Total amount of bribe (Rfw)	No. of people paying bribes	Average size of bribe (Rwf) −
Cell institutions	607500	38	15987
District institutions	155000	5	31000
Banks	395000	5	79000
Police	3260000	66	49394
Village institutions	335000	33	10152
Sector institutions	420000	35	12000
Health institutions	35000	1	35000
Schools	90000	7	12857
RECO RWASCO	75000	1	75000
Customs	15000	1	15000
Courts	250000	1	250000
Local defense	137500	7	19643
Conciliators	87500	6	14583
Civil society	42500	6	7083
Private sector institutions	330000	15	22000
Total	**6235000**	**227**	**27.467**

The average bribe paid during the last 12 months by the respondents who paid bribes is Rwf 27,467. This is a relatively high amount considered that more than half of the Rwandan population lives below the poverty line. The table also confirms that during the last 12 months the highest amount of bribes was paid to the Police. The information gathered in the survey also reveal that the smallest bribe given in the last 12 months was 200 Rwf while the biggest was worth 600,000 Rwf.

5. Share of bribery

Share of bribery = $\dfrac{\text{Total amount of bribes paid in organisation x}}{\text{Total amount of bribes paid in all organizations}} \times 100$

Institution type / Indicators	Total amt of bribe (Rwf)	Share of bribe (%)
Cell institutions	607500	9.7
District institutions	155000	2.5
Banks	395000	6.3
Police	3260000	52.3
Village institutions	335000	5.4
Sector institutions	420000	6.7
Health institutions	35000	0.6
Schools	90000	1.4
RECO RWASCO	75000	1.2
Customs	15000	0.2
Courts	250000	4.0
Local defense	137500	2.2
Conciliaitors	87500	1.4
Civil society	42500	0.7
Private sector institutions	330000	5.3
Total	6235000	100

The highest share of bribes is with the Police: out of all bribes issued by respondents, more than half were paid to Police institutions. This result confirms the findings on average size of bribe, which show that the Police is the institution which received the highest amount of bribes during the 12 months preceding the survey. The Police is again followed, though at a much lower level, by local government instances such as Cell and Sector institutions.

The five indices calculated in this survey are summarised in the table below.

Bribery Indicator	Index
Likelihood of encountering bribe occurrence	3.9%
Prevalence of bribery	2.15%
Impact of bribery	1.98%
Average size of bribe	27.467 Rwf
Share of bribe	Calculated per institution

Indices obtained with different methodologies cannot be compared. However, looking at other corruption-related indices can provide with some information on the level of corruption in Rwanda. The East Africa Bribery Index 2010 showed that Rwanda has a low level of corruption prevalence, with 6.6%. The difference with the 2.15% indicated in this study is probably due to some slight differences in methodology, particularly in the sampling which in the EABI case focuses more on urban areas where bribery might be higher; however both studies indicate a low prevalence. A research on governance and corruption carried out by Transparency Rwanda in 2009 indicated that 1.8% of the population paid bribes in 2007, broadly in line with the results of this survey. The Worldwide Governance Indicators by the World Bank/Brookings Institution confirm the high political will to fight corruption in the country, with a Control of Corruption index of 98%. Finally the Corruption Perception Index 2010 (CPI) by Transparency International, even though the value for Rwanda is still fairly high at 4 out of 10 (where 10 indicates the best performers), indicates that the country has improved over the last years in reducing corruption (from 2.8 in 2007).

Impact of corruption

The survey investigated whether a service was delivered after paying a bribe. 84.4% of those who paid bribes did receive the service after paying, while 15.6% did not receive the service. This question was of course not applicable to most respondent, who said they did not pay any bribe. Most of the people who admitted to engaging in bribery indicate that they were extremely satisfied with the service they got after giving bribes (74.5%). There is however a significant percentage who are extremely dissatisfied with the service (11.4%) after bribing to obtain it.

Anti-corruption mechanisms and institutions to take leadership

The survey sought to determine the public's future actions in case they encounter corruption. When asked what they would do if they were to encounter a bribe demand situation, most respondents (78.1%) would be willing to adopt positive action if they encounter corruption in the future: 37% say they would refuse to pay the bribe and walk away, 35.3% would take a step further reporting the corrupt experience while 5.8% would refuse to pay and insist on the service to be delivered. However a significant number of respondents (20.5%) is not willing to adopt any positive action as they would pay the bribe demanded if they could afford it. These findings were disaggregated by sex of respondents: women are more willing to take positive actions against corruption than men as 25.5% of men would pay a bribe if they can afford it compared to 14% of women, whereas more women than men declared that they would refuse to pay (84.6% compared to 73%).

The survey then tested the usage of available anti corruption mechanisms by the public and their perceptions and attitudes towards them. There are more people who do not report corruption cases encountered / witnessed than those who do so: 56% and 44% respectively. In particular, people with a higher level of education (secondary and tertiary) tend not to report corruption (64.1% and 88.9% respectively). The reason is probably that the most educated people are in a position to gain from bribing and establish a connivance with the service provider, making their relationship a win-win situation. On the other hand, the less educated people usually are forced to pay a bribe in order to obtain a basic service; they do not gain any significant advantage and therefore are more likely to report the corrupt behaviour. Moreover, women are less likely to report corruption than men; this is partly explained by the fact that in the Rwandan traditional culture women usually hesitate to speak up and claim for their rights.

