TRANSPARENCY INTERNATIONAL RWANDA

Rwanda bribery Index 2017

Norwegian People's Aid
Rwanda

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Rwanda Bribery Index is an annual survey through which Transparency International Rwanda (TI-RW) aims at establishing experiences and perceptions of this specific form of corruption in Rwanda. It constitutes a backbone of TI-RW's advocacy initiatives in the fight against petty corruption which continues to creep in service delivery within public, private and civil society institutions in Rwanda.

it's encouraging to find that there is an improvement in the fight against corruption among the public institutions, mainly the police and the Judiciary. According to the findings, Rwandans have hope that corruption is decreasing and will keep decreasing next year. This proves that the efforts made in the fight against corruption are fruitful and that we are on the right way towards our zero tolerance to corruption policy.

On behalf of TI-RW, I would like to warmly thank those who continuously made this study possible. Let me start with Norwegian People's Aid (NPA), a longstanding partner of our organisation, which funds the research through PPIMA project.

Furthermore, I would like to thank the consultants, Mr. Binenwa Jean Bosco and Mr. Mukwende Placide and all other dedicated research assistants (enumerators and data entry clercks) who continously provide their expertizes in carrying out this survey. Similary, I would like to thank TI-Rw's research team led by Albert Rwego Kavatiri, TI-Rw's Programme Manager who coordinated the field work, data analysis and report writing. My special thanks also go to TI-Rw's Executive Director, Mr. Apollinaire Mupiganyi, for his encouragement, guidance and quality control throughout the process of this research.

Last but now least, I do want to explicitly thank the citizens of Rwanda and the representatives of all interviewed institutions who took their valuable time to grant interviews and provided the opinions and information to supplement quantitative data in a bid to improve the quality of this report.

Marie Immaculée Ingabire
Chairperson of Transparency Rwanda

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Transparency International Rwanda (TI-RW) publishes the Rwanda Bribery Index (RBI) which analysed and pointed to various forms of bribe individually perceived and actually encountered by the Rwandan residents in 2017. This is the 8th report since the first publication in 2010. Bribery in Rwanda is still considered as a big problem in many economic sectors, hampering the provision of a good servive and the development of the country in general. Compared to the previous reports, the 2017 year's edition also investigates changes of bribe encounterd over time as well as bribe encounter for more specific services, e.g. in Local Government.

The survey was conducted in all 5 provinces of Rwanda and in 11 quasi-randomly selected districts. In total 2,385 citizens, between 18 and 60 who interacted with institutions in the past 12 months, were interviewed using face-to-face standardized questionnaires. The survey included the following categories of questions: demographics, bribe encounter, likelihood of bribe, prevalence , average size of bribe and impact of bribe. Data quality was assured by extensive training of enumerators, pre-test of the survey and data supervision by trainers. The data sample is calculated at the significance level of 0.05 which provides 95% confidence in data reliability.

The RBI 2017 reveals that there are various forms of bribery developments in Rwandan institutions as perceived and actually encountered by Rwandan citizens. The report includes also some first success stories where bribery is actually decreasing, however, also still some examples where bribe is actually increasing. **Overall, 23.9 % of people directly or indirectly demanded bribe or have offered bribe in 2017. With a population of 6.397.249 (extrapolated) in 2017, this results in 1.6 Million people who encountered bribe**.

The **likelihood of bribe in 2017 is estimated at 4.5 %**, which slightly reduced from 4.9 % in 2016. The analysis shows that the highest shares of likelood of bribe is connected to traffic police (11.67 %), electricity serivces (9.19 %) and to the private sector (9.06 %). **A positive trend could be also recognized in the prevelance of bribe, which decreased from 4.2 % in 2016 to 3.3. % in 2017**. Although the prevelance of bribe is still highest for traffic police with 11.9 %, this can be considered as a first success story of fighting corruption as it was still at 20% in 2016. In contrast, corruption in electricity services has very much increased from 3.6% in 2016 to 8.6 % in 2017, which calls for new actions that need to be undertaken to fight corruption in this respect.

The overall average amount of bribes reached RWF 36.173 per capita in 2017, which is a lot considering the monthly income per citizen in Rwanda. Especially worrying are the high average amounts of bribe paid for the Rwanda Revenue Authority (RWF 77.455) and Banks (RWF 75.138). These higher numbers limit many Rwandans to get access to these interactions as they cannot afford those bribes. This is also supported by the findings that the higher the monthly income is, the more bribe encounter is expected.

To sum up, although bribes are slowly decreasing in some sectors and efforts are done, e.g. by the traffic police and judicial police, bribery in Rwanda still remains a challenge for economic growth, citizen accountability and engagement. The RBI 2017 also shows that bribe reporting still remains very low and that reasons for not reporting are also the lack of confidence that the situation will change after reporting. With this, institutions where reporting of corruption is possible, such as the Ombudsman and the Police, are called for further action, providing better services and creating more trust in solving corruption cases.

1. INTRODUCTION

Globally, corruption remains a great obstacle to economic and social development. Corruption has many facetes and may take various forms, one of it is bribery, which directly can lead to less prosperity or less provision of public and private services. According to Transparency Internations's 2016 Corruption Perception Index, Rwanda is ranked among the three least corrupt countries in Africa and 50th least corrupt in the world. In Rwanda, the political commitment in promoting good governance has been the driving force in preventing and fighting corruption. Besides the national anti-corruption policy, Rwanda has signed and ratified the UN Convention Against Corruption as well as the the African Union Convention Against Corruption. In Rwanda, giving and accepting a bribe is considered as criminal act. According to the UNDP (2008[1]), the political environment and the way socio-economic groups interact with state officials can affect the prevalence as well as the perception of corruption. This means that corruption incidences will depend on the development and enforcement of public ethics, their level of integrity and the culture of zero tolerance regarding corruption within the governance system.

Bribery: The offering, promising, giving, accepting or soliciting of an advantage as an inducement for an action which is illegal, unethical or a breach of trust. Inducements can take the form of gifts, loans, fees, rewards or other advantages (taxes, services, donations, favours etc.).

Corruption: The abuse of entrusted power for private gain. Corruption can be classified as grand, petty and political, depending on the amounts of money lost and the sector where it occurs.

The zero tolerance policy, under the Rwanda anti-corruption policy[2], has been very instrumental in supporting the implementation of government policies, including the fight against corruption. The implementation of zero tolerance policy to fight against corruption is one of the indispensable principles in line with procedures in Public Financial Management (PFM). The Auditor General Office (AGO), the Parliament Account Committee (PAC), the Rwanda National Police and the National Public Prosecution Authority play a predominant role to reinforce transparency in the management of public funds. It is in this framework that each year, both politicians and civil servants continue to be prosecuted over corruption charges. For instance, as a matter of fact, in 2013, 27 police personnel who were involved in corruption related crimes were dismissed from their positions[3]. Furthermore, between June

[1] UNDP (2008): Tackling Corruption, Transforming Lives,. Accelerating Human Development in Asia and the Pacific. Colombo, Sri Lanka.

[2] Office of the Ombudsman (2012): Rwanda Anti-corruption Policy. Kigali, Rwanda.

[3] Newtimes , sept 11 2013

2004 and July 2014 the Judiciary imposed sanctions to the staff including dismissal due to corruption and related misconduct[4].

The high political commitment of Rwandan officials in the fight aigainst corruption is highly acclaimed, also for their success that such a fight already reaped some rewards. In fact, the majority of analysts, international organizations and business people now consider Rwanda as one of the least corrupt countries in Africa as well as a success story in the fight against corruption. The government`s commitment to fight corruption is also revealed in the RBI (2014)[5] where 97.3 % of all respondents recognized the effort of their government in fighting corruption.

