



Transparency Rwanda asbl

RWANDA BRIBERY INDEX

2011

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments.....	4
Highlights of findings.....	5
1. Introduction.....	6
1.1 Methodology.....	6
1.2 Literature review.....	8
1.3 Respondents' Demographics.....	9
1.3.1 Age.....	9
1.3.2 Gender.....	10
1.3.3 Level of Education.....	10
1.3.4 Income Level.....	11
1.3.5 Occupation.....	11
2. Public Perceptions of Bribery.....	12
2.1 Current State of Corruption.....	12
2.2 Comparison of Current and Past State of Corruption.....	12
2.3 Future State of Corruption.....	13
2.4 Corruption Witnessed.....	13
2.5 Reasons for Corruption.....	14
3. Personal Experience with Bribery.....	15
3.1 Bribe Demanded and Paid.....	15
3.2 Means of Paying Bribe.....	18
3.3 The Bribery Indices.....	18
3.3.1 Likelihood of Bribery.....	19
3.3.2 Prevalence of Bribery.....	20
3.3.3 Average size of bribe.....	21
3.3.4 Share of bribery.....	22
3.3.5 Summary of the indices.....	23
3.4 Satisfaction with Service after Bribe Paying.....	23
4 Views on the Fight Against Corruption.....	24
4.1 Institution to take Leadership in Anticorruption.....	24
4.2 Perception of Government Performance in Anticorruption.....	25
5 Getting involved.....	25
5.1 Future Action on Corruption.....	25
5.2 Reporting of Corruption Cases.....	26
6. Conclusions.....	28
6.1 Recommendations.....	29
List of Figures	
Fig 1: Respondents age.....	9
Fig 2: Respondents' gender.....	10
Fig 3: Respondents' level of education.....	10
Fig 4: Respondents' income levels.....	11
Fig 5: Respondents occupation.....	11
Fig 6: Perceptions on current state of corruption in Rwanda	12
Fig 7: Comparison of current state of corruption to one year ago.....	12
Fig 8: Perception of future state of corruption.....	13
Fig 9: Corruption Witsesse.....	14
Fig 10: Reasons for corruption.....	14

Fig 11: Bribe demand.....	15
Fig 12: Bribe paid.....	16
Fig 13: Means of bribe paying.....	18
Fig 14: Satisfaction with service after bribe	23
Fig 15: Institutions to take leadership in anticorruption.....	24
Fig 16: Perceptions on government fight against corruption.....	25
Fig 17: Future action on corruption.....	26
Fig 18: Reporting of corruption cases.....	26
Fig 19: Reasons for not reporting corruption.....	27

List of Tables

Table 1: District sample allocation.....	7
Table 2: Bribes paid: segregation by demographic characteristics of the population.....	16
Table 3: Bribery amounts paid.....	17
Table 4: Likelihood of bribery.....	19
Table 5: Prevalence of bribery.....	20
Table 6: Average size of bribery.....	21
Table 7: Share of bribe.....	22
Table 8: Summary of bribery indices.....	23

Acknowledgments



This is the second year of Rwanda Bribery Index (RBI), an annual research project that Transparency Rwanda (TR), with support from Norwegian People's Aid, started in 2010. The rationale of RBI is to establish experiences and perceptions of bribery in the country, identifying emerging trends, taking stock of improvements and discovering potential challenges. RBI 2011 thus permits to start analysing such trends. How has bribery evolved in the last 12 months in Rwanda? Have citizens encountered more or less bribes in their everyday life? Do they perceive that the fight against this form of corruption is bearing fruit? Have their reported more or less cases compared to 2010? This study answers these and many other questions.

Since its first issue last year, RBI has already become one of the most authoritative research pieces about corruption in Rwanda. This would not have been possible without the support and engagement of a number of institutions and committed individuals. Therefore, on behalf of Transparency Rwanda, I would like to warmly thank Norwegian People's Aid (NPA), a key partner of our organisation, which funded the research. My gratitude also goes to Strategic Research, the Nairobi-based consultancy firm which provided the lead consultant of the project, Caesar Handa.

I would also like to thank TR executive secretary, Apollinaire Mupiganyi, for his guidance and inputs, as well as TR research team, Albert Kavatiri Rwego and Alessandro Bozzini, for their time and work in assuring the quality of this research. It is equally important to thank TR's partners which validated the methodology of this study and provided invaluable comments, as well as all ordinary citizens who participated in the survey and shared their experience and perception about corruption with our researchers.

The findings presented in this study provide a detailed overview of the state of bribery in Rwanda. I encourage you to read this research piece, reflect upon its findings and then use them as a basis to advocate for further improvements because, far from thinking that what has been achieved in the last few years is enough, we all need to step up our efforts in order to make Rwanda a fully corruption-free country.

Marie Immaculée Ingabire
Chairperson of Transparency Rwanda

Highlights of findings

Rwanda Bribery Index is an annual publication through which Transparency Rwanda, with the support of Norwegian People's Aid (NPA), aims at establishing experiences and perceptions of this specific form of corruption in the country. This is the second edition and follows RBI 2010.

Starting with perceptions, the study shows that most Rwandans (67.2%) think the country is only slightly corrupt and 4% think it is not corrupt at all, but 23.6% believe it is corrupt and 4.2% even considers it extremely corrupt. Notwithstanding these somehow mixed results, the trend is clearly positive, as 87.6% believe that corruption has decreased from last year and 89.6% are confident it will further decrease.

The most common corrupt practice is bribery to secure a service (17.6%), followed by favouritism of friends and relatives (also called nepotism) with 9.3%. Consistently, the main reason why people bribe is considered to be the need to access a service (45.5%).

Moving from perception to personal experience, 10% of people were demanded a bribe (a decrease from 11.9% in 2010) and out of them 35% actually paid it. 63% of bribes were below 5,000 Rwf.

As per the Bribery Indices, the Likelihood of encountering bribe demands is 1.19, the Prevalence of bribery is 0.48 (on a scale from 0 to 100 where 0 means no bribery at all) while the Average size of bribery is 19,844 Rwf: in all cases the figures represent an improvement from last year. The institution where it is more likely to be demanded a bribe is the Police, followed by Mediators and Civil Society. The Police is also where bribe paying is most prevalent, though in this case it is followed by Villages and Justice Sector. The highest average bribes were paid in Ministries and other high public institutions, while the institution where the biggest share of money was paid as bribes is once again the Police, with Ministries and the Education Sector coming right behind it.

The survey also investigated views on the fight against corruption. Most Rwandans have faith in the presidency as leader in this effort (44.7%), followed by the Police (19.6%) and the Office of the Ombudsman (11.7%); a clear shift from last year when the Police came first. Moreover, a large majority (65%) praise the Government's anti-corruption efforts but believe more needs to be done while 25.1% assert that enough is being done, meaning that compared to 2010 a larger share of Rwandans appreciate the good efforts but at the same time expects more.

Finally, the survey asked respondents about their willingness to get involved in the fight against corruption. Sadly, a large majority (81%) of those who were demanded a bribe did not report the incident, marking a steep increase from last year, and the most mentioned reason for not reporting corruption is fear of intimidation (28.7%). However, most people (83.5%) declared that they are ready to take positive actions were they asked a bribe in the future, including refusing to pay and report the corrupt practice, refuse to pay and walk away, and insist to obtain the service; this raises hope that reporting may increase in the near future.

1. Introduction

As defined by Transparency International, corruption is the abuse of power that one has been entrusted to for the sake of private interests. It affects everyone whose life, livelihood or welfare depends on the integrity of those who occupy a position of authority. Corruption is often seen as a symptom of bad governance. In this framework, only a system of effective governance reflected in particular by setting up transparency mechanisms may discourage corrupt practices. It is therefore clear that the process of good governance presupposes actually combating corruption. This means having the data on the state of corruption first. In turn, bribery is a form of corruption and identifies money or favour given or promised in order to influence the judgment or conduct of a person in a position of trust or power, or a service deliverer.

In 2010 Transparency Rwanda (TR), the local chapter of Transparency International, with the support of Norwegian People's Aid (NPA) decided to start an annual project which foresees the regular publication of "Rwanda Bribery Indices" (RBI) with the aim of establishing experiences and perceptions of this specific form of corruption in the country. More concretely, the specific objectives of the project include:

1. Determine the prevalence (evidence and perception) of corruption in Rwanda as reported by Rwandan households;
2. Identify Rwandan institutions and organisations particularly vulnerable to corruption;
3. Assess the impact of corruption on service delivery in Rwanda;
4. Gather concrete information on the size of bribes paid by Rwandan citizens while seeking to access a specific service.

Following the first report, researched in 2010 and issued in April 2011, this is the second edition of the Rwanda Bribery Index. Even though the methodology is the same as last year, the main research tool (questionnaire) had been slightly amended in order to address the challenges identified in 2010 and to harmonise RBI 2011 with the East Africa Bribery Index (EABI), a survey led by Transparency International Kenya with which TR has collaborated. Notwithstanding some differences in the questions asked to the respondents, most findings of RBI 2011 can be easily compared with those of RBI 2010, allowing the reader to identify trends, improvements as well as growing challenges.

