

RWANDA BRIBERY INDEX 2015

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. It shows 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

- 1. Rwanda Bribery Index is an annual publication conducted by Transparency International Rwanda (TI-RW), with the support of the Norwegian People's Aid under the Public Policy Information, Monitoring and Advocacy (PPIMA) Project. It aims at establishing experiences and perceptions of this specific form of corruption in Rwanda. This edition is already the sixth of its kind and supersedes the 2014 RBI edition.
- 2. In general, Rwandans stay optimistic about low levels of corruption in Rwanda. 51% of respondents perceive corruption as low. The positive trend is underscored in the category of perceived high corruption. In 2015, only around 7% of respondents perceive corruption in Rwanda as high, which marks almost 10% improvement compared to 2014.
- 3. The findings indicate that there has been a considerable shift of people who ranked corruption high in 2014 to moderate levels in 2015. This is consistent with a long-term decrease of the proportion of people who rank corruption low (from 67% in 2011 to 51% today), which indicates a trend from the extremes towards the middle.
- 4. Moving away from perceptions, the survey investigated the actual experience of respondents demanded and offered bribes. In 2015, 17.5% of people indicate that they encountered a bribe in one way or another. This trend is almost unchanged as in 2014, 17.8% indicated encountering bribe, similarly to 17% of people in 2010. Despite this relatively low figure, the 17.5% of Rwandans who report encountering corruption amount to an estimated number of 963.000 Rwandans aged over 18 years who encountered bribe in the last year. The message is thus clear: Though on good path, there is plenty of space for improvement toward zero occurrence of bribery in Rwanda.
- 5. The analysis shows that men are more likely to encounter corruption (21%) then women (12.9%). Further urban population encounters bribery much more frequently (23%) then people living in rural areas (14.6%). There is also correlation between higher personal income and bribe encounter. People with income above 150tsd RWF per month report encountering bribe in 29% of all cases. People earning 10tsd RWF and less report corruption in 'only' 11.2%. The typical profile of a person encountering bribe is thus a man, living in a city an above-average income.
- 6. When looking at the likelihood of encountering some form of a corrupt transaction on the supply or demand site, the private sector in general scores the best with only 1.8% of likelihood that one encounters a bribe. As in 2014, the local government (4.7% likelihood) and national police (6.3% likelihood) end up scoring worst in this category. It is still worth noting that the likelihoods of encountering corruption in Rwanda are comparatively lower than elsewhere in the East African region. For example, national police in Tanzania noted in 2014 26% of likelihood of bribery. This signals four times lower likelihood for

- a Rwandan to encounter bribe in the police force compared to the Tanzanian counterpart.
- 7. When looking at the probability that a bribe is paid to a service provider upon interaction with a service seeker, private sector scores again the best and the national police the worst. Out of one hundred seekers for a service from a private institution, only one person on average reports having paid a bribe. In contrast, five out of one hundred service seekers from national police end up paying a bribe. In local government, close to 5% of service seekers pay a bribe, while 2.5% report paying a bribe when seeking water or electricity related services. 2% of service seekers in judiciary report paying a bribe. The main reasons of paying bribe include speeding up obtaining a service, the only way to access service, avoiding problems with authorities and avoiding full cost of a service.
- 8. With regards to actual amounts of bribery transaction paid, judiciary stands up with close to 73,000 RWF as an average amount of a bribe. Local government follows suit with almost 54,000 RWF. Private sector ranks third in the amount of bribe paid with 49,000 RWF. The trend analysis shows that the average size of bribe paid by respondents has increased by 39% on annual basis from 27,749 RWF in 2014 to 45,467 RWF in 2015 in selected institutions. Especially judiciary, private sector and national police have recorded an increase of the amounts paid.
- 9. Police and the Local Government are also the two institutions which account for around 41 % of the share of accumulated national bribe in the last six years. This is probably due to high and frequent interaction with citizens on wideranging issues. However, the impact of not paying a bribe does not affect the provision of services to significant extent. The findings show that less than 2% of respondents would be affected by not receiving a service from an institution if bribe was not paid.
- 10. An enduring concern is persistently low readiness to report corruption by the Rwandan public. For the last six years, three quarters of Rwandans who encountered corruption did not report it. The progress on this issue is even negative as this year only 18% of those encountering corruption reported a case. In 2014, 25% had reported corruption cases to some institution.
- 11. Overall, the 2015 findings confirm that corruption has only a low impact on Rwandans. The likelihood, probability and impact of corruption in institutions such as judiciary, private sector, police or local government do not seem being wide spread and systemic. However, corruption still affects around 17% of Rwandans who engage or are affected by corrupt transactions involving significant amounts of money. The trend does not suggest that this share of affected population would be reducing over time. The levels of those affected are rather stagnant around 18% of the population in the last six years of RBI measurement.