Also the Worldwide Governance Indicator by the Worldbank shows that a) government effectiveness and b) control of corruption[6] in Rwanda performs better than in the Sub-Saharan regional average.

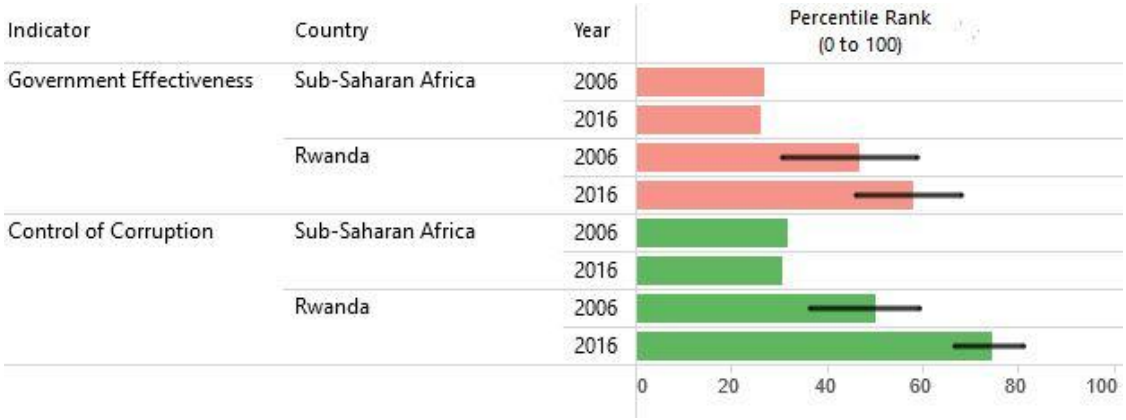

Figure 1: Selected Worldwide Governance Indicators (WGI) for Sub-Saharan Africa and Rwanda
Source: Worldbank (2017): Worldwide Governance Indicators, http://info.worldbank.org/governance/wgi/index.aspx#reports.

In spite of remarkable efforts in figting corruption, the government of Rwanda has still a long way to go in terms of control of corruption especially in public institutions where incidences of corruption is most prevalent. These include in some key services provided by the Rwanda National Police (traffic police and judicial police), the Local Governments, the Judiciary, the private sector, the business regulatory agencies and utilities related services (water and electricity).

[4] TI-RW (2015): Professionalism of Rwandan courts. Observation report. Kigali, Rwanda.

[5] TI-RW (2014): Rwanda Bribery Index 2014. Kigali, Rwanda.

[6] Government effectiveness is defined as: capturing perceptions of the quality of public services, the quality of the civil service and the degree of its independence from political pressures, the quality of policy formulation and implementation, and the credibility of the government's commitment to such policies. Control of Corruption is defined as: capturing perceptions of the extent to which public power is exercised for private gain, including both petty and grand forms of corruption, as well as "capture" of the state by elites and private interests.

Transparency International Rwanda (TI Rw) conducts since 2010 a Rwanda Bribery Index (RBI) to assess the incidence of bribery in different institutions that are perceived to be most vulnerable to corruption. The 2017 RBI, the eighth of its kind, seeks to show a trend analysis of the index for the last eight years.

2. OBJECTIVES OF THE SURVEY

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 survey are to:

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

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

A quantitative approach, using a household survey, was used. The surveyed population consist of Rwandan citizens, aged 18 years and above, that interact with public officals during the previous 12 months of the survey. Furthermore, the survey used both random and purposive sampling techniques. The purposive technique aimed to enable urban districts to be included in the sample as they are more likely to provide more services than rural areas, where higher risk of corruption are expected. The survey was the only instrument used to capture data on bribery incidences.

3.2. Sampling frame and sample size

The RBI 2017, 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 2017, based on the 2012 census, estimates the Rwandan population aged 18 and above at **6,397,249** (study population). 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 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 2017 survey was 2400 respondents. However, due to quality control measures during the data collection, some invalid questionnaires were removed from the sample which made the total of 2385 respondents surveyed (99%).

The table below presents the sample allocation by Province and District.

Table 1: District sample allocation

Province	District	Frequency (N)	Percent (%)
Kigali City	Gasabo	124	5.2 %
	Kicukiro	80	3.4 %
	Nyarugenge	80	3.4 %
	Sub-Total	284	11.9 %
South	Huye	294	12.3 %
	Kamonyi	298	12.5 %
	Sub-Total	592	24.8 %
East	Kirehe	252	10.6 %
	Nyagatare	281	11.8 %
	Sub-Total	533	22.3 %
North	Gicumbi	236	9.9 %
	Rulindo	176	7.4 %
	Sub-Total	412	17.3 %
West	Ngororero	265	11.1 %
	Rubavu	299	12.5 %
	Sub-Total	564	23.6 %
TOTAL		**2385**	**100.0 %**

The survey of the RBI 2017 was conducted in four Provinces of the country and City of Kigali at the household level. In each province two districts were selected except in the city of Kigali where three districts were chosen.

3.3. Data collection

The survey was carried out by skilled interviewers and team leaders recruited and trained accordingly. The training covered issues such as survey methods, questionnaire structure and content, interviewers/supervisors' responsibilities, as well as on survey ethics. Questionnaires were conducted face-to-face with respondents in the selected districts included in this study as shown in the above table. Only those who interacted with any institution in the last 12 months were eligible to be interviewed. 2017 RBI study introduced new services that are 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 Kanombe sector which was not 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 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 National Institute of Statistics for review and quality assurance control. After securing all required authorizations, the fieldwork has immediately started.

3.5. Data entry and 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 2017 RBI tools and methodology by the NISR;
- Various stages of the report review and editing

3.7 Demographics

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 figure1 below.

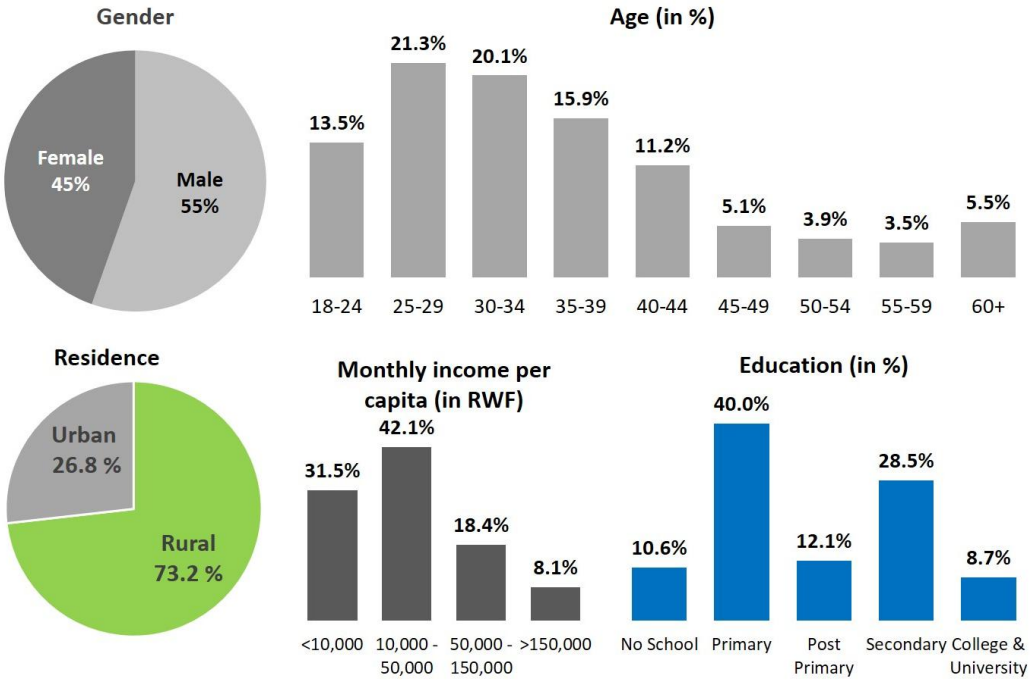

Figure 2: Demographics
Source: TI-Rwanda RBI 2017

The data in the above figure show that the majority (54,9%) of respondents, as per the age distribution of the 2017 RBI, falls in the 18-34 age interval. Unlike in the previous RBI, the current survey reveals that there is a significant difference between the proportions of men and women who participated in the 2017 RBI (45% of female and 55% of male). This can be explained by the fact that for ordinary citizens, in most instances, males are more likely to represent households in seeking services in Local Government (LG) institutions than females.