1.1 Methodology

Bribery Index Surveys seek to establish the magnitude and trends of bribery as reported by service seekers. They establish where bribes are paid, how much is paid, for what services and average amounts of bribe paid. The result of the study is a set of indices that rank the sampled institutions regarding the key study indicators of Prevalence, Likelihood, Average size of Bribe and National Share of bribery. The study is based on a nationally representative sample of which the result is generalized to the whole population.

Desk study

The desk research involved taking a comprehensive review of relevant literature pertaining to corruption in Rwanda and indeed East Africa. It involved assessing documented material on corruption in the country and in the region to provide insight. The desk study was employed to obtain secondary data that was used to develop the final instruments for the survey.

The information captured in the desk study was instrumental in the formulation of the study tools for this survey. Sources of information on corruption included research organisations as well as other Government and international agencies that have been involved in the fight against corruption locally and internationally.

The survey

The quantitative phase was important as it allowed for the comprehensive accumulation and aggregation of statistical data on corruption in the country. Such data was analysed and interpreted to provide the situation of bribery in Rwanda. The statistical representation also allowed for segmentation and sub cluster analysis of the data collected. The study used face-to-face interviews to solicit for information.

As it was the case for the Bribery Index 2010, Rwandans aged 18 years and above were targeted in the survey. While corruption affects both young and old, it was agreed at the inception of the survey that the level of interaction with government institutions and likelihood of experiencing demands for bribes is more with adults than the younger

population. Given the need to capture a representative sample of adult Rwandans, the most appropriate, reliable and current sample frame at the time of the survey was the registered voters according the figures released by National Electoral Commission in 2010. As far as the time frame is concerned, the scope of the survey covered the 12 months preceding the data collection.

In line with RBI 2010, the sample for the survey was calculated using the formula below.

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

Where:

$z = 1.96$ for 95% level of confidence

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

e = desired margin of error

N = population size

In this estimation the confidence level is taken as 95% with a margin of error of 2%. As a result, a sample size of 2,401 respondents was used in the survey. The sample provided an adequate figure for undertaking statistical analysis that falls within the defined confidence levels.

The sample, which is therefore the same as in RBI 2010, was distributed proportionately based on the total population aged 18+ and corresponding to the data issued by the Electoral Commission in 2010. The statistical unit of the survey was the village. As per the geographical scope, all five Provinces were included in the survey; only eleven Districts (the basic administrative unit in the country) were selected, using a combination of random and purposive sampling technique, to capture all potential interactions in cities and border areas. The sample size in each District was proportional to the population size of the District itself.

This is described below:

Table 1: District sample allocation

Province	District	Population 18+	Sample	Number of villages
Kigali		611432	284	
	Nyarungere	168198	79	8
	Gasabo	271770	126	12
	Kicuriko	171464	79	8
South		1265365	589	
	Huye	168020	292	29
	Kamonyi	170549	297	29
West		1216367	566	
	Rubavu	191463	302	30
	Ngororero	168038	264	26
North		882600	412	
	Rulindo	150098	176	17
	Gicumbi	199999	236	23
East		1181011	550	
	Nyagatare	192608	297	30
	Kirehe	163481	253	25
Total			2401	241

The household selection was done using the 'random route' selection process. The interviewer was given a "starting point" at which to call. In urban areas where town maps are available, the starting points were identified and the rule of 'keeping left' applied. Interviews were undertaken with the head of household in the selected house or next available decision maker in the home. Once a successful interview had been achieved, the interviewer skipped five houses, and then started calling on homes again.

The instrument used for the survey was a questionnaire with both closed and open ended questions which was administered face to face. The questionnaire contained both numeric and category questions and had both multiple and dichotomous responses.

Pre-testing of the questionnaire was conducted after the training to ascertain the effectiveness of the exercise besides providing a chance for the revision of the instrument. The questionnaire merged the questions for Rwanda Bribery Index 2011 and those for East African Bribery Index 2011; the data collection for the two surveys was therefore carried out simultaneously. Calculating the indices

As stated above, the key feature of this study is constituted by four bribery indicators. These were calculated as follows:

- 1. Likelihood =**
$$\frac{\text{\# of bribe demand situation for organisation x}}{\text{\# of interactions for organisation x}}$$
- 2. Prevalence =**
$$\frac{\text{\# of bribe payers for organisation x}}{\text{\# of interactions for organisation x}}$$
- 3. Average size =**
$$\frac{\text{Total amount of bribes paid in organisation x}}{\text{\# of people who paid a bribe in organisation x.}}$$
- 4. Share =**
$$\frac{\text{Total amount of bribes paid in organisation x}}{\text{Total amount of bribes paid in all organisations}}$$

1.2 Literature review

At the national level, the Government of Rwanda has undertaken a series of anti corruption measures to strengthen the legal and institutional framework. Firstly, it established a number of government institutions including the office of the Ombudsman, Rwanda Public Procurement Authority (RPPA), the Office of the Auditor General, the Anti-Corruption Unit in the Rwanda Revenue Authority and the Public Procurement Appeals Commission. Secondly, several laws have been put in place in order to fight against corruption, particularly the Law n° 23/2003 approved on 07/08/2003 on prevention and repression of corruption and related offences.

The political will to fight corruption has been demonstrated by consistent policy and efforts to combat corruption in the country. Both members of the political elite and simple civil servants have been prosecuted when allegations of corruption were brought against them.

There have been several cases of high-ranking officials being forced to resign, dismissed or prosecuted when involved in corruption cases. Rwanda has signed and ratified the United Nations Convention Against Corruption, the African Union Anti-corruption Convention and the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crimes on 4th October 2006, 19th December 2003 and 26th September 2003 respectively.

Rwanda comes out as the best performing country in the East Africa region when it comes to corruption control. The globally recognized corruption measures i.e. Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) and the East African Bribery Index (EABI) have in the recent past revealed that Rwanda is the best performing country compared to Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Burundi. According to the CPI, Rwanda has steadily improved its position in the last few years and in 2011 has emerged as the fourth best performing country in Africa and 49th in the world with a score of 5.0, greatly improving the 2010 score of 4.0¹.

The EABI 2011 confirmed Rwanda's progress, with a bribery prevalence of 5.1% (improving the 6.6% in 2010) which again identifies the country as the least corrupt in the region.

¹ In the CPI 2010 Rwanda was ranked 66th in the world and 9th in Africa.

While corruption in Rwanda is of lesser intensity compared to many African countries, it is however present and hence the need for efforts in combat and control. Another survey by Transparency International, the Global Corruption Barometer (GCB) 2011, adopting an urban sample showed that in Rwandan cities 43% of people encountered corruption in the last 12 months. Also, research shows that other forms of corruption, besides bribery, have a worrying scale in the country, such as gender-based corruption: a study by TR² showed that the latter was personally experienced by 5% of respondents, while almost 20% stated they knew someone who had been a victim. Finally, some other challenges, particularly the low level of reporting by victims of corruption, have been consistently identified by different research projects³.

Notwithstanding the progress and the positive results, the risk of corruption in Rwanda is thus far from eradicated. There is therefore need for consistent evidence based approach in dealing with corruption occurrences. Rwanda Bribery Index Survey is a key measure to reveal corruption prone sectors of the Rwandan economy and to form a basis for anti corruption interventions.

1.3 Respondents' Demographics

Before analyzing the results of the study it is important to provide an overview of the characteristics of the sample population, that is of the respondents of the survey, as this will help understand the findings of the research. Key demographic variables in consideration are age, gender, level of education, annual income and occupation.

1.3.1 Age

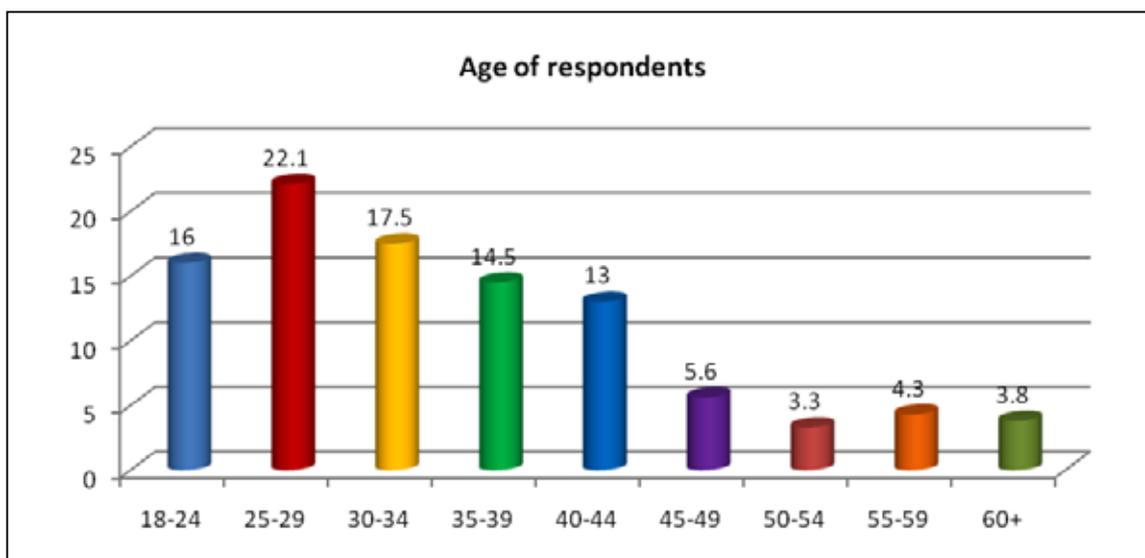


Fig 1: Respondents age

The majority of the respondents fall under the age group of 18 to 39 forming 70.1% of the sample. This is in line with RBI 2010 and is also the age bracket of people that would most frequently access public services from institutions therefore providing relevance to the survey.