1. INTRODUCTION

In Rwanda, the political commitment in promoting good governance has been the driving force in preventing and fighting corruption. According to UNDP(2008¹) the political environment and the way socio-economic groups interact with state officials affect the prevalence as well as the perception of corruption, meaning that corruption incidences will depend on the development and enforcement of public ethics, their level of integrity and the culture of zero tolerance is to corruption within the governance system.

The Zero tolerance policy under the Rwanda anti-corruption policy² 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 unconditional principles in line with the respect to procedures in Public Financial Management. The Auditor General Office and the Parliament Account Committee(PAC) play a predominant role in this regard 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. As a matter of factin 2013 Twenty-seven police personnel who were implicated in corruption related crimes were dismissed from the force³. Furthermore between June 2004 and July 2014 the Judiciary imposed sanctions to the staff including dismissal over corruption and related misconduct⁴.

The high political commitment of Rwandan officials in the fight aigainst corruption is also largely praised for its commitment to fight against corruption and for the success that such a fight has reaped. 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 commitment to fight corruption is again revealed in the RBI 2014⁵ where almost all respondents (97.3%) recognized the effort of their government in fighting corruption with only 1.6% of those who contest this view.

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 the National Police, the Local governments, the Judiciary, the private sector, the business regulatory agencies and utilities related services (water and electricity).

It is in this framework that every year, Transparency International Rwanda conducts Rwanda Bribery Index(RBI) in a bid to assess the incidence of corruption in different institutions that are percieved to be most vulnerable to corruption. The 2015 RBI is the sixth of its kind and sought to show a trend analysis of the index for the last six years.

¹ UNDP, Tackling Corruption, Transforming Lives, 2008:

² Ombudsman, The Rwanda Anti-corruption Policy, 2012

³ Newtimes, sept 11 2013

⁴ TI-RW: Situational analysis on professionalism of courts in Rwanda, 2015

⁵ Transparency international Rwanda, Rwanda Bribery Index 2014

2. OBJECTIVES OF THE SURVEY

The overall objective of the study was to establish the experiences and perceptions of Rwandans with regard to bribery 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 organizations 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.

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

- 1. **Likelihood** = # of bribe demand situation for organization x # of interactions for organization x
- 2. Prevalence = # of bribe payers for organization x # of interactions for organization x
- 3. Impact = # of service deliveries as a result of bribe paying for organization x

 # of interactions for organization x
- **4. Share =** Total amount of bribes paid in organization x

 Total amount of bribes paid in all organizations
- 5. Average size = Total amount of bribes paid in organization x

 Individuals who paid a bribe in organization x.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. Approach

This survey used exclusively a quantitative approach and sought to establish the extent of bribe in Rwanda by seeking information from ordinary citizens while interacting with public officials Furthermore, the survey used both random and purposive technique. 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 hence, higher risk of corruption. The questionnaire was the only instrument used to capture data on bribery incidences. The latter was administered face to face to Rwandan citizens aged 18 years and above.

3.2. Sampling frame and sample size

Rwanda Bribery Index 2015 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. The targeted population for the survey consisted of all citizens aged 18 years and above among others.

Data from the Fourth Population and Housing Census, Rwanda 2012 places the Rwandan population aged 18 and above at 5,500,845 (study population). The sample was calculated using the formula below.

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

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 as 95% with a margin of error of 2 %. Such a sample size provides a base for meaningful comparison to undertake statistically valid sub stratifications that fall within acceptable confidence level. Based on the above formula the sample size for the RBI 2014 survey was 2400 respondents as far as the category of ordinary people were concerned. However, due to the fact that this figure is taken as the minimun sample size, a total of 2414 respondents were surveyed. The table below presents the sample allocation by Province and District.

Table 1: District sample allocation

Province	District	Frequency	Percent
Kigali City	GASABO	137	5.7%
	KICUKIRO	71	2.9%
	NYARUGENGE	74	3.1%
		282	11.7%
West	NGORORERO	268	11.1%
	RUBAVU	303	12.6%
		571	23.7%
East	KIREHE	259	10.7%
	NYAGATARE	288	11.9%
		547	22.7%
North	GICUMBI	235	9.7%
	RULINDO	190	7.9%
		425	17.6%
South	HUYE	294	12.2%
	KAMONYI	295	12.2%
		589	24.4%
TOTAL		2414	100.0%

The survey on RBI 2015 was conducted in the 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. The selection of districts was based on both purposive and random sampling as mentioned earlier. The number of respondents in each district was proportionately computed according to the sample size of Districts as provided by the 2012 Census.

• Data collection

This exercise was carried out by skilled interviewers and team leaders recruited and trained to this end. The training covered issues such as survey methods, questionnaire structure and content, interviewers/supervisors' responsibilities, as well as on survey ethics. Questionnaires were distributed face to face to respondents in the selected districts included in this study as shown in the above table and recorded bribery experiences as well as perception from 2414 respondents.