With regard to the type of residence, the findings show that the large majority of respondents (around 7 in 10) live in rural area, while the rest live in urban area. The respondents' distribution by type of residence stands slightly close to the Rwanda Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) 2015 estimates[7]. This implies that views and interests of ordinary citizens in both rural and urban areas were given a nearly proportional importance in this survey compared to the most recognized and recent national surveys.

[7] NISR (2016): The Rwanda Demographic and Health Survey 2014-2015. Rockville, Maryland, USA.

As far as education is concerned, the findings reveal that about half of the respondents have not gone beyond primary education (50.6%) and that nearly 1 in 10 of them have never been at school, while only 37.2% of respondents have a secondary education level.

The findings show that the large majority (73.6 %) of the respondents have a monthly per capita income of less than RFW 50.000, while only 8.1% earn above RWF 150.000 per months. This indicates that most respondents fall in the low income category. This reflects the nature of a study on bribe incidences which target people who indulge in corruption with small amount of money.

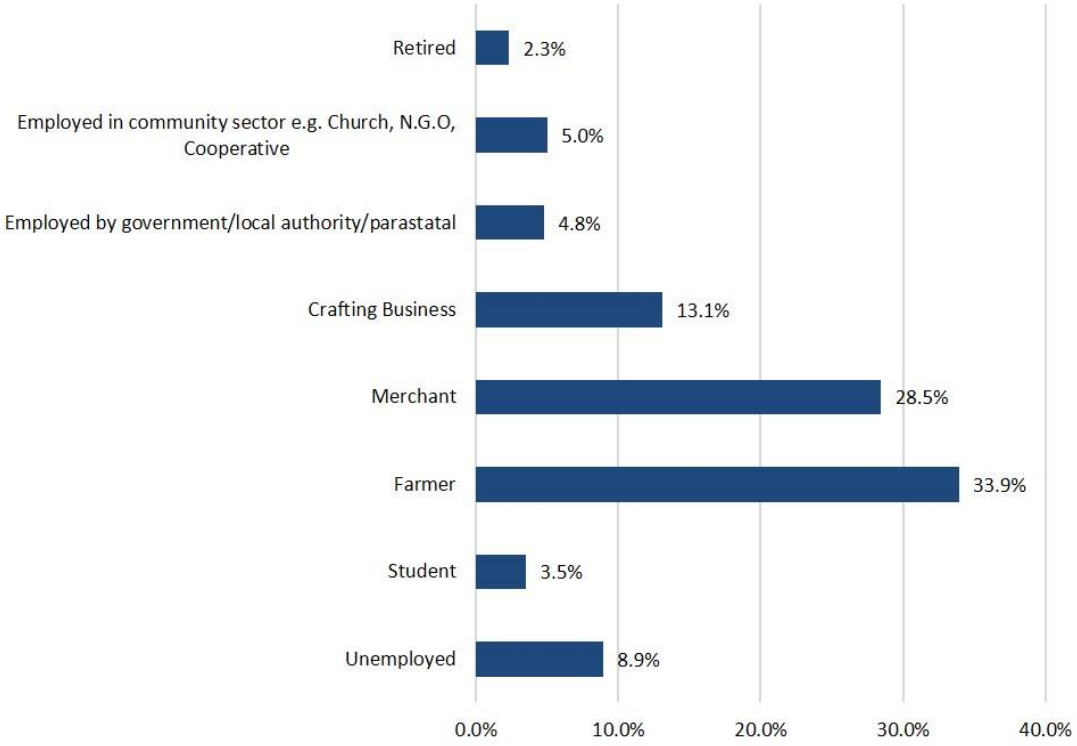

Figure 3: Employment status (n=2,385)
Source: TI-Rwanda RBI 2017

Figure2 shows that the majority of respondents are farmers (33.9%) followed by merchants (28.5%), people employed in crafting business (13.1%) and unemployed (8.9%).

4. PRESENTATION OF THE FINDINGS

4.1. Corruption perception

Figure4 shows the perceived level of corruption as reported by Rwandan citizens in the year 2017.

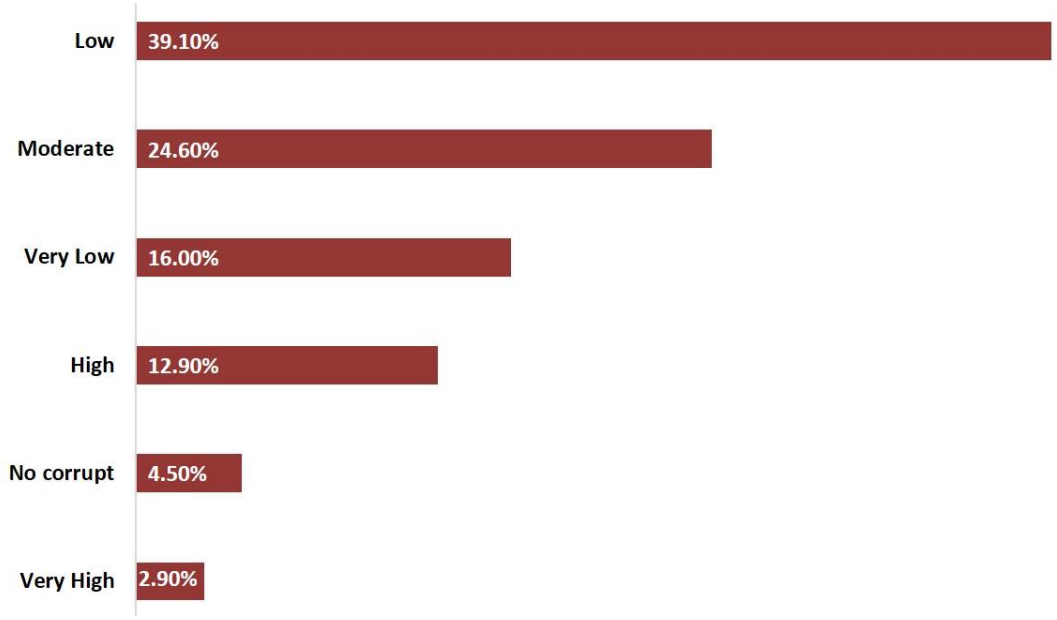

Figure 4: Citizens perception level of corruption (n=2,287)
Source: TI-Rwanda RBI 2017

The majority of respondents in Rwanda perceive a low level of corruption in Rwanda (59.6%), while a relatively small share perceive it as high (15.8%). A retrospective analysis of the perceived level of corruption between 2016 and 2017 shows a similar trend with regard to their perception on the status of corruption in the country. These opinions are also reflected in the figure below where respondents present their views about the government commitment to fight corruption.

4.2. Government's commitment to fight corruption

The respondents' perception on the effort of the government of Rwanda to fight against corruption is shown in Figure 5.