² Transparency Rwanda's study on Gender-based Corruption at the Workplace, 2011. Available on TR website www.transparencyrwanda.org.

³ These include the above mentioned RBI 2010, GCB 2011 and the study on gender-based corruption. A TR accountability project on local service delivery in Kigali city, carried out in 2011, confirmed the trend.

1.3.2 Gender

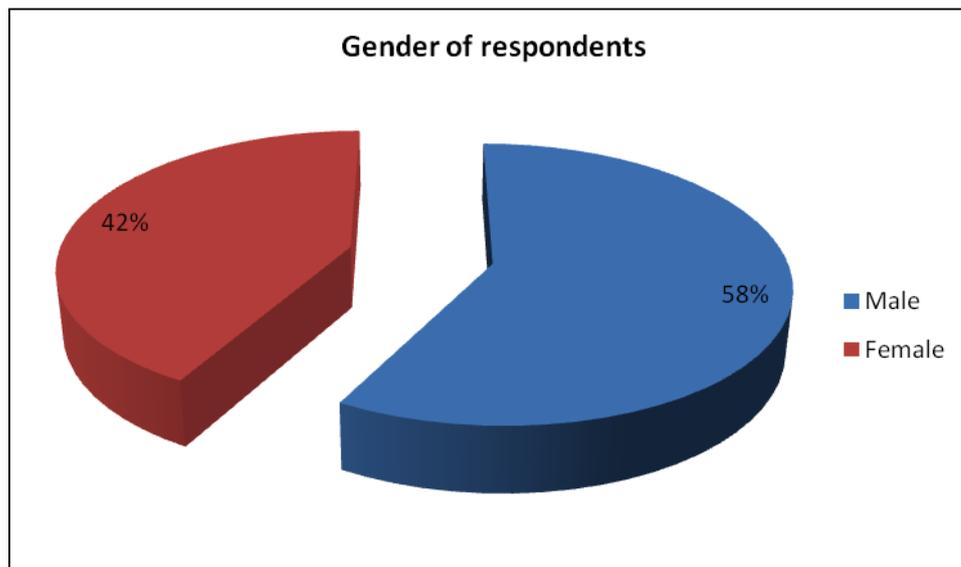


Fig 2: Respondents' gender

There were more males in the survey sample (58%) than females (42%). This can be explained by the fact that in Rwanda women tend to leave their husbands answer questions from a stranger, especially those related to interactions with Government institutions; likewise, women tend to be less likely than men to seek services at public offices. A similar gender imbalance was also observed in RBI 2010.

1.3.3 Level of Education

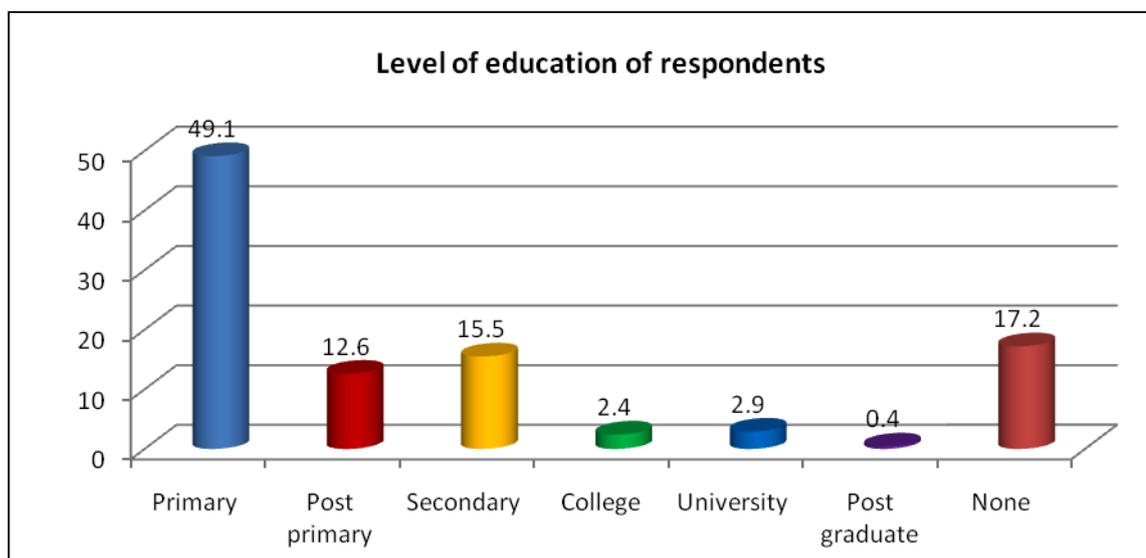


Fig 3: Respondents' level of education

The education level of more than half of the respondents (61.7%) is below secondary level. This relatively low literacy is reflective of Rwandan population and is in line with the sample of RBI 2010. This characteristics must be kept in mind when designing sensitization messages for anti-corruption campaigns and interventions.

1.3.4 Income Level

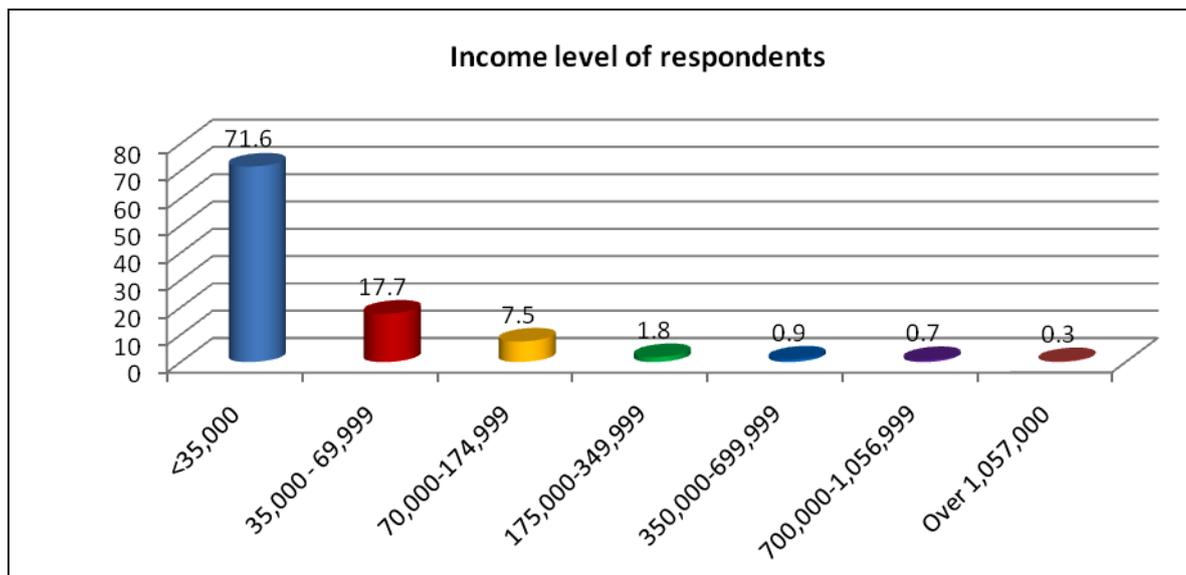


Fig 4: Respondents' income levels

Most of the respondents have a household income below Rwf 35,000 per month (71.6%), reflecting a young economy with many citizens still struggling to eke a living. Again, this characteristic is in line with the sample of last year's RBI.