• Pilot Survey

Before starting the data collection process 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 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.

• Fieldwork supervision

In a bid to ensure data quality, the data collection activity was supervised by skilled team leaders recruited based on their experience in carrying out such activity.

Data analysis

For the purpose of data entry, clerks were recruited and trained on the data base entry process 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. This year, the 2015 RBI presents a trend analysis of the bribe indices as revealed in the five previous assessments since 2010.

• Quality control

For data quality control purposes, the following measures were taken:

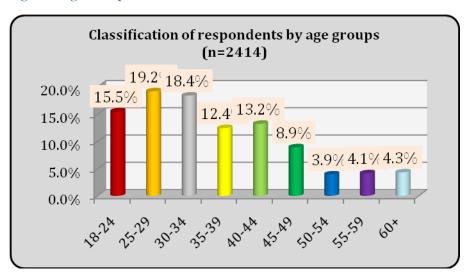
- Assessment and approval of the 2015 RBI tools and methodology by the NISR;
- Recruitment of skilled interviewers and supervisors
- > Training of interviewers and supervisors
- > Testing of the questionnaires
- > Supervision of data collection activity
- > Overall coordination of the field work
- Use of SPSS software for data analysis
- > Data cleaning prior to analysis
- > Confidentiality of information

3.3. Demographics

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

3.3.1. Age of respondents

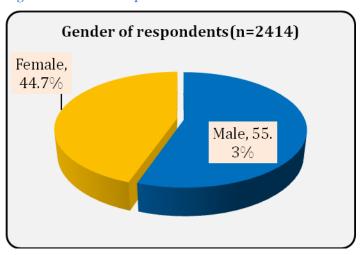
Figure 1: Age of respondents



The above figure shows that the majority (53.1%) of respondents are young (aged 18-34). It is also clear that adults population were also part of the survey and represent nearly 47% of the suveryed citizens meaning that people of all age category were given an opportunity to express their perceptions and experience on the state of corruption in Rwanda.

3.3.2. Gender of respondents

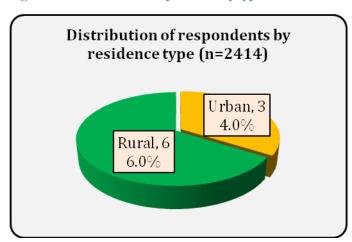
Figure 2: Gender of respondents



The data above suggests a slight gap between the proportions of men and women who participated in the 2015 RBI with more male respondents (55.3%) than female (44.7%). This gap is also observed in gender representation in the employment sector in Rwanda⁶.

3.3.3. Residence of respondents

Figure 3: Distribution of respondents by type of residence



The above findings show that the large majority of respondents (66%)) live in rural area, while 34% reside in urban area. Notably, the respondents' distribution by type of residence stands higher than the 2014-2015 DHS⁷ estimates (19.5 % living in urban areas) due to the fact that the selection of districts was partially purposive and included one urban and one rural district in each province.

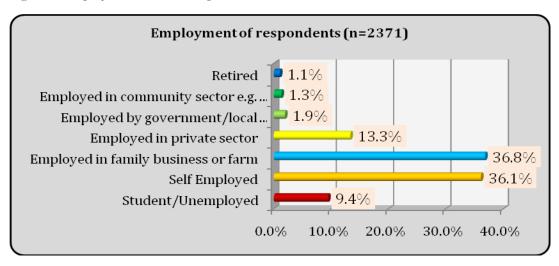
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⁶ See NIRS, GMO and UN Women Rwanda, National gender statistics report, 2013, Kigali, March 2013, p.24.

⁷ NISR: Demographic and Health Survey 2014-15

3.3.4. Employment status of respondents

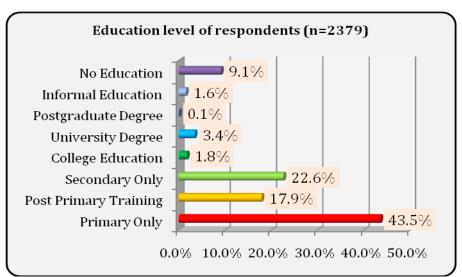
Figure 4: Employment status of respondents



The above figure suggests that cumulatively, the majority of respondents (72.9%) were self employed in farm or employed in family business followed by those who were imployed in private sector(13.3%). This finding corroborates the 2012 Census⁸ which shows that the Rwandan labour market is predominated by agriculture(73%).