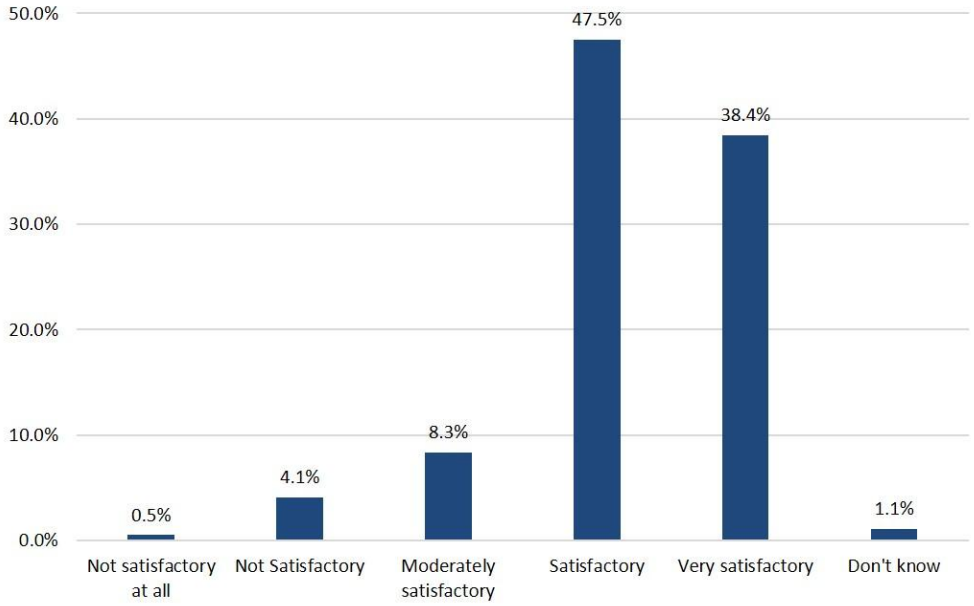

Figure 5: Perception of Government's commitment to fight corruption (n=2,331)
Source: TI-Rwanda RBI 2017

A vast majority of respondents (85.9%) recognize the effort of their government in fighting corruption. This strong confidence of Rwandans in their government to fight corruption is also supported by other institutions such as World Bank, World Economic Forum, Mo Ibrahim and Transparency International. As a matter of fact, Rwanda ranked the first country in Africa in accountablity by the 2017 Ibrahim Index[8], a report from Mo Ibrahim Foundation of Governance in Africa. Under accountability indicator, Rwanda scored 72.1% overall, 85.5% in public sector accountability and transparency and 97.8% in diversion of public funds.

The satisfactory perception of Government's commitment to fight corruption can be also a result of various government initiatives to discourage the prevalence of corruption in the country including the effort made by the Public Accounts Committee (PAC) to examine and investigate financial misconduct within public institutions, report cases of public funds mismanagement to the plenary and to decide on punitive measures.

[8] Mo Ibrahim Foundation (2017): Ibrahim Index of African Governance. London, UK.

4.3. Personal experience with bribery

While the previous section has dealt with perceptions, this section discusses personal and actual experiences with bribe incidences in Rwanda. The experience of bribes is analysed in accordance with the level of interaction with service providers.

4.3.1. Bribe encountered

Bribe encountered refers to both bribe demanded and offered. Figure 6 shows the trend of the proportion of citizens who have encountered bribes while interacting with service providers between 2012 and 2017.

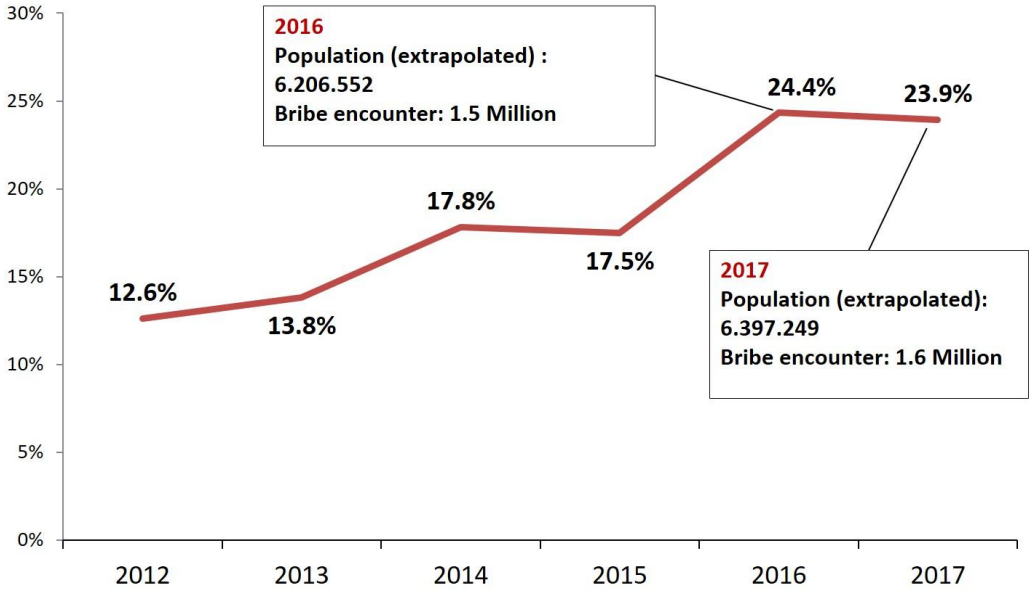

Figure 6: Bribe encountered
Source: TI-Rwanda RBI 2012-2017

The 2017 RBI reveals 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. Looking at the trend of the bribe encounter proportions, one can see that overall it has increased from 2012, only in the last year it has decreased from 24.4 % in 2016 to 23.9 % in 2017. The extrapolation of the level of bribe encountered (23.9%) from the sample to the study population (**6,397,249**) implies that around 1.6 million of Rwandans have encountered bribe in the last 12 months. In 2016, this figure was at 1.5. The 2017 RBI did not analyse the reasons behind the changes in this trend as far as the probability of encountering bribe is concerned.

The 2017 RBI indicates that the disaggregation of bribe with key demographics variables suggests that respondents with university educational level and those without education, high income, those living in rural areas, adults (between 40 and 50 years), male citizens and

those employed by government/local authority/parastatal are more likely to encounter bribe in Rwanda(see table 2 below).

Table 2: Bribe encounter disaggregated bz selected demographic variable

Demographic characteristics		Number of respondents	Respondents who experienced bribe	Percent
Residence	Urban	638	112	17.6%
	Rural	1747	459	26.3%
Sex	Male	1321	373	28.2%
	Female	1064	198	18.6%
Age Group	18-24	318	43	13.5%
	25-29	504	119	23.6%
	30-34	475	122	25.7%
	35-39	375	97	25.9%
	40-44	264	86	32.6%
	45-49	121	35	28.9%
	50-54	92	23	25.0%
	55-59	83	19	22.9%
	60+	131	20	15.3%
Education Level	No school	250	74	29.6%
	Primary	940	209	22.2%
	Post Primary Training	285	59	20.7%
	Secondary	669	160	23.9%
	College Education/ University Degree	204	62	30.4%
Employment	Unemployed	211	48	22.7%
	Student	83	20	24.1%
	Farmer	801	177	22.1%
	Merchant	672	158	23.5%
	Crafting Business	309	83	26.9%
	Employed by government/local authority/parastatal	113	39	34.5%
	Employed in the community sector (e.g. Church, NGOs)	118	36	30.5%
	Retired	55	7	12.7%
Personal income (Rwf per month) of respondents	Less than 10,000	741	163	22.0%
	10,000 t0 50,000	990	219	22.1%
	50,000 to 150,000	432	139	32.2%
	Above 150,000	190	47	24.7%
Household	Less than 10,000 Rwf	503	108	21.5%

income (Rwf per month) of respondents	10,000 - 40,000 Rwf	1017	216	21.2%
	41,000 - 150,000 Rwf	499	160	32.1%
	Above 150,000 Rwf	332	81	24.4%

Source: TI-Rwanda RBI 2017

4.3.2. Likelihood of encountering bribe occurrence

This indicator is derived from the number of all bribery situations (demanded), encountered by respondents while seeking for service. The overall likelihood of bribe has only slightly decreased from 4.9 % in 2016 to 4.5 % in 2017. Table 3 below presents the bribe likelihood among the selected institutions.