1.3.5 Occupation

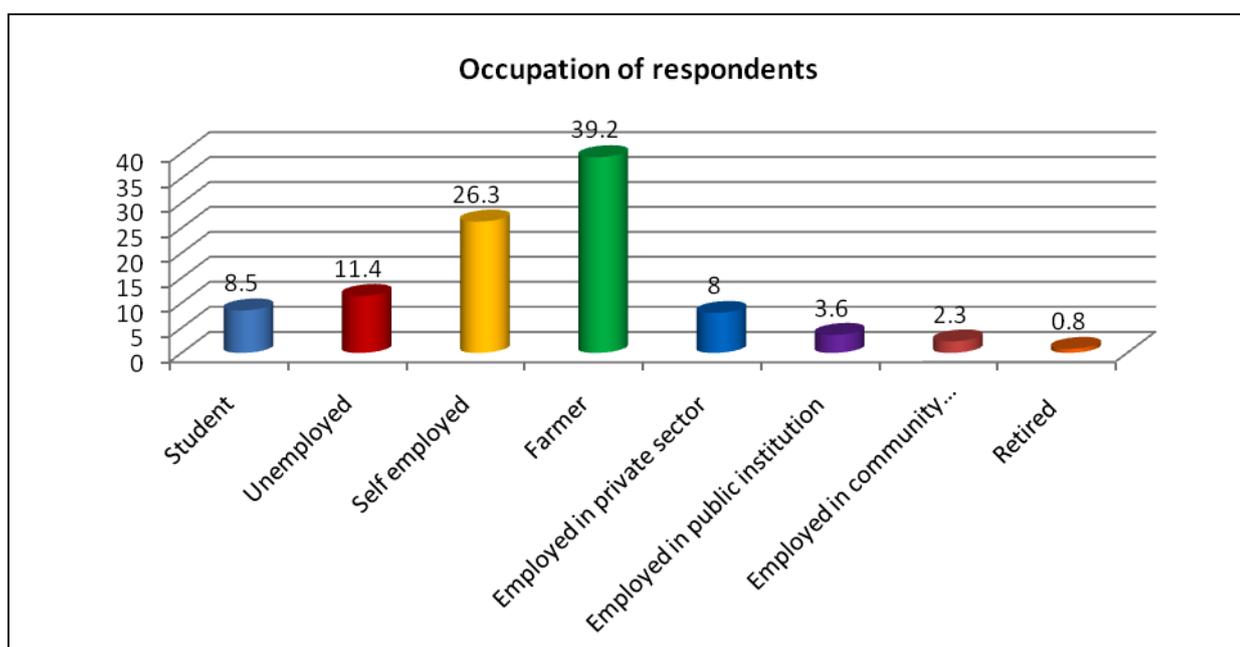


Fig 5: Respondents occupation

The majority of respondents with active occupation are either farmers (39.2%) or self employed in various sectors (26.3%). This is indicative of a population heavily reliant on agriculture and small personal or family businesses as a means of subsistence. The low income levels as observed in figure 4 above, however, suggest that output from such means is minimal.

The set of demographic characteristics therefore indicates that most respondents in the sample have limited income, low education and work as farmers.

As a consequence, most bribe occurrences examined in this study belong to the so-called petty corruption (involving small amounts of money and local leaders) rather than to grand corruption (which would involve huge sums and senior officials). In order to measure grand corruption, tools other than a public survey are indeed more appropriate.

Again, this was the case also for RBI 2010, showing once again that the sample of last year is comparable with the RBI 2011 sample.

2. Public Perceptions of Bribery

Before detailing the personal experience of respondents with corrupt practices, it is important to analyze their perceptions of bribery.

Firstly, public opinion was sought on Rwandans' perception on the state of corruption in their country in the past, at present and hopes for the future. The results are presented in the following tables.

2.1 Current State of Corruption

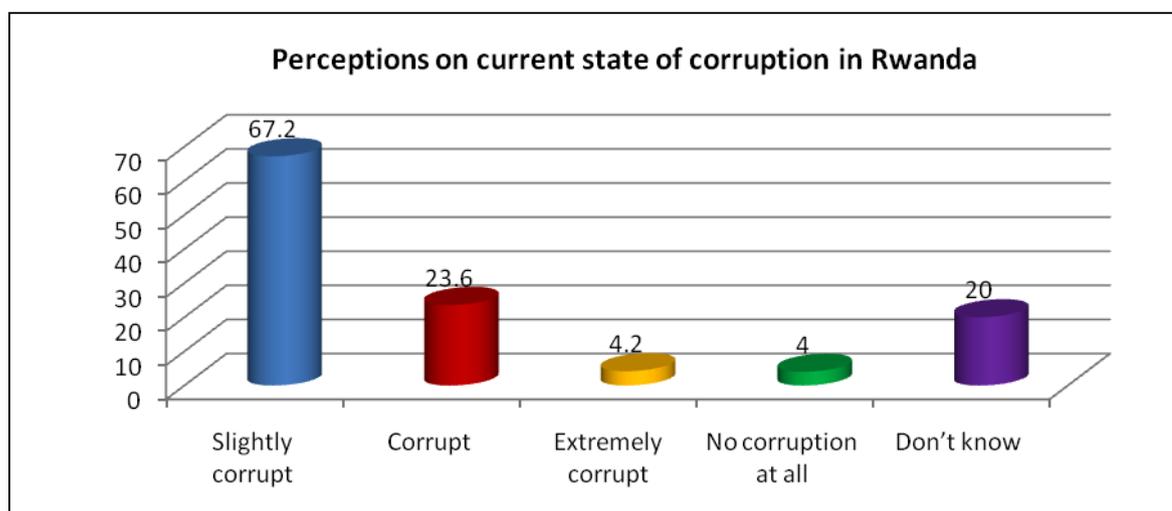


Fig 6: Perceptions on current state of corruption in Rwanda

Rwandans largely perceive the country's corruption to be at low levels currently. 67.2% of them think the country is slightly corrupt and 4% think it is not corrupt at all. However, a fourth of the population think otherwise, as 23.6% believe that Rwanda is corrupt and 4.2% even considers it extremely corrupt.

2.2 Comparison of Current and Past State of Corruption

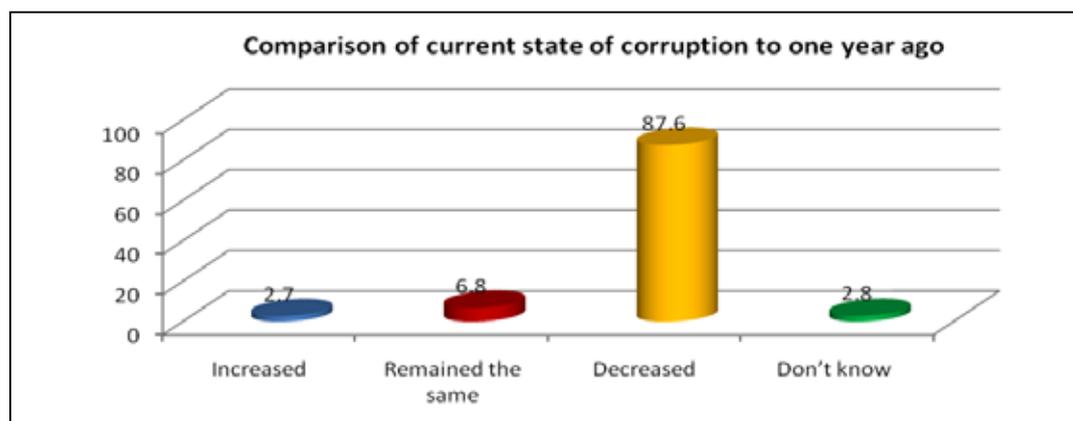


Fig 7: Comparison of current state of corruption to one year ago

Even though a significant share of the population still considers Rwanda as corrupt, when it comes to assessing the evolution of the incidence of corruption the respondents' opinions are nearly unanimous: an overwhelming 87.6% perceive corruption to have decreased compared to one year ago while only a tiny minority (6.8%) think it remained the same and an even smaller group (2.7%) believe it has increased.

2.3 Future State of Corruption

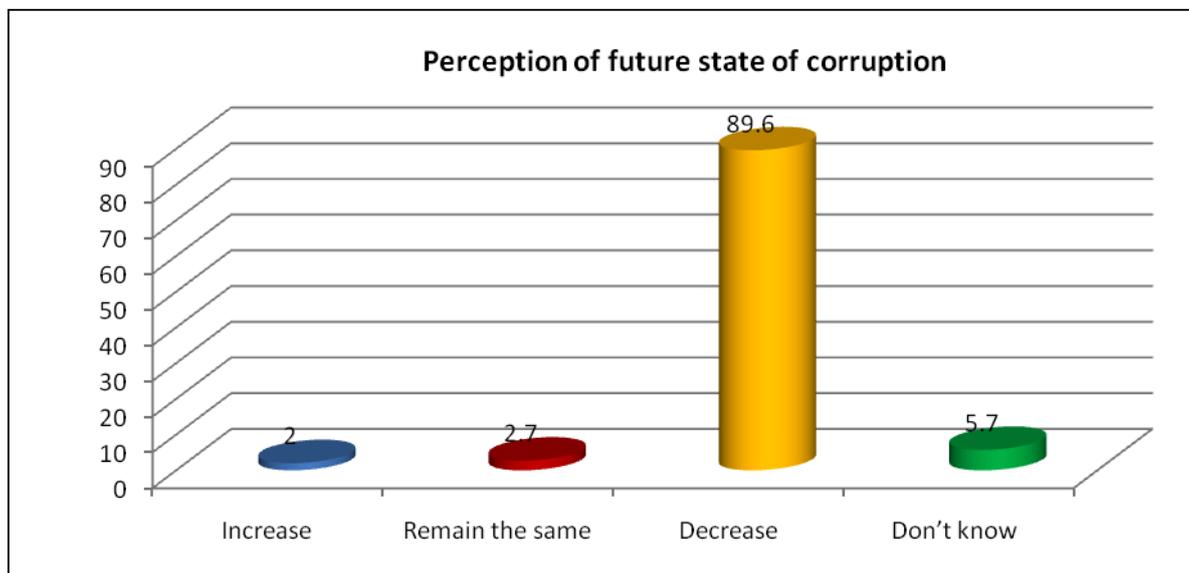


Fig 8: Perception of future state of corruption

Similar results emerge as far as future levels of corruption are concerned. A very large majority of respondents (89.6%) are optimistic and believe that corruption will further decrease, while tiny fractions of the population think it will remain the same or increase (2.7% and 2% respectively).