3.3.5. Highest Level of education attained

Figure 5: Highest Level of education attained

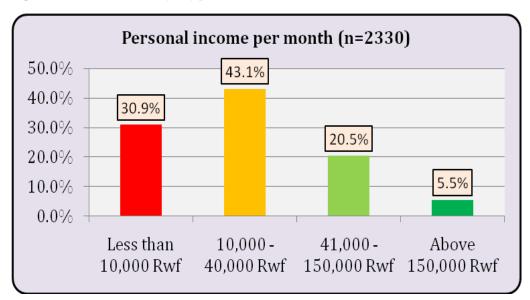


It has emerged from the findings that the majority of the respondents (43.5%) have attained primary school level followed by those who had a secondary school education (22.2%) and those with post primary training (17.9%). Respondents who never attended school represent 9.1%. This finding also reflects the national reality as the majority of Rwandans have attained primary education only.

⁸ NISR: Fourth Population and Housing Census, Rwanda 2012, Thematic Report Labour Force Participation, 2014

3.3.6. Personal Income (Rfw) per Month

Figure 6: Personal Income (Rfw) per Month



The data above indicates that cumulatively 74% of respondents earn below RFW 40.000 on monthly basis while only 5.5% earn above RWF 150.000.. The finding indicates that most respondents fall in the low income category reflecting the nature of the study on bribe incidences which targets people who indulge in corruption with relative small amount of money.

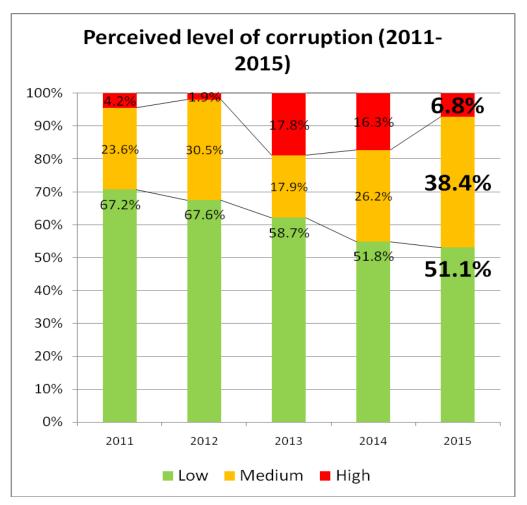
5. PRESENTATION OF THE FINDINGS

5.1. Corruption perception

5.1.1. Perceived level of corruption

The figure below shows a trend of perceived level of corruption as reported by citizens between 2011 and 2015.

Figure 7: Perceived level of corruption (2011-2015)



The majority of respondents in Rwanda believe that the level of corruption in their country is low while a small percent perceive it as high. This perception is evenly observed in the consecutive annual RBI surveys conducted between 2010 and 2015. However, the trend analysis shows that the proportion of respondents who perceived corruption levels as low between 2011 and 2015 has declined from 67.2% to 51.1%, that is 16% of decrease. On the other hand, it is noticeable that the proportion of respondents who perceived the level of corruption to be medium has increased from 17,9 in 2013 to 38.4% in 2015 implying that in Rwanda the perceived level of corruption is progressively inclined to medium rather than to low level. This may be explained by the

fact that the awareness on corruption among citizens was extensively conducted than before.

5.2. Government's commitment to fight corruption

The trend of respondents perception on the effort of the government of Rwanda to fight against corruption is shown in the figure below.

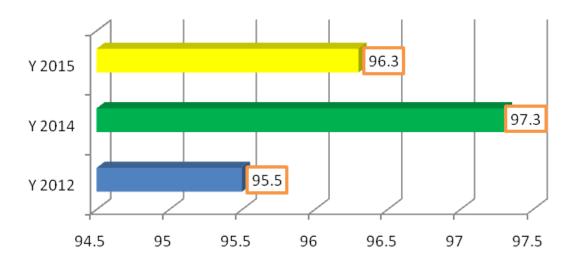


Figure 8: Government's commitment to fight corruption

A vast majority of respondents (beyond 95%) recognize the effort of their government in fighting corruption. The strong confidence of the surveyed people in their government to fight corruption is also supported by many observers including reserachers and development actors. The government of Rwanda established a number of new laws and institutions on prevention and repression of corruption and related offences, signed and ratified most international anti-corruption conventions, approved the National Policy to fight against corruption. As a matter of fact, the Government of Rwanda established several anti-corruption bodies and most recently the Anti-Corruption Unit in the Rwanda Revenue Authority as well as in the National Police, the Public Procurement Appeals Commission., the Public Accounts Committee within the Parliament. Moreover, in 2012 the Government approved the National Policy to fight against corruption, a Whistleblower Protection Law was approved in September 2012, and many public institutions have codes of conduct.