Table 3: Likelihood of bribery

SN#	Institution	Number of people who were seeking for services	Number of interactions with the institution	Number of people who encountered bribe	Likelihood (%)
1	MINEDUC/ HEC/ REB	26	49	0	0.00
2	Primary	222	500	13	2.60
3	Secondary	244	488	20	4.10
4	Technical / Vocational Training	58	125	3	2.40
5	University	63	146	12	8.22
6	Judiciary	181	492	27	5.49
7	Medical services	2,203	5,186	44	0.85
8	Traffic police	210	480	56	11.67
9	Judicial Police	443	996	76	7.63
10	Local Government	2,638	4,602	358	7.78
11	RRA	230	700	27	3.86
12	RURA	14	31	1	3.23
13	Rwanda Bureau of Standard	6	19	1	5.26
14	Water	131	500	23	4.60
15	Electricity	198	479	44	9.19
16	Banks	793	2,689	67	2.49
17	Civil society	39	105	6	5.71
18	Private sector	105	331	30	9.06
	OVERALL	**7,804**	**17,918**	**808**	**4.51**

Source: TI-Rwanda RBI 2017

The 2017 RBI indicates five institutions with the relatively high likelihood of bribes incidences in Rwanda including, traffic police (11,67%), electricity (9,19%), private sector (9,06%), University (8,22%), Local Government (7, 78).

As seen in the previous RBI, the ***police*** continues to be among the most prone to corruption in Rwanda. This is also due to increasing interactions with citizens while enforcing law and order in the country. However, especially since a couple of years, anti-corruption measures are regularly introduced to discourage this malpractice among the police. For example, every year, the Rwanda National Police dismisses police officers implicated in corruption incidences. A Police Special Force for fighting corruption is also in place. This special unit could have even more impact if the collaboration with other institutions would be improved to jointly fight against corruption.

In 2017, following a decision by the cabinet in February 2017, 198 police officers were dismissed. Rwanda National Police (RNP) has stressed that one Superintendent of Police, four at the rank of Chief Inspector of Police (CIP), 23 Inspectors of Police (IP), and 38 Assistant Inspectors of Police (AIP), 65 non-commissioned Officers and 67 Police Constables were implicated in corruption in the form of soliciting bribes, an act that leads to immediate dismissal. According to RNP statistics, in 2016, close to 200 people were also arrested for allegedly giving bribes to police officers, and 80 police officers implicated in graft related malpractices[9].

As the RBI 2017 shows, the ***private sector*** is also prone to bribery, which is also supported by a number of authors. According to Sam Choon-Yin (2014)[10], private sector agents bypass certain procedures or reduce the stringency of requirements to permit others to reap private benefit. This is possible for example in loan assessment. For example, a bank manager may grant overdrafts and other banking facilities to the briber without proper checks on his/her creditworthiness thus subjecting the bank to unnecessary risk. Similarly, company agents may offer exclusive contracts to bribers without going through the proper procedures of doing business.

The 2017 RBI reveals that ***electricity*** related services are among the top three institutions vulnerable to corrupt practices. In most cases bribes are paid to electricity service providers

[9] New Times (2017): Police explain dismissal of 200 officers, February 06, 2017 Kigali, Rwanda.

[10] Sam Choon-Yin (2014): Curbing corruption in private sector organizations: lessons from Singapore's public sector

either for the supply of electricity or due to incorrect meter measures. This includes for instance inoperable meters, incorrect meter-reading, installation and replacement of defective meters, where clients highly depend on the service providers.

A part from bribes in electricity supply, procurement related bribes exist among high officials from Rwanda Energy Group Ltd (REG), a government-owned holding company. They are responsible for the import, export, procurement, generation, transmission, distribution and sale of electricity in Rwanda. Indeed, the East African News paper of September 19, 2017, indicated that REG, which has a number of subsectors for electricity distribution and connectivity, has been in the spotlight over reckless expenditure of public monies, flouting tendering and procurement procedures, breaching recruitment policies and mismanagement of projects. Over the years, REG has been admonished by the Auditor-General's report for misusing public funds and unnecessary expenditure of resources. Recently, a top official of the Energy Development Corporation Ltd, one of two sub-sectors of REG, was arrested over alleged illegal awarding of public tenders.

The likelihood of bribe among ***universities*** is also reportedly among the highest in Rwanda. According to the Global Corruption Report on Education (2013)[11], high education institutions are likey to encounter corruption in cicumstances of plagiarism, cheating, unauthorised use of others' work, paying for assignments claimed as one's own, the falsification of data, downloading assignments from the internet, the misrepresentation of records and fraudulent publishing. Other practices of corruption in higher learning institutions may also include paying for grades with gifts, money or sexual favours. The survey reveals that bribery in Rwandan universities mainly occurs in cases where student pay a bribe for their grades or in recruiting personel.

[11] Transparency International (2013): Global Corruption Report: Education. New York, USA.

4.4. Prevalence of bribery

The indicator prevalance of bribery captures the probability that a bribe is paid to a service provider upon interaction with the service seeker. Compared to the slight decrease of the likelihood, the prevalence has decreased more from 4.2 % in 2016 to 3.3 % in 2017. Table 4 below shows the prevalence of bribe among the selected institutions.

Table 4: Prevalence of bribery

SN#	Institution type	Number of Interactions with the Institution	Total Number of Payment	Prevalence (%)
1	MINEDUC/ HEC/ REB	49	0	0.00
2	Primary Education	500	7	1.40
3	Secondary Education	488	11	2.25
4	Technical / Vocational Training	125	2	1.60
5	University	146	9	6.16
6	Judiciary	492	23	4.67
7	Medical services	5,186	20	0.39
8	Traffic police	480	57	11.88
9	Judicial Police	996	62	6.22
10	Local Government	4,602	224	4.87
11	RRA	700	44	6.29
12	RURA	31	1	3.23
13	Rwanda Bureau of Standard	19	0	0.00
14	Water	500	16	3.20
15	Electricity	479	41	8.56
16	Banks	2,689	43	1.60
17	Civil Society	105	3	2.86
18	Private Sector	331	24	7.25
	OVERALL	**17,918**	**587**	**3.28**

Source: TI-Rwanda RBI 2017

The findings in Table 4 show that again, the Traffic Police(11.88 %), electricity (8.56 %) and the Private Sector (7.25 %) remain most prone to the prevalence of bribe in Rwanda. Bribery incidences are also prevalent in other institutions such as Rwanda Revenue Authority (RRA), Judicial police and Local Government. For the latter, with 4.8 %, the prevalence of bribe in LG is comparably low. However, the prevalence of bribe differs among the LG services (see Figure 6) .The following service is reported with the highest share of prevalence of bribes: toleration of unlawful construction with 32.9 % , this includes for instance issuing construction permits (One Stop Centre at the district level) or authorising illegal constructions/rehabiliations (cell and sector executive secretaries and DASSO).

Both institutions were involved in receiving bribes from citizens who sought for construction related services.