This set of questions were not asked last year so it is not possible to know whether perceptions have improved or worsened. However the results seem to indicate that Rwandans are globally satisfied of what the fight against corruption has achieved in the last few years and are confident that this virtuous trend will continue in the near future; however, the fact that over 25% of the population still perceives Rwanda as corrupt means that the fight is far from being won and that the path to a corruption-free country is still long.

2.4 Corruption Witnessed

After reviewing the Rwandans' general perception about the state of corruption in the country, it is interesting to investigate their own personal perception of bribery.

Respondents were first of all asked what kind of corrupt practices they had witnessed. This of course does not only include the occurrences they had personally experienced, but also those they observed or heard of. The figure below presents the outcome.

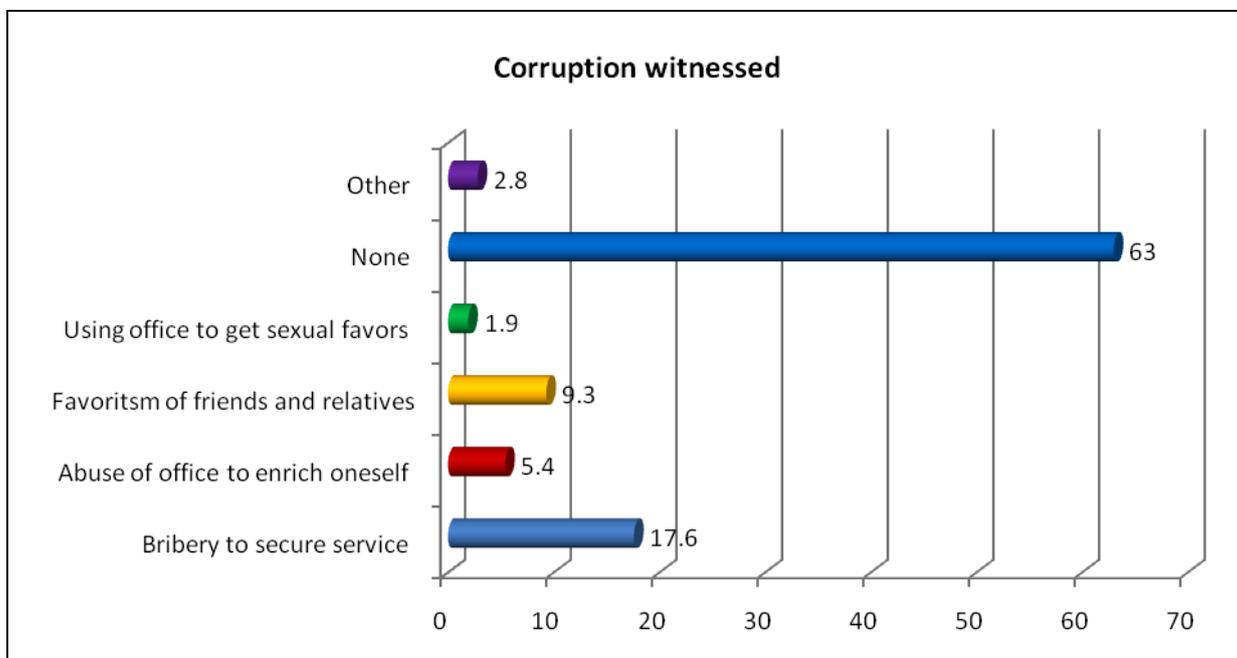


Fig 9: Corruption Witnessed

While 63% of respondents did not provide any answer to this question, the most common corrupt practice witnessed was bribery to secure a service, as it was stated by 17.6% of our sample, followed by favouritism of friends and relatives (also called nepotism) with 9.3%, abuse of office to enrich oneself (5.4%) and to obtain sexual favours (1.9%).

These results are somehow similar to last year, as RBI 2010 also identified bribery to get service as the most common form of corruption, but it is important to highlight that favouritism has increased significantly (up from 0.4%): this shows that, even though the subject of this study is bribery, other forms of non-monetary corruption have an important incidence and must therefore be the focus of specific research and interventions.

Interestingly, the percentage of respondents who did not answer this question went down from 82% in 2010 to 63% this year. While at first sight this could seem to indicate an increase in corruption levels, the fact that most indicators actually show a decrease in bribery (as it will be shown throughout the report) seems instead to suggest that awareness of Rwandans about corruptions has raised: this would mean that a number of respondents are now able to identify as corruption some behaviours which beforehand used to appear normal to them.

2.5 Reasons for Corruption

Why did a certain number of people indulge in corrupt practices? The perceived reasons are presented in the figure below.

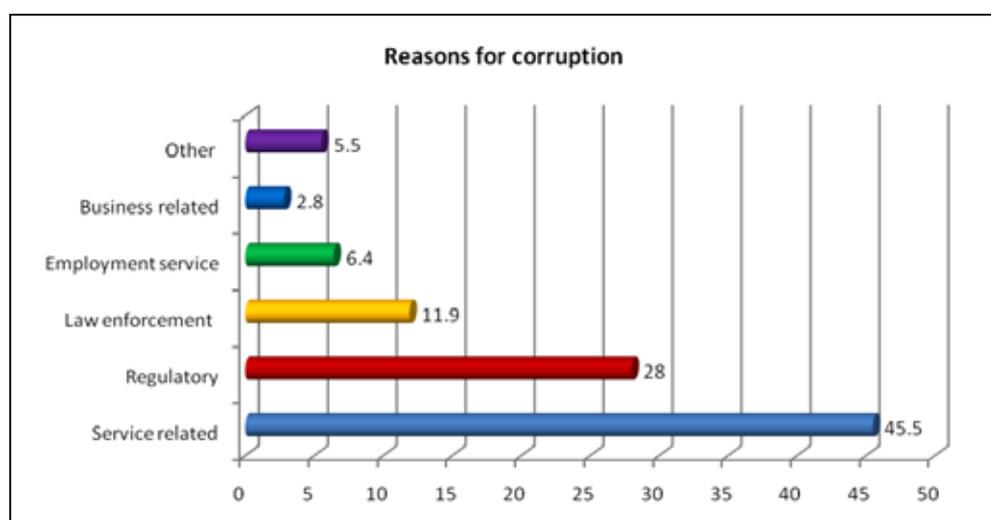


Fig 10: Reasons for corruption

Key justification for corruption indulgence is access to service needed at the time as attested by 45.5% of the people who admitted to have indulged in corruption. This is consistent with the outcome on type of corruption witnessed in figure 9. Citizens feel the need to participate in corruption because of desperation to get a much needed service from the providers.

Another reason for indulgence in corruption is regulatory reasons (28%) meaning that the service seeker required a legal document or facility and felt the need to induce to access it. Such may be like licenses, permits, legal fees etc. Law enforcement is also significantly mentioned as reason for corruption occurrence by 11.9% of service seekers witnessing corruption. Such people may engage in corruption in order to avoid the consequences of breaking the law. Other less common reasons are related to seeking employment and to doing business.

It is worth noting that accessing a service was also the main reasons for corruption to be identified last year, while regulatory reasons have significantly increased and employment reasons have considerably decreased. This shows once again that service delivery is the area which requires most attention.

3. Personal Experience with Bribery

It is now time to move from perception to actual occurrences of corruption manifested through bribes, which is the main focus of the Bribery Index. As such, the survey established eye witness account from Rwandans on bribes demanded and paid and all circumstances surrounding such incidences.

3.1 Bribe Demanded and Paid

First of all the survey sought to establish from respondents whether a bribe was explicitly or implicitly demanded from them and consequently whether it was paid. These two factors also present basis for establishing two indicators of the index i.e. likelihood and prevalence of bribery.