5.3. Personal Experience with Bribery

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

5.3.1. Bribes encountered

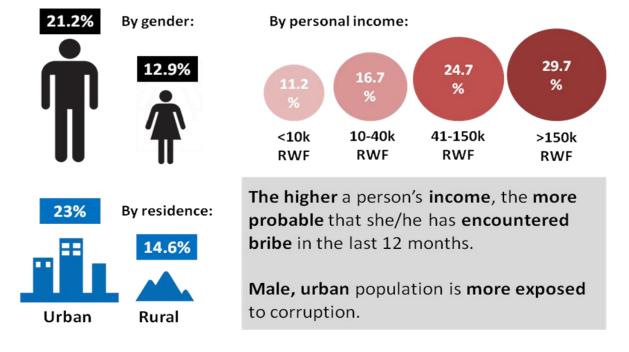
Bribe encountered refers to both bribe demanded and offered. The figure below presents a trend analysis on the proportion of citizens who have encountered corruption while interacting with service providers between 2010 and 2015.

20% **Encountering bribe incidences** 18% 17.80% 17.50% 17% 16% 14% 12.60% 12% 10% 8% 6% 4% 2% 0% Y 2014 Y 2010 Y 2012 Y 2015

Figure 9: Bribes encountered

The data in the above figure indicates that the level of personal experience with bribes stands relatively low in Rwanda compared to the East African region with an average proportion of 17% between 2010 and 2015. Moreover, the trend analysis shows that the level of bribes encountered has slightly reduced from 17% to 12.6% between 2010 and 2012 and from this year it has increased up to 17.8% and 17.5% in 2014 and 2015 respectively. The section below examines the extent to which bribes was demanded(likelihood) or offered(pravalence) during the interactions between service seekers and services providers in the selected institutions.

Bribery encountered disaggregated by demographic characteristics of the population



5.3.2. Likelihood of encountering bribe occurrence

This indicator is derived from the number of all bribery situations (demandedor expected), encountered by respondents while seeking for service. The table below presents the bribe likelihood among the following institutions.

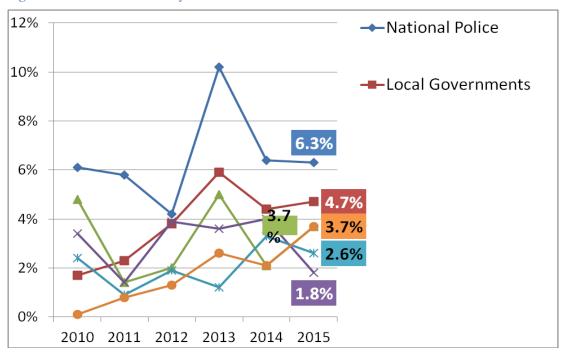


Figure 10: Likelihood of bribery

The findings from the Rwanda Bribery Index carried out between 2010 and 2015 reveal a low level of bribe incidences (below 10%) in the selected public institutions such as national police, local government, judiciary, private sector, business licensing agencies and utilities. The trend analysis shows a fluctuation of the likelihood of bribes between 2010 and 2015 with a sharp rise in 2013.

It is worth noting that during this period, the Public Accounts Committee which was established within the Parliament in 2011 has started the formalisation of the "zero tolerance" approach. Indeed, the PAC was mandated to make a follow up on the audit findings of the Office of the Auditor General to address financial weaknesses and missuse of public resources and this would have contributed to raise awareness among citizens on issues of corruption in public institutions which have been summoned to explain their role in the loss of public funds.

However, the RBI surveys also revealed that the likelihood of bribes incidences in the Police, Local government and the Judiciary have decreased between 2013 and 2015. This is substantiated by the DFID⁹ surveys and analysis indicating that corruption has fallen sharply in Rwanda in recent years at a faster rate than other low income countries around the world. Indeed, Rwanda's score in Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index increased from 49% to 53 % in 2012 and 2014 respectively. Similarly,

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⁹ DFID's Anti-Corruption Strategy for Rwanda, 2013

the World Bank Control of Corruption indicator showed that Rwanda has progressed from the 39th percentile in 2002 to 70th percentile in 2011.

Dispite the actual drop in the overall Rwanda's perception on corruption, the RBI assessments conducted by Transparency International Rwanda between 2010 and 2015 revealed that Police, Local Government and the Judiciary emerged as the Institutions most vulnerable to corruption, though with lower levels.

These findings corroborate the 2013 Global Corruption Barometer report which showed that among the eight services evaluated, the policeand the Judiciary were seen as the two most bribery prone. Available studies on corruption have indicated that in Police a widespread corruption with frequency of bribery is well above that found in any other sectors¹⁰. Another study conducted by TI-UK on corruption in Local government suggested that Local Public officials enjoy considerable discretionary powers and monopoly over public services such as health, education, housing, land, water and sewage¹¹.

Similarly, a study conducted by RALGA12 noted that in Rwanda, Local governments are very perceived to be corrupt especially in local revenue collection services, agriculture and the office in charge of land management.