Moreover, other domains where service seekers declared having experienced corruption at the District level include forest havesting permit (29.8%), tender award (16%), getting GIRINKA cow (13.2%), execution of judgments (9.1%), construction/renovation permit (9%), livestock veterinary treatment (8.3%), abunzi resolution(4.4%).

Similarly, village leaders are among the most assailed persons of service providers in the Local Government who are reportedly engaged in corrupt practices. TI-RW's previous studies on the service delivery assesed using suggestions boxes have already highlighted the same.

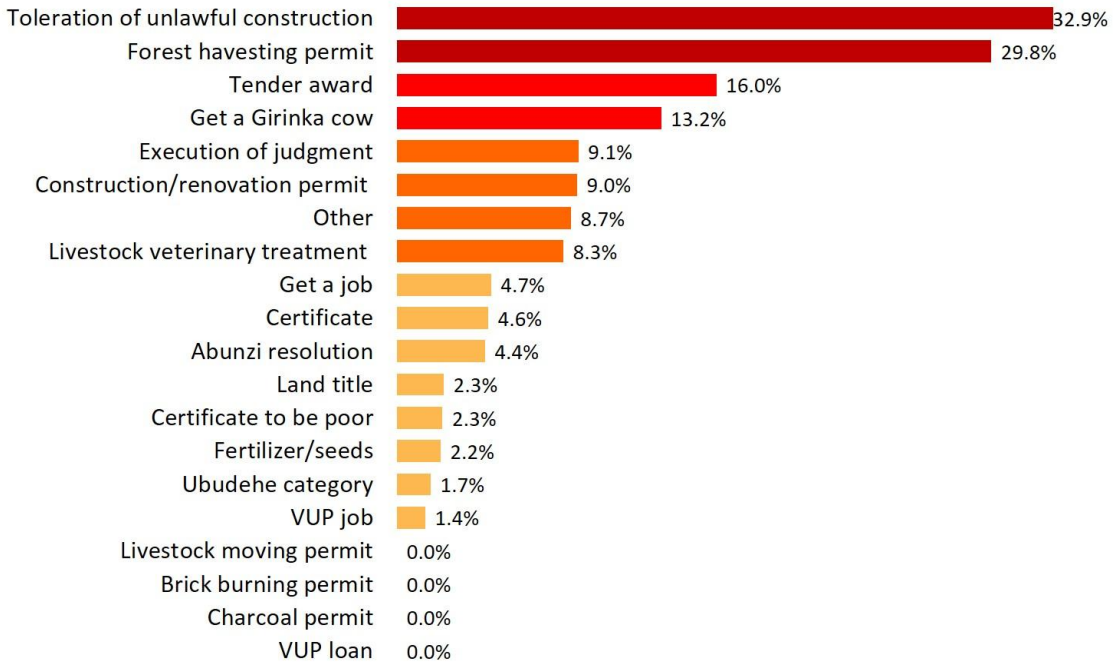

Figure 7: Prevelance of bribe in LG related services
Source: TI-Rwanda RBI 2017

TI-RW clients through the IFATE platform [12], Advocacy and Legal Advice Centers (ALACs) and suggestion boxes projects support the above mentioned arguments on bribery in Local Governments. The following individual cases are specific examples for bribery in LG:

- A village leader in Mbuye sector (Ruhango district) asked a citizen a bribe of Rfw 30,000 as exchange to get a cow in GIRINKA program.
- In Mudende sector (Rubavu district), the president of mediators/Abunzi at cell level receive complaints from clients only if they pay a bribe of Rfw 10,000.

[12] For more information on Transparency International Rwanda online reporting platform IFATE: www.ifatetirwanda.org

- A mediator at sector level in Musanze district (Cyuve sector) was bribed Rfw 56.000 to influence the decision of mediators in favor for the client.
- In one sector of the district Kamonyi, a citizen claimed to give bribe worth Rwf 300.000 to a village leader to authorise unlawfull construction.
- In Kicukiro district a teacher reported that he paid to one of the district staff Rwf 100.000 as a condition to qualify among the evaluators of the latest national examinations.

Over time, the trend of prevelance of bribes has changed. However, differences exists between the different institutions. The data in Figure 8 show that except for the Rwanda National Police, bribery incidence has slightly increased from 2010 to 2017 in the remaining institutions such as local government, the judiciary and private sector. Trend decrase in RNP is explained by a continous effort made on annaul basis in sacking those police officers suspected to indulge in corrupt practices, especially after 2016.

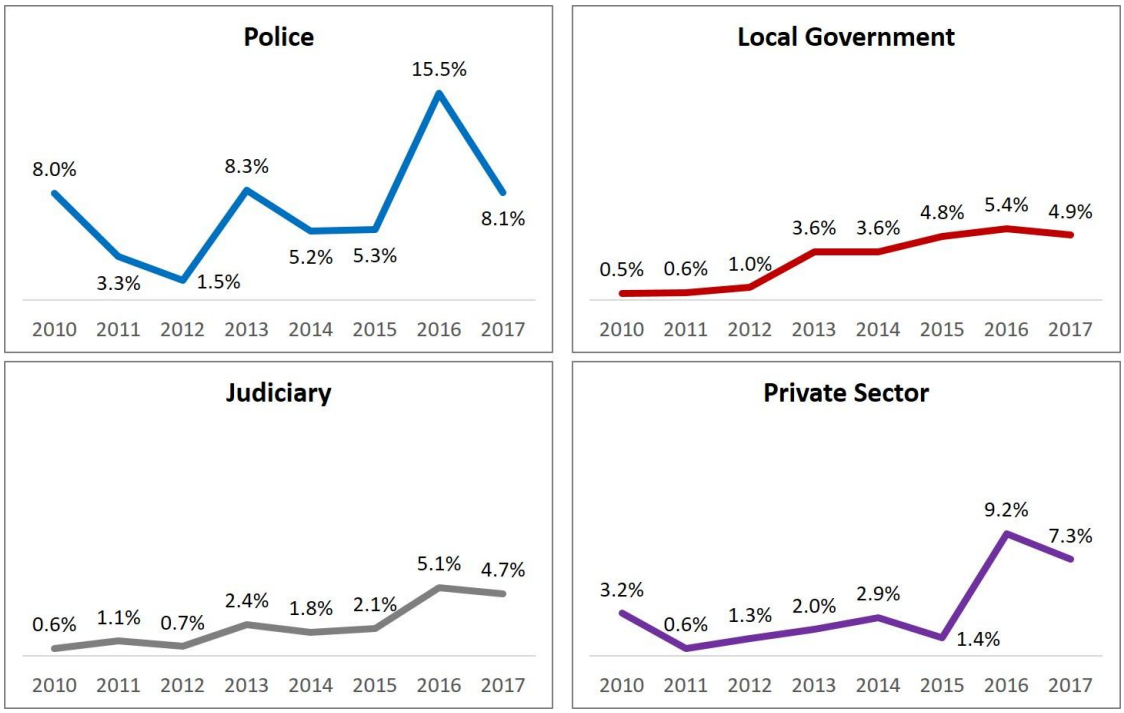

Figure 8: Trends in prevelance of bribes in key institutions
Source: TI-Rwanda RBI 2010-2017

4.5. Average amount of bribes paid

Table 5 presents the average of bribe paid during the last 12 months by respondents who sought services in the identified institutions.