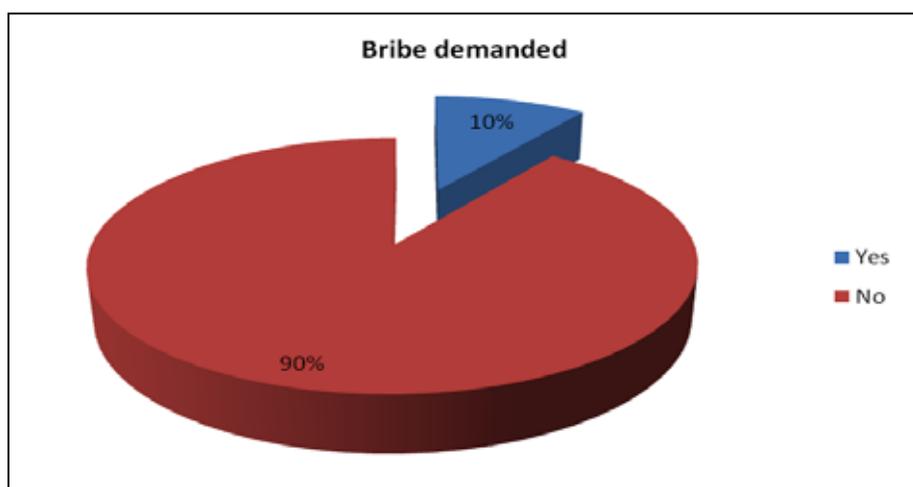


Fig 11: Bribe demand

A paltry 10% of respondents admit that a bribe has been demanded by service givers while the majority, 90%, deny having been solicited an illicit payment. This is a slight decrease from last year, when 11.9% of respondents were requested to pay a bribe⁴.

This year the RBI survey added an additional question to ascertain how often a bribe which was solicited was indeed paid. The figure below shows the outcome.

⁴ RBI 2010 had slightly different questions about bribe experiences: 17% of respondents declared having encountered corruption, and 69.9% of them said that the bribe was demanded by the service providers (rather than offered by the respondent): 69.9% of 17% is indeed 11.9%.

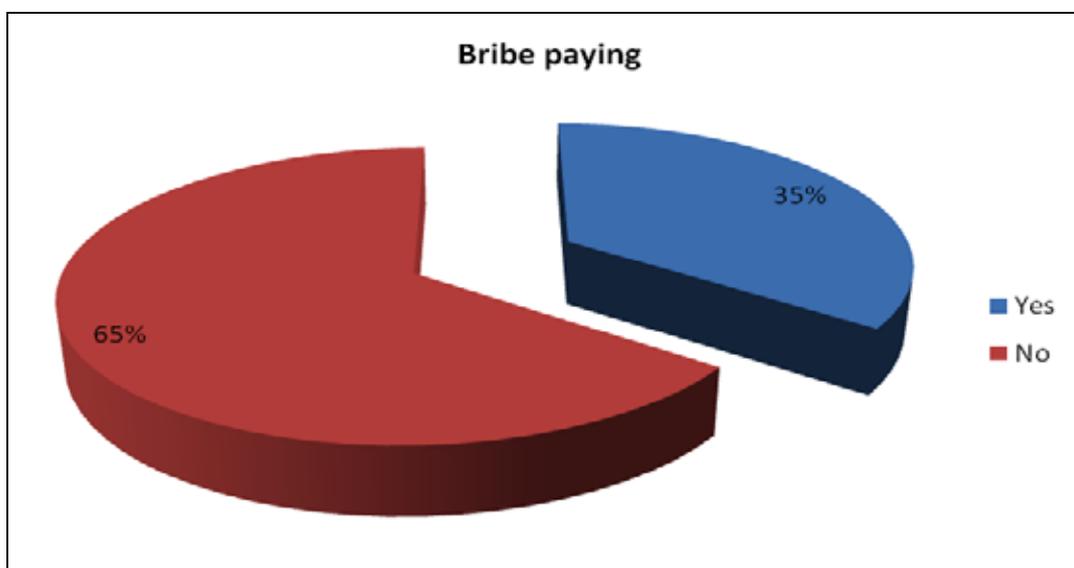


Fig 12: Bribe paid

Out of the people whom a bribe was solicited from, 35% actually paid it. While it is not possible to compare this result with last year, as such a question was not asked, it is encouraging to see that almost two thirds of those who were solicited a bribe were brave enough to resist the illegal demand. However, one of three respondents who encountered corruption decided to pay, implying that it was probably the only way to obtain the service he or she had requested; a negative outcome which should not be underestimated.

This last finding on bribes paid was disaggregated by level of education, income, age, gender and residence of respondents in order to determine the categories most exposed to the risk of paying for a corrupt practice. The following table presents such disaggregation.

Level of Education	Encountered corruption %	Age	Encountered corruption %
Primary	42.9	18-24	16.2
Post Primary Training	21.0	25-29	21.8
Secondary	21.0	30-34	21.9
College Education	1.9	35-39	12.4
University	2.9	40-44	10.5
Post Graduate	0.0	45-49	2.9
None	10.3	50-54	2.9
Total	100.0	55-59	5.7
		60+	5.7
		Total	100
		Gender	
Income		Male	66
<35,000	55.7	Female	34
35,000-69,999	30.2	Not specified	0
70,000-174,999	10.4	Total	100
175,000-349,999	1.9	Residence	
350,000-699,999	1.8	Urban	15.1
Total	100	Rural	84.9
		Total	100

Table 2. Bribes paid: segregation by demographic characteristics of the population

This analysis reveals that people with basic education are much more likely to pay bribes than highly educated people: indeed of those respondents who indulged in corruption 42.9% have a primary education level while only 1.9% had completely college and 2.9% hold a university degree. This finding is similar to RBI 2010. Also in line with last year is the analysis of income, showing that more than half of respondents who admitted to have paid a bribe have minimum annual income below 35,000 Rwf, however compared to 2010 this year the percentage is lower (55.7% from 68.1) meaning that this time more people with higher income paid bribes.

In terms of age, the majority of respondents who paid bribes belong to the 18-34 age bracket (59.9% cumulatively), followed by the 35-39 and 40-44 brackets; again this result is broadly in line with last year's and seems to confirm that people are most vulnerable to corruption when they enter their adult age, start working and create a family. When it comes to gender, clearly more men than women paid bribes, as it was the case in 2010, while in terms of residence rural citizens are overwhelmingly more exposed than those living in an urban area (this was not calculated in 2010).

As a consequence, the profile of the citizen most likely to pay a bribe is a young, poor, little educated man living in a rural setting. However these findings are not very different from the demographic characteristics of the respondents (49.1% with primary education, 71.6% below 35,000 Rwf income, 55.6% below 34 year old and 58% male) suggesting that the differences in likeliness to pay a bribe are not so significant and that most categories of the population have similar level of risk to indulge in corruption.

When analyzing the bribes which were actually paid, it is important to examine the size of such bribes. The table below presents the ranges of the bribery amounts paid.

Bribe amount – Rwf	Year 2011 %	Year 2010 %
>100,000	3	5.7
50,001 - 100,000	3	6.2
20,001 - 50,000	12	14.1
10,001 - 20,000	15	16.7
5,001 - 10,000	23	16.7
1,001 - 5,000	47	40.5
<1,000	16	-

Table 3: Bribery amounts paid

From the table above it is apparent that bribes are mostly paid in trivial amounts of between 1,001 to 5,000 Rwf as it was the case in 2010. However the data also shows that higher amounts (from 10,000 Rwf to several hundred thousands) have decreased whereas smaller amounts (below 10,000 Rwf) have increased. This in itself does not tell us much about the global amounts or the incidence of bribery, but confirms that the Bribery Index is a tool suitable to capture petty rather than grand corruption.

3.2 Means of Paying Bribe

After establishing the percentage of respondents having been demanded a bribe, how many of them have actually paid it and the most common amounts, it is now time to turn to how the illicit payment is actually made in practice. The figure below refers to this aspect.