While the Judiciary is known as the most important governance institution in the anti-corruption agenda, various studies around the world have shown that access to judicial services is also undermined by corruption. As a matter of fact, an assessment on corruption conducted by TI in Zambia showed that 83% of respondents felt that the judiciary was corrupt/extremely corrupt13.

In a study on professionalism of courts conducted by TI-RW in 2014 in Rwanda14, 11.7% of respondents who were not satisfied with court decisions evoked corruption as good reason. This is also evidenced by the findings of a similar study in 2015 which indicated that 9.1% of respondents experienced cases of corruption during their interaction with judges.

Among the six institutions prone to bribes, the utilities are also reported to be bribed during the interaction of providers and people who had come to seek for the supply of water and electricity. The trend analysis shows that the likelihood of bribe demand for the above mentioned service has increased from 0.1% in 2010 to 3.7% in 2015.

Notably, the 2015 RBI indicates that the likelihood of bribe in the educational institutions stands among the top three institutions with the highest incidence of bribe(police, local government, TVET) accounting for 4.6% in Technical Vocational Training(TVET) and 3.8% in secondary education as shown in the figure below.

¹¹ TI-UK, Corruption in UK Local Government, the mounting risks, 2013

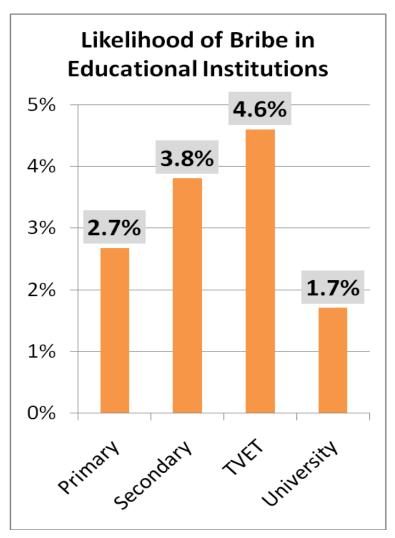
¹⁰ TI, Global Corruption Barometer 2013

¹² RALGA, Corruption in public sector: inquiry in local governments in Rwanda, 2013

 $^{^{\}rm 13}$ TI, Zambia: Overview of corruption and anti-corruption , 2014

¹⁴ TI-Rwanda: Situational Analysis of Professionalism and Accountability of Courts for a sound rule of Law in Rwanda, 2014





The above figure shows that in the education sector, TVET is most prone to bribe incidences. This was also observed in 2012 where this sector emerged as most corrupt followed by the traffic police. According to the Transparent magazine issue 16th ¹⁵ TVET were involved in corruption during the following circumstances:

- Issuing of certificates when students have not perfored well;
- Permission to go out of school and do private payable work;
- Use of the institutions' tools in private business;
- During industrial training practice where students do not regularly attend;
- During practical subjects where a teacher may ask students to do some work for client on the pretext of doing practical.

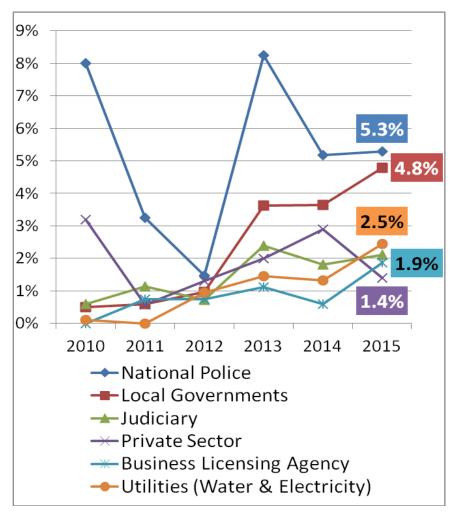
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¹⁵ TI-RW: The Transparent magazine, issue 16th

5.4. Prevalence of bribery

This indicator captures the probability that a bribe is paid to a service provider upon interaction with the service seeker. The table below shows the ranking of institutions in this regard.





The figure above shows once again that the Police and the Local Government continue to be repported as most prone to bribes incidences. As shown in the figure above, these two institutions as well as utilities related services recorded the highest prevalence of bribes in 2015 with some variations between 2010 and 2015. According to RBI surveys, the main reasons of paying bribe include to hasten up the service, the only way to access service, to avoid problems with authorities and to avoid paying full cost of service.

5.5. Average size of Bribe

The table below presents the trend of the average bribe paid as revealed by the RBI surveys from 2010 to 2015.