Table 5: Average amount of bribes paid

SN#	Institution type	Number people who paid bribe	Total Amount Paid (RWF)	Average size of bribe (RWF)	Share of Bribe (%)
1	MINEDUC/ HEC/ REB	0	0	0	0
2	Primary Education	7	237,000	33,857	1.49
3	Secondary Education	9	330,000	36,667	2.07
4	Technical/ Vocational Training	2	135,000	67,500	0.85
5	University	6	335,000	55,833	2.10
6	Judiciary	15	520,000	34,667	3.27
7	Medical services	20	98,600	4,930	0.62
8	Traffic police	39	2,406,500	61,705	15.12
9	Judicial Police	51	1,978,600	38,796	12.43
10	Local government	176	4,842,020	27,511	30.42
11	RRA	22	1,704,000	77,455	10.71
12	RURA	1	25,000	25,000	0.16
13	Rwanda Bureau of Standard	1	0	0	0.00
14	Water	12	169,600	14,133	1.07
15	Electricity	33	415,600	12,594	2.61
16	Banks	29	2,179,000	75,138	13.69
17	Civil Society	3	80,000	26,667	0.50
18	Private Sector	14	460,000	32,857	2.89
	OVERALL	**440**	**15,915,920**	**36,173**	**100.0**

Source: TI-Rwanda RBI 2017

The national average size of bribe paid by respondents amounted to RFW 36,173, implying a decrease from Rfw 43,743 last year. The 2017 RBI reveals that bribes paid in the RRA and in Banks are highest with Rwf 77,455 and 75,138 respectively. It is noticeable that the average size of bribe paid by the judiciary has also decreased from RFW 46,500 in 2016 to Rfw 34,600 in 2017.

Technical/ Vocational Training, Traffic police and Universities were also reported to have an important average size of bribe in 2017. The traffic police has been accused in many occasions to receive between Rfw 200.000 and Rfw 300.000 as an exchange of issuing unlawfully a driving permit. In the education sector such as universities and Vocational Training, important amount of bribes are paid to get better grades from teachers or the head of schools/ universities.

4.6. Share of bribe

Figure 9 shows the proportion of bribes an institution accounts relative to the total amount of bribes recorded by the survey in the last twelve months.

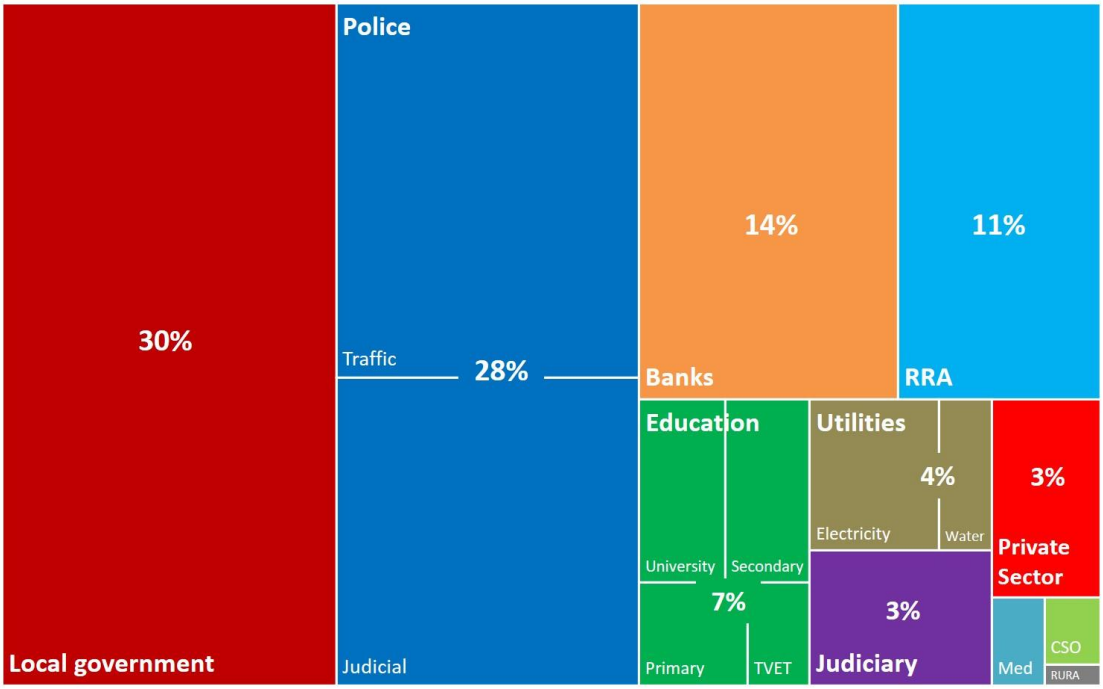

Figure 9: Share of bribery
Source: TI-Rwanda RBI 2017

The local government and the police have continually taken the lead in terms of the overall share of national bribe. In the 2017 RBI, local government and police received 68% of the total amount of bribes paid in the last 12 months mainly due to the fact the two institutions have more interactions with citizens than other institutions such as the Judiciary.

Moreover, the findings revealed that Banks and RRA also have a considerable share of bribe (14% and 11% respectively) after local government and police. As stated in the 2016 RBI, it is common for loan officers, branch managers or anyone having the power to validate the disbursement of loans to abuse their high discretionary power and put their private interest before the interest of the bank. By doing so, Bank officials can therefore push loans borrowers to pay bribes by making procedures slow and burdensome. Bigger amount of bribes can also be paid for tax evasion especially when the amounts involved in tax collection are higher.

4.7. Perceived Impact of Bribe

The table below presents findings on whether respondents would have received the services they sought from particular institution if they failed to pay a bribe.

Table 6: Impact of bribe

SN#	Institution type	Number of Interactions with the Institution	Number of people who were not given services as result of refusing to pay bribe	Impact of Bribe (%)
1	MINEDUC /HEC /REB	49	0	0.00
2	Primary	500	5	1.00
3	Secondary	488	9	1.84
4	Technical / Vocational Training	125	1	0.80
5	University	146	5	3.42
6	Judiciary	492	9	1.83
7	Medical services	5,186	13	0.25
8	Traffic police	480	9	1.88
9	Judicial Police	996	18	1.81
10	Local government	4,602	121	2.63
11	RRA	700	3	0.43
12	RURA	31	0	0.00
13	Rwanda Bureau of Standard	19	0	0.00
14	Water	500	9	1.80
15	Electricity	479	6	1.25
16	Banks	2,689	31	1.15
17	Civil Society	105	2	1.90
18	Private Sector	331	15	4.53
	OVERALL	**17,918**	**256**	**1.43**

Source: TI-Rwanda RBI 2017

As evidenced by previous RBI and the current one, the perceived impact of bribe in Rwanda stands very low (below 2%), indicating that in Rwanda getting services is not necessarily connected of paying bribes.

It is worth noting that this indicator measures the extent to which people who refrain from bribe are likely to be denied the service they request for and not the measurement of impact of corruption on various aspects of the human life as they are elaborated in a number of literature. It is obvious that in a system with corruption, there is always poor quality of services and related consequences such as delay in economic growth, lack of development and decrease in foreign investment, lack of proper justice, to name just few. In this context,

the impact of corruption is perceptible especially in services with high prevalence of bribes as indicated above.

4.8. Reporting of bribe cases

In this section, the reporting of bribe cases are illustrated and discussed. The survey shows whether the respondents who encountered corruption reported it or not (see Figure 10).