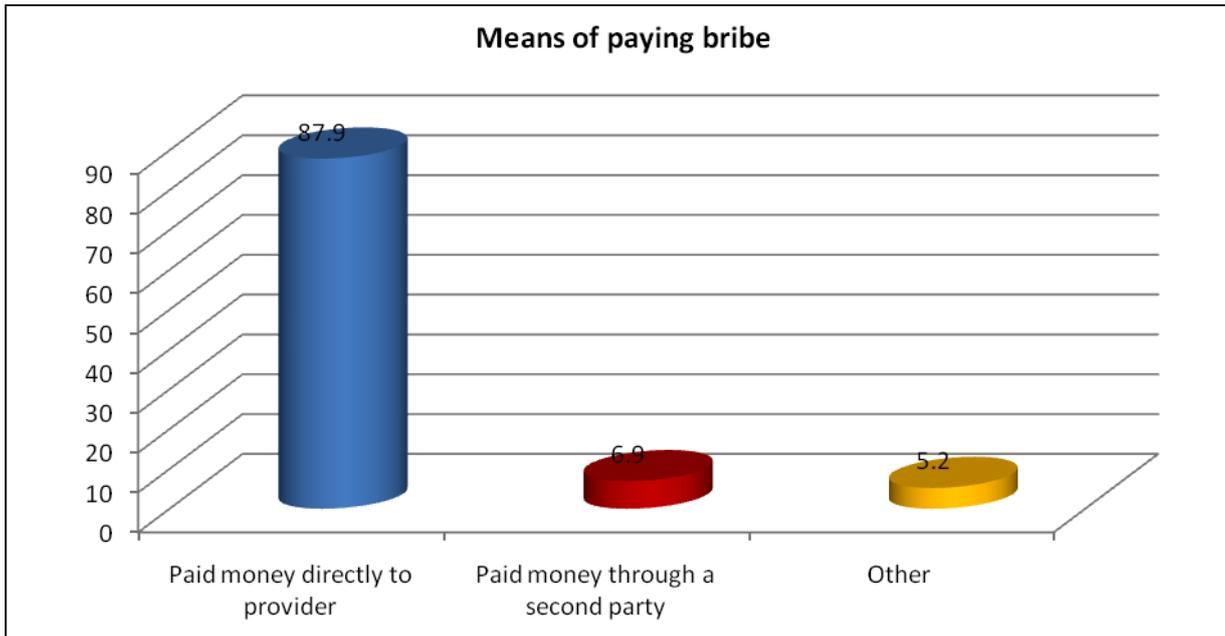


Fig 13: Means of bribe paying

Bribes are mostly issued directly by service seekers (87.9%) while in few circumstances they are paid through a second party (6.9%). This is very similar finding as the 2010 survey where 86.7% of the bribe givers paid directly to the service providers and 10.6% involved another person.

3.3 The Bribery Indices

As it was the case last year, four Bribery Indices were derived from the data on corruption demanded and paid: Likelihood of encountering bribe demand occurrences, Prevalence of bribery, Average size of bribe and Share of bribe. The following sections present the various indices, detailing how they were calculated and comparing them with the 2010 results.

3.3.1 Likelihood of Bribery

This represents the proportion of respondents from whom a bribe was expressly or implicitly demanded in a particular institution as a percentage of the total number of respondents seeking services from that institution. The index is presented on a scale from 0 to 100 where 0 means no likelihood of bribery at all and 100 means the highest degree of likelihood. It is calculated using the following formula:

$$\text{Likelihood of encountering bribe} = \frac{\text{No. of bribe demand situations for organisation} \times 100}{\text{No. of interactions for organisation}}$$

This index also forms the basis to rank institutions on the likelihood of bribery taking place there. Institutions that the service seekers interacted with and ranked on this basis are as presented in the table below.

Year 2011					Year 2010
Rank	Institution	Interactions	Bribe demands	Percentage -%	Rank
1	Police	738	43	5.83	3
2	Mediators	65	3	4.62	2
3	Civil Society	208	6	2.88	1
4	Villages	1836	44	2.4	5
5	Justice Sector	175	4	2.29	4
6	Districts	1015	14	1.38	9
7	Private Sector	514	7	1.36	6
8	Sectors	4510	59	1.31	11
9	Cells	4144	54	1.3	8
10	RRA	815	7	0.86	7
11	EWASA	378	3	0.79	-
12	Ministries and high public organizations	764	5	0.65	-
13	Banks	3582	19	0.53	12
14	Education Sector	1536	7	0.46	10
15	Health centres	2737	12	0.44	13
16	Hospitals	1666	7	0.42	-
	<i>Total</i>	<i>24683</i>	<i>294</i>		
	Bribery Index (average)			1.19	3.9

Table 4: Likelihood of bribery

The likelihood of encountering bribe demand situation in Rwandan institutions is therefore 1.19%, which marks a clear improvement from the same index in 2010, which was 3.9%.

Looking at the performance of each institution, the Police is ranked highest with 5.83%, meaning a deterioration compared to last year's ranking when it was third, but a slight improvement in curbing corruption as its 2010 likelihood index was 6.1%. The Police are followed by Mediators in second position and Civil Society in third position, which last year were second and first with 6.4% and 16.8% respectively.

While all these institutions have improved their performance (with a spectacular progress in the case of civil society), it is interesting to highlight that they still occupy the top three positions, implying that they still need to make efforts to reduce corrupt practices. Also in line with last year, Village and Justice institutions come right after the top three while health centres are still the best performers.

3.3.2 Prevalence of Bribery

This second index represents in percentage terms the proportion of respondents who paid bribes to an institution out of the total number of respondents seeking services from the institution. As in the case of likelihood, this index is also presented on a scale from 0 to 100 where 0 means no prevalence of bribery at all and 100 means the highest degree of prevalence. It is calculated as follows:

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

As in the case of likelihood, this index also permits to rank institutions as presented in the table below.

Year 2011					Year 2010
Rank	Institution	Interactions	Bribe payers	Percentage -%	Rank
1	Police	738	24	3.25	1
2	Villages	1836	21	1.14	5
3	Justice Sector	175	2	1.14	8
4	Ministries and high public organizations	764	8	1.05	-
5	RRA	815	6	0.74	11
6	Districts	1015	6	0.59	10
7	Private Sector	514	3	0.58	4
8	Education Sector	1536	8	0.52	6
9	Sectors	4510	18	0.4	9
10	Cells	4144	12	0.29	7
11	Hospitals	1666	4	0.24	-
12	Banks	3582	6	0.17	12
13	Health centres	2737	1	0.04	13
14	EWASA	378	0	0	-
15	Civil Society	208	0	0	2
16	Mediators	65	0	0	3
	<i>Total</i>	<i>24683</i>	<i>119</i>		
	Bribery Index (average)			0.48	2.15

Table 5: Prevalence of bribery

Prevalence of bribery in Rwandan institutions is 0.48%, which again means an improvement compared to 2010 when the same index was 2.15%. This good result is consistent with the first index, likelihood.

Also consistent is the worst performer, as the Police exhibits the highest prevalence in bribery, but in this case it is followed by institutions in Villages and the Justice sector, which sadly both have a worse performance compared to last year when they were fifth and eight. Notwithstanding its ranking, the Police should be praised as its index last year was 8% and this year went down to 3.25%. Village institutions have also improved from 2.8% to 1.14%, while the Justice sector was at an insignificant 0.6% in 2010 and thus have registered a deterioration, though very limited. It is also worth pointing out the huge progress of civil society and mediators, which were second and third in 2010 while this year had no bribe paying occurrences at all.

3.3.3 Average size of bribe

The third bribery index which was derived was the average size of the bribes paid in the last 12 months, calculated using the following formula:

$$\text{Average size} = \frac{\text{Total amount of bribes paid in organisation } x}{\text{No of people paying a bribe in organisation } x}$$

#	Institution	Total amt of bribe (Rwf)	Bribes Paid	Average Size of bribe (Rwf)	Average in 2010 (Rwf)
1	Villages	131,900	21	6,281	10,152
2	Cells	109,000	12	9,083	15,987
3	Sectors	219,500	18	12,194	12,000
4	Districts	297,000	6	49,500	31,000
5	Banks	92,800	6	15,467	79,000
6	Education Sector	322,000	8	40,250	12,857
7	EWASA	0	0	-	75,000
8	Civil Society	0	0	-	7,083
9	Private Sector	57,000	3	19,000	22,000
10	Mediators	0	0	-	14,583
11	Ministries and High Public Organizations	470,000	8	58,750	-
12	Police	525,200	24	21,883	49,394
13	Health Centers	15,000	1	15,000	35,000
14	Hospitals	60,000	4	15,000	-
15	RRA	37,000	6	6,167	-
16	Justice Sector	25,000	2	12,500	250,000
Total		2,361,400	119		
Bribery Index (average)				19,844	27,467

Table 6: Average size of bribery

The table shows that the average bribe paid during the last 12 months by those respondents who indulged in corruption is 19,844 Rwf. While this is a clear improvement compared to 2010, when the average amount of bribe was 27,467 Rwf, it is still a high amount in a country where half of the population lives below the poverty line.

The highest average bribes were paid in Ministries and other high public institutions, followed by Districts. Once again, the highest total amount of bribes was paid to the Police, as it was the case last year, though the figure is much lower (525,200 Rwf from 3,260,000 Rwf). Importantly, the total amount paid in bribes by our respondents, 2,361,400 Rwf, has significantly decreased from 2010, when it was 6,235,000 Rwf. Similarly, the total number of bribes paid decreased from 227 to 119.