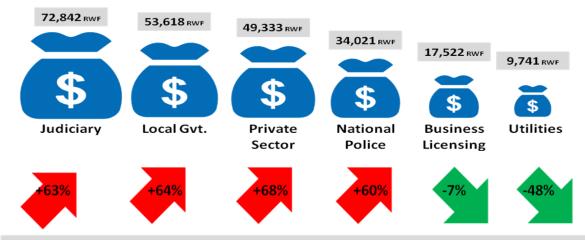
Table 2: Average size of Bribe

	Y 2010	Y 2011	Y 2012	Y 2013	Y 2014	Y 2015
National Police	49,394	21,883	14,725	47,605	20,554	34,021
Local governments	31,000	49,500	6,000	16,865	32,667	53,618
Judiciary	250,000	12,500	23,000	40,763	44,708	72,842
Private sector	22,000	15,467	5,000	4,727	30,917	49,333
Business Licensing Agency	-	-	13,000	0	18,786	17,522
Utilities(Water &	75,000	-	3,000	9,105	18,864	9,741
Electricity)						

The data in the above table shows that that the Judiciary has recorded the highest average size of bribe in most of the time (2010, 2012, 2014 and 2015) of the surveys conducted between 2010 and 2015 followed by the local government and the police. The trend analysis also shows that the average size of bribe paid to the private sector and local government have increased from 2012.

As a whole, the trend analysis shows that the average size of bribe paid by respondents between 2010 and 2015 increased from RFW 27,467 to RFW 50,732 while the total amount of bribe paid by respondents in the same period showed a similar trend(from RFW 6,235,000 to 33, 736,800) as shown in the table 8 below.

Notably, the above mentioned average of bribe paid may seem to be small in itself. However, in situations where bribes are paid regularly and over time, the amounts can be significant hence bribe payers might realize that they are paying huge amounts of money each year in so-called small bribes. The following figure shows institutions which recorded an increase/decrease of the size of bribe since 2014.



The average size of bribe paid by respondents has increased by 39% on annual basis from 27,749 RWF (2014) to 45,467 RWF (2015) in selected institutions.

Judiciary, local governments, private sector and national police have recorded an increase of the amounts paid.

5.6. Share of Bribe

The table below shows the proportion of bribes an institution accounts relative to the total amount of bribes recorded by the survey in the last six years.

Table 3: Share of Bribery

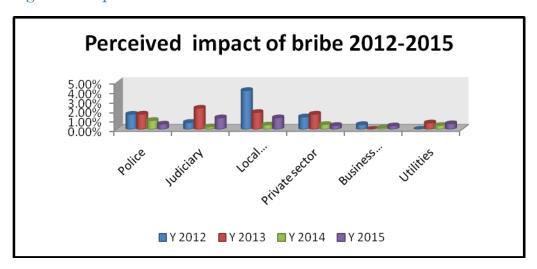
	Y 2010	Y 2011	Y 2012	Y 2013	Y 2014	Y 2015
Police	52.30%	22.20%	33.55%	43.22%	32.08%	20.77%
Judiciary	4%	1.10%	6.55%	7.08%	12.78%	8.20%
Local Government	2.50%	12.60%	8.66%	24.98%	23.57%	20.66%
Private sector	5.30%	2.40%	0.85%	0.45%	7.17%	3.95%
Business Licensing	0	0.00%	0.11%	4.53%	1.02%	2.34%
agencies						
Utilities	1.20%	0.00%	0.17%	0.75%	3.21%	0.78%

The findings revealed that over the last six years, the police and the local government took the lead in terms of share of national bribe. The police and the local government are known to have more interactions with citizens than other institutions such as the Judiciary. This may explain the reason why the latter have recorded the biggest share of bribe during the time of the survey.

5.7. 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.

Figure 13: Impact of Bribe



The findings shows that apart from the local government which showed a perceived impact of 4% in 2013, other institutions registered an impact of less that 2% meaning that in these ones only 2% of respondents felt that they would not have gotten the services they sought if they had not paid the bribe. The perceived impact is too low, indicating that in Rwanda getting services is not hard and that one does not have to bribe.

5.8. Reporting of Corruption Cases

The survey shows whether the respondents who encountered corruption reported it or not as presented in the figure 14 below.

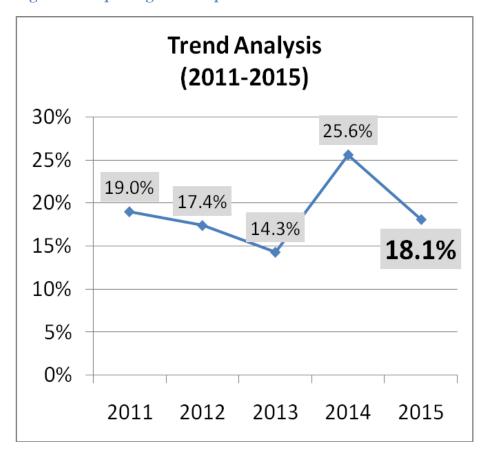


Figure 14: Reporting of Corruption Cases

The above figure indicates that for the last six years (2010 and 2015) a large majority (beyond 75%) of those who encountered corruption did not report it. The issue of not reporting bribe incidences was also documented by previous studies conducted by Transparency International Rwanda¹⁶ including the study on gender based corruption at the work place. Indeed, of all respondents who experienced gender based corruption at the work place in Rwanda, 48.1% preferred to keep silent.