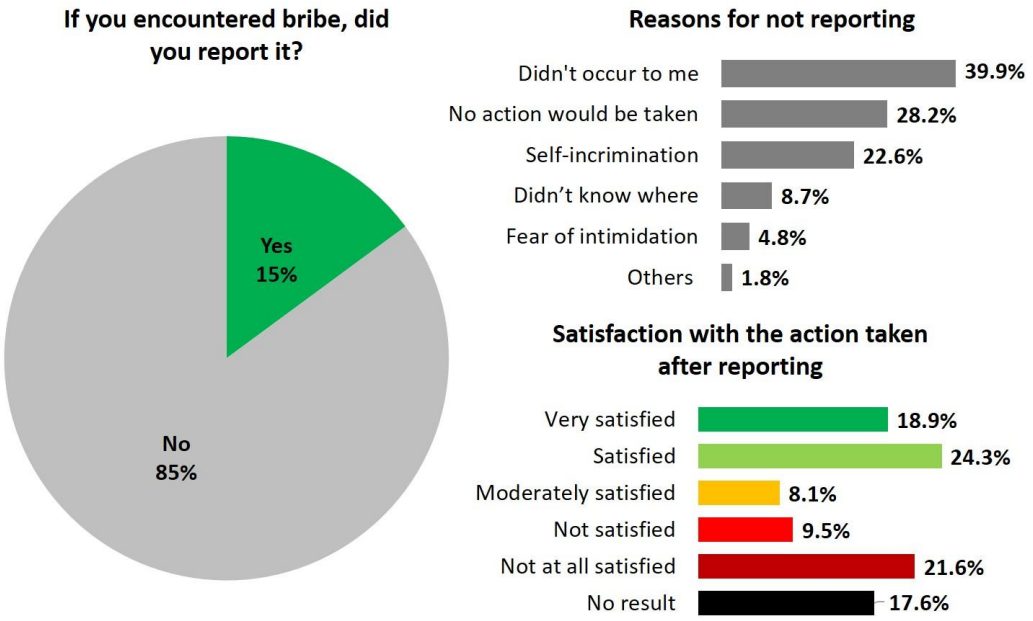

Figure 10: Reporting of Corruption Cases
Source: TI-Rwanda RBI 2017

As in the previous RBI, the above figure indicates that 85% (the vast majority), who encountered corruption, did not report it. The main reasons is that reporting did not occur to them (39.9%), it was perceived that no action would be taken (28.2%) or fear of self incrimination (22.6%).

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 10 shows that only about 42% of respondents were satified with the action taken by relevant institutions after reporting bribe as opposed to 49% who were dissatified with the action taken. This again confirms the reasons why the trend of reporting corruption kept decreasing as shown in the Figure 11 below.

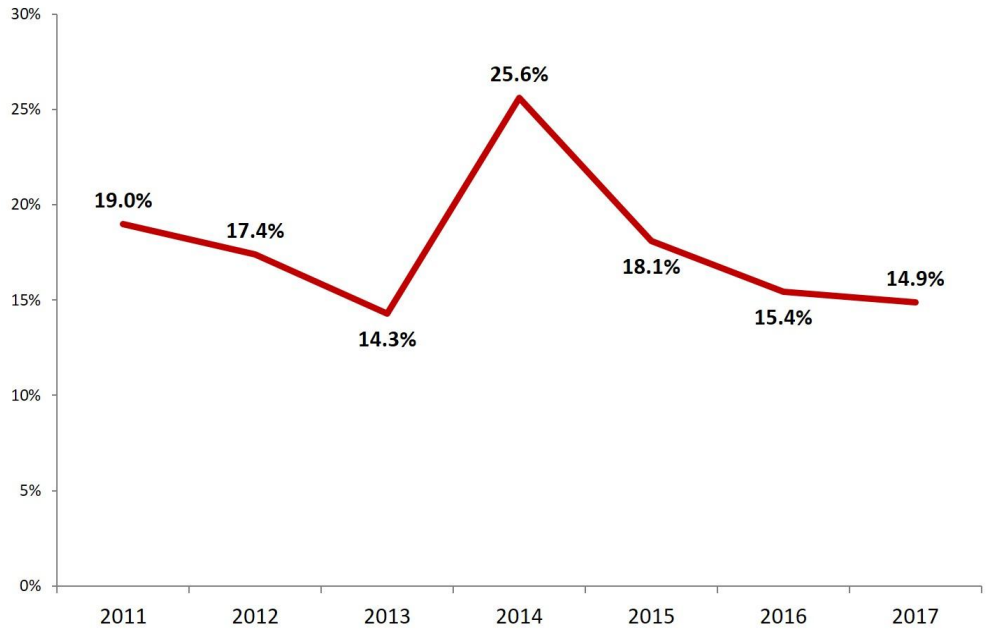

Figure 11: Bribe reporting over time
Source: TI-Rwanda RBI 2011-2017

Finally, it is also interesting to further look at the institutions citizens are reporting to. In Rwanda, several opportunities exist as focal point for reporting bribery. However, only a few are actually considered. At national level, mainly the Ombudsman is contacted. At local level, the Local Government as well as the Police are considered as focal point for reporting bribery. Also for future activties for TI Rw it is of a value, to further strengthen the collaboration with these focal points and to establish trust among the citizens to report. In the future, this map would be an interesting tool to further rise the awareness of bribe reporting.

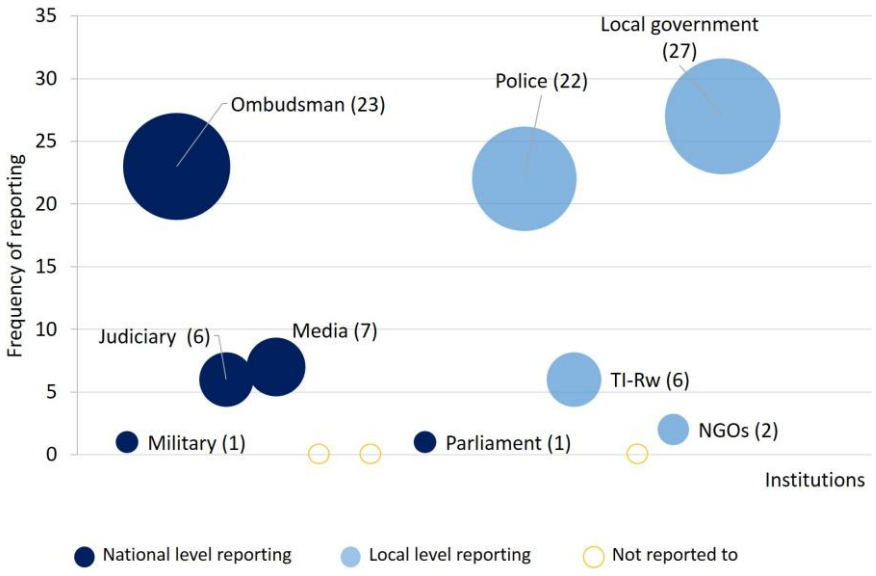

Figure 12 Focal points for reporting bribery cases

5. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The RBI is a unique annual report pointing out the overall level of bribery likelihood and prevelence as well as the actual encountered bribes by the surveyed citizens of Rwanda.

With this survey TI-Rwanda is able to point to those sectors where the likelihood and the prevelance are highest. As this is the 8th RBI report, also the positive and negative changes over time can be observed. With this years' analysis, it became evident that for instance the prevelance of bribes with Traffic Police has decreased due to new measures undertaken by RNP during the past. In contrast the prevelance of bribe in electricity services has drastically increased. Looking at specific prevelances of bribes in LG, especially the toleration of unlawful construction and forest harvesting permits are affected by bribes.

In addition, the report also pointed out that with an overall average amount of bribes of around Rwf 36,000, which especially occur in the banking sector and in the RRA, 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 this, the RBI 2017 comes up with the following main recommendations:

- 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;

- Capacity building in the investigative journalism on corruption among media practitioners is needed to amplify citizen's voice 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 to key stakeholders including government, civil society, private sector and media should be strengthened;

- Bribe remains high in key services (electricity facilities , education and some LG services including construction, public tender, pro-poor programs, execution of court judgement , ...). MIFOTRA, Office of Ombudsman and all public institutions should put in place anti corruption policies and reporting mechanisms to detect and deter corrupt practices.