The most mentioned reason why people do not report corruption is fear of harassment and intimidation from authorities they would report corruption to (36.5%), followed by the perception that nothing would be done

after reporting (21.7%) and the fear to be marked (16.9%). Of course this question was only asked to those respondents who encountered bribery and did not report it.

The survey finally sought to determine how Rwandan citizens perceive the performance of their government in fighting against corruption. The public generally perceives that the government is making substantial effort in eradicating corruption but more needs to be done, as indicated by 56% of respondents. A significant proportion (35.8%) believes that enough is being done to fight corruption. However a small minority (5.2%) think that grand corruption is currently not being tackled.

Consequently, Rwandan citizens' opinions were sought on which institutions they had most faith in as leaders in the fight against corruption. The public exhibit most faith in Police (43.2%), followed by the office of the Ombudsman (17.6%) and the Presidency (15.5%). These three institutions inspire most confidence in the public when it comes to combating corruption. It is interesting to note that the Police is at the same time one of the institutions with the highest occurrence of bribe demand and bribe offer and the one to which the highest amount of bribes was paid.

Part 3. Conclusions and Recommendations

The fight against corruption in Rwanda remains a key feature for the achievement of Vision 2020. The government has shown commitment in ensuring zero tolerance to corruption. Compared to neighbouring East African countries, Rwanda has performed admirably in keeping incidences of corruption to the minimum. There is, however, the realisation that corruption creeps in unnoticed if punitive measures and education of the public are not integrated in the war against the vice.

From the outcome of the bribery indices, both likelihood, prevalence and impact of bribery are very low. This implies that corruption in Rwanda is not deeply rooted but it is at a stage where it can be effectively curbed before the impending vice is given space to grow.

The study indicates that cases of witnessing and encountering bribery occurrences in Rwanda are also low, at the same time those who did pay bribes in the 12 months preceding the survey paid on average more than 27,000 Rwf, a significant amount. The study has established that the demand side of corruption is higher than the supply side i.e. institutions involved in service delivery initiate bribery situations more than the public seeking the service.

The findings have revealed that the Police is the institution to which the highest amount of bribes was paid and which accounts for more than half the share of total bribes paid; in addition, it is among the top three institutions in terms of likelihood, prevalence and impact of bribes; at the same time, the Police is also regarded as the institution best placed to lead the fight against corruption. Civil society also appears as one of the institutions with the highest level of likelihood, prevalence and impact of bribes. Conciliators are also at the top of the three indices, while local government institutions (particularly at Cell and Sector levels) account for the highest share of bribery after the Police. It is also revealed that young, poor and little educated people are more likely to encounter corruption.

The study shows that indulgence in corruption does not always guarantee access to service. Moreover, the survey indicates that most Rwandans are ready to take positive actions should they meet bribe demands in the future, however to date less than half of them have reported corruption cases to the appropriate anti-corruption mechanisms. A key hindrance to reporting is harassment and intimidation by officers in authorities

who are in positions to receive corruption complaints cases. Finally, this study suggests that most Rwandans commend the efforts that the government is making in the fight against corruption but at the same time acknowledge that more needs to be done.

The fight against corruption requires an integrated effort by government, private sector and civil society. From the study, it is evident that education will form the core pillar of intervention in the fight against corruption in Rwanda: while punitive measures against perpetrators of corruption must be put in place to curb incidences of corruption in the short term, the long term interventions must be anchored on education and awareness of the public.

Key recommendations:

- Public institutions as well as the private sector should strengthen their governance structures: adopt and implement codes of conduct, improve transparency and put in place effective anti-corruption mechanisms.
- Civil society organisations should on the one hand put in place similar initiatives to curb corruption practices that affect their activities and structures; on the other hand, they should step up their advocacy efforts with public sector institutions to improve laws and policies as well as enhance transparency in service delivery.
- The government and CSOs should continue sensitising and raising awareness among citizens on the negative short- and long-term effects of corruption. They should also encourage victims of corruption to resist demands for bribe and report them to the relevant authorities.
- The institutions designed to receive complaints should increase their accessibility, including by improving their professionalism, confidentiality and friendliness. They should also continue enforcing punitive measures when appropriate, in order to further reduce impunity.
- Service delivery at local level deserves specific attention, as it is where bribes are more likely to be demanded and paid.
- All actors should invest in education promoting values of integrity, honesty and good governance. There ought to be concerted efforts by private sector, civil society and the government to advocate for integrity among the general public through periodic and sustained campaigns.
- A wide range of actors, including the private sector and civil society, should engage in the fight against corruption.
- Further research is needed on issues including corruption affecting Rwandan civil society, extent of grand corruption in the country and how to encourage citizens to report corruption cases.