Bearing in mind that a lot has been done to establish where to report corruption and related offenses in many anti-corruption bodies such as Ombudsman, Police, Transparency International Rwanda, it is clear that the indicated proportion of people who resist to report corruption is very high and tormenting. The section below explores the reasons why victims of corruption were not willing to report it.

-

 $^{^{16}}$ TI-RW Gender Based Corruption at work place, 2010

5.8.1. Reasons for not reporting corruption cases

Reasons for not reporting the bribe encountered (n=346)

Didn't know where to report

Fear of intimidation

Fear of self incrimination

Iknew no action would be taken even if I reported

Did no occur to me that I should report

0.0% 10.0% 20.0% 30.0% 40.0%

Figure 15: Reasons for not reporting corruption cases

It is shown from the above figure that the main reasons for which people who encountered bribes say they would not report bribes include the fact that even if they do so, it would not make any difference, indicating the lack of confidence in the existing laws and their enforcement. Other reasons consisted of the fear of self-incrimination and intimidation.

Apparently, when existing legislation and policies to protect individuals who report bribes are not adequately enforced, whistleblowers may have fear of reprisals if corrupt practices are reported or that security weaknesses could result in victims being targeted again, losing business or damaging commercial reputations.

5.8.2. Satisfaction with the action taken after reporting the bribery incidences

The figure 15 below displays the level of satisfaction with the action taken after reporting a case of corruption.

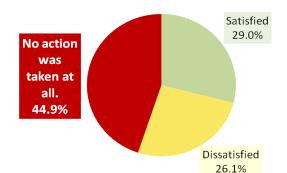


Figure 16: Extent of satisfaction with the action taken after reporting the bribery incidences

The data in the figure above suggests that most people were not satisfied with the action taken by relevant institutions after reporting bribe. Moreover another significant proportion of respondents said no action was taken after exposing corrupt practices. This confirms the fact that citizens are reluctant to report bribe incidences due to the reasons evoked above including fact that even if they report, it would not make any difference. The government and non-government actors should scale up efforts for reporting corruption especially ensuring the enforcement of the whistleblower protection law.

6. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The 2015 Rwanda Bribery Index(RBI) assessed the incidence of corruption in different institutions that are percieved to be prone to corruption. This index is the sixth of its kind and sought to show a trend analysis of the index for the last six years.

The following main conclusions are drawn from this report:

- 1) Rwandans stay optimistic about low levels of corruption in Rwanda. 51% of respondents perceive corruption as low. In 2015, only around 7% of respondents perceive corruption in Rwanda as high, which marks almost 10% improvement compared to 2014;
- 2) The findings indicate that there has been a considerable shift of people who ranked corruption high in 2014 to moderate levels in 2015;3) In 2015, 17.5% of people indicate that they encountered a bribe in one way or another. This trend is almost unchanged as in 2014;
- 4) Regarding likelihood of encountering corruption in an institution, the local government (4.7% likelihood) and national police (6.3% likelihood) end up scoring worst in this category;
- 5) In regards to the probability of paying a bribe, five out of one hundred service seekers from national police pay a bribe. In local government, close to 5% of service seekers pay a bribe, while 2.5% report paying a bribe when seeking water or electricity related services. 2% of service seekers in judiciary report paying a bribe;
- 6) Judiciary stands up with close to 73,000 RWF as an average amount of a bribe. Local government follows suit with almost 54,000 RWF. Private sector ranks third in the amount of bribe paid with 49,000 RWF;
- 7) Reporting of corruption is low. For the last six years, three quarters of Rwandans who encountered corruption did not report it. The progress on this issue is even negative as this year only 18% of those encountering corruption reported a case, compared to 25% in 2014.

Based on the above findings, the following actions are recommended:

- 1)Integrity among Judges and police should be enhanced in using existing anti-corruption mechanisms at disposal within these institutions;
- 2) The public needs to come forward on reporting of bribery and all other forms of corruption;
- 3) Institutions (Office of the Ombudsman, Police, Judiciary, NPPA...) need to strengthen the implementation of anti-corruption laws and tools and make sure that public uses these mechanisms;

- 4) The Whistleblowers Protection Law should be adequately enforced to provide those who report corruption with a safer work environment.
- 5) Gaps in procedures that lead to corrupt behavior in institutions such as judiciary, police and local government need to be identified and adressed;
- 6) CSOs, governmental partners and all other stakeholders need to educate public on different forms of corruption going beyond bribery.

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