3.3.4 Share of bribery

The fourth and last index included in the survey is the share of bribery, that is the amount of bribes paid in each organization divided by the total amount of all bribes paid:

$$\text{Share of bribery} = \frac{\text{Total amount of bribes paid in organisation} \times}{\text{Total amount of bribes paid in all organisations}}$$

#	Institution	Total amount of bribe (Rwf)	Bribes Paid	Share of bribe (%)	Share in 2010 (%)
1	Police	525,200	21	22.2	52.3
2	Ministries and High Public Organizations	470,000	12	19.9	-
3	Education Sector	322,000	18	13.6	1.4
4	Districts	297,000	6	12.6	2.5
5	Sectors	219,500	6	9.3	6.7
6	Villages	131,900	8	5.6	5.4
7	Cells	109,000	0	4.6	9.7
8	Banks	92,800	0	3.9	6.3
9	Hospitals	60,000	3	2.5	-
10	Private Sector	57,000	0	2.4	5.3
11	RRA	37,000	8	1.6	-
12	Justice Sector	25,000	24	1.1	4.0
13	Health Centers	15,000	1	0.6	0.6
14	EWASA	0	4	0	1.2
15	Civil Society	0	6	0	0.7
16	Mediators	0	2	0	1.4
Total		2,361,400	119	100.0	100.0

Table 7: Share of bribe

The highest share of bribes is with the Police, meaning that out of all the money spent on bribes, 22.2% was given to them. While it is disappointing to notice that the Police was also leading this ranking last year, its share of bribery in 2010 was a stunning 52.3%, therefore a significant improvement on their side must be acknowledged. The Police is followed by Ministries and other high public institutions, which received 19.9% of all the money spent in bribery: this is an extremely interesting result as it partly contradicts the assumption, widely shared in Rwanda, that corruption affects mostly the local – rather than the central – level of government.

This study confirms that local authorities do demand more bribes but the bribes paid to decentralized bodies are of small amount, while the bribes paid to Ministries and other high public institutions, though less in absolute numbers, involve much more money; the central government level thus should not be overlooked in anti-corruption interventions.

3.3.5 Summary of the indices

The four indices calculated in this survey, as well the comparison with those from 2010, are summarized in the table below.

Bribery indicator	2011 index	2010 index
Likelihood of encountering bribe demands	1.19	3.9%
Prevalence of bribery	0.48	2.15%
Average size of bribery	19,844	27,467
Share of bribery	Calculated per institution	

Table 8: Summary of bribery indices

3.4 Satisfaction with Service after Bribe Paying

After calculating the indices, and thus examining the personal experiences with demanding and paying bribes, the survey sought to investigate the immediate aftermath of bribery indulgence. A question was posed to service seekers on whether they were satisfied with the service obtained after giving a bribe, as this would give indication on their likelihood to engage in the same practice again in the future. The graph below shows the outcome.

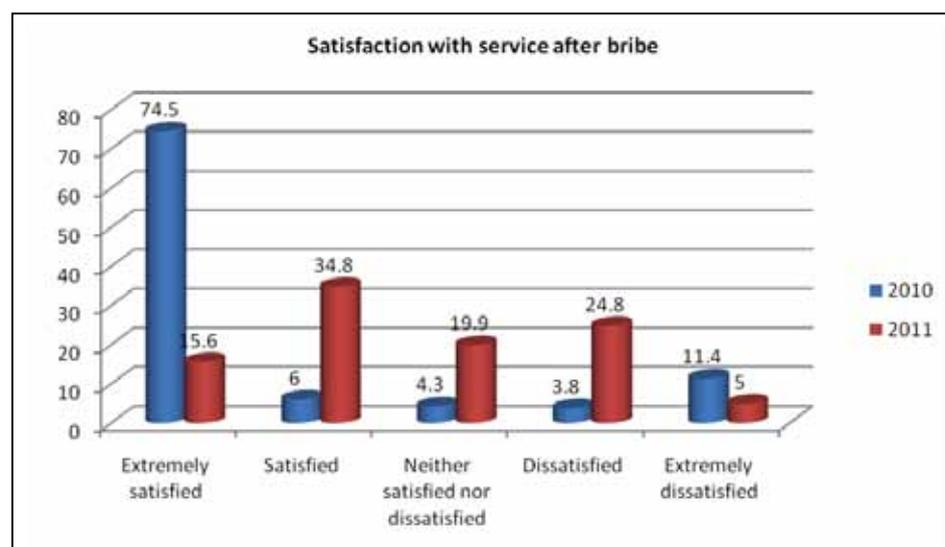


Fig 14: Satisfaction with service after bribe

There are more people satisfied with service after paying a bribe (cumulatively 50.4%) than those dissatisfied with the service (29.8% in total). However, numbers of dissatisfied service seekers are significant which provides for a useful outcome in portraying that indulgence in corruption is not always a guaranteed means of satisfactorily accessing a needed service. To reinforce this, it is revealed that service seekers who are satisfied with service after paying bribe have significantly decreased from 2010, when they were 80.5% of those who had paid a bribe.

4. Views on the Fight Against Corruption

Following the analysis of perceptions and experiences of bribery, the study now presents Rwandans' views on the fight against corruption, particularly looking at the performance of the Government and other public institutions.

4.1 Institution to take Leadership in Anticorruption

Public opinion was sought on which institutions people had most faith in as leaders in the fight against corruption. The figure below displays the outcome.

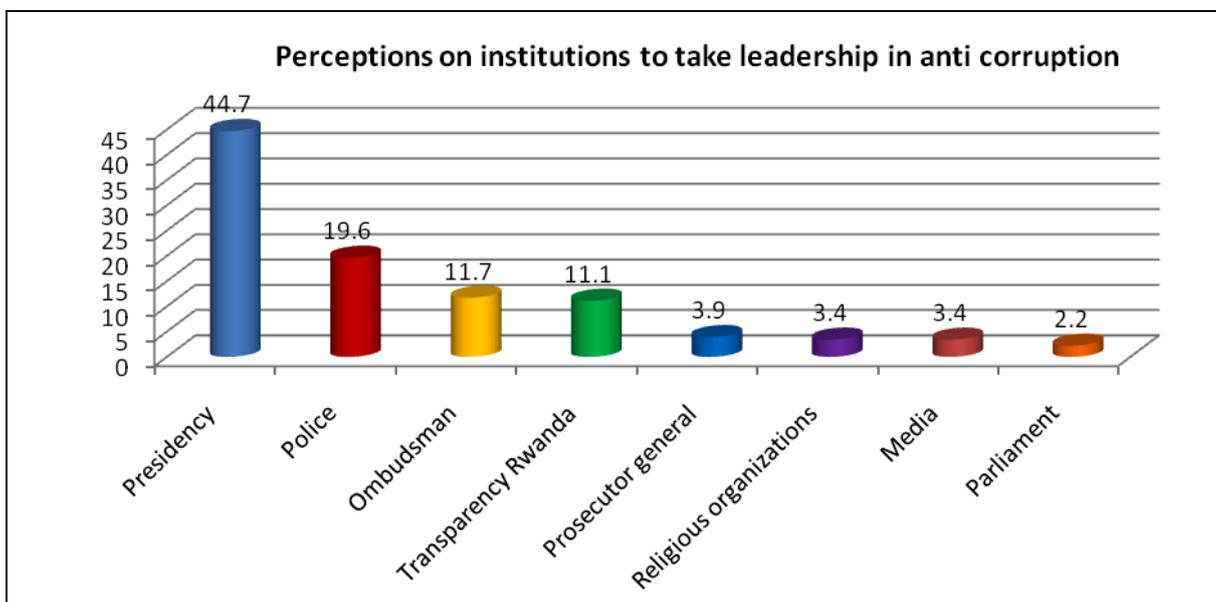


Fig 15: Institutions to take leadership in anticorruption

Rwandans exhibit most faith in the presidency in the war against corruption as attested by almost half of the respondents (44.7%). This is followed by the Police (19.6%), Office of the Ombudsman (11.7%) and Transparency Rwanda (11.1%). Others less mentioned are the Prosecutor general (3.9%), religious organizations (3.4%), media (3.4%) and Parliament (2.2%).

In comparison to the 2010 findings, the Presidency, Police and Ombudsman were still the most preferred institutions by the public in taking leadership in anti corruption agenda.

There has however been a very significant shift in preference between the three. Last year, the Police was preferred by 43.2% of respondents while 17.6% opted for the Ombudsman and 15.5% exhibited faith in the Presidency.

What is apparent from this outcome is that there is increasing confidence in the highest political level (Presidency) and diminishing confidence in the technical institutions supposed to put in place anti-corruption measures on a daily basis (particularly the Police but also the Ombudsman).

The fact that the Police is ranked highest in likelihood and prevalence of corruption might partly explain the deterioration of public confidence in them. Finally, the increase of confidence in Transparency Rwanda (from 6.8% to 11.1%) seems to indicate that an increasing share of Rwandans believe that civil society can be a key actor in this field.

4.2 Perception of Government Performance in Anticorruption

The survey then sought public opinion of the government's performance in the anti-corruption agenda. This is as displayed in the figure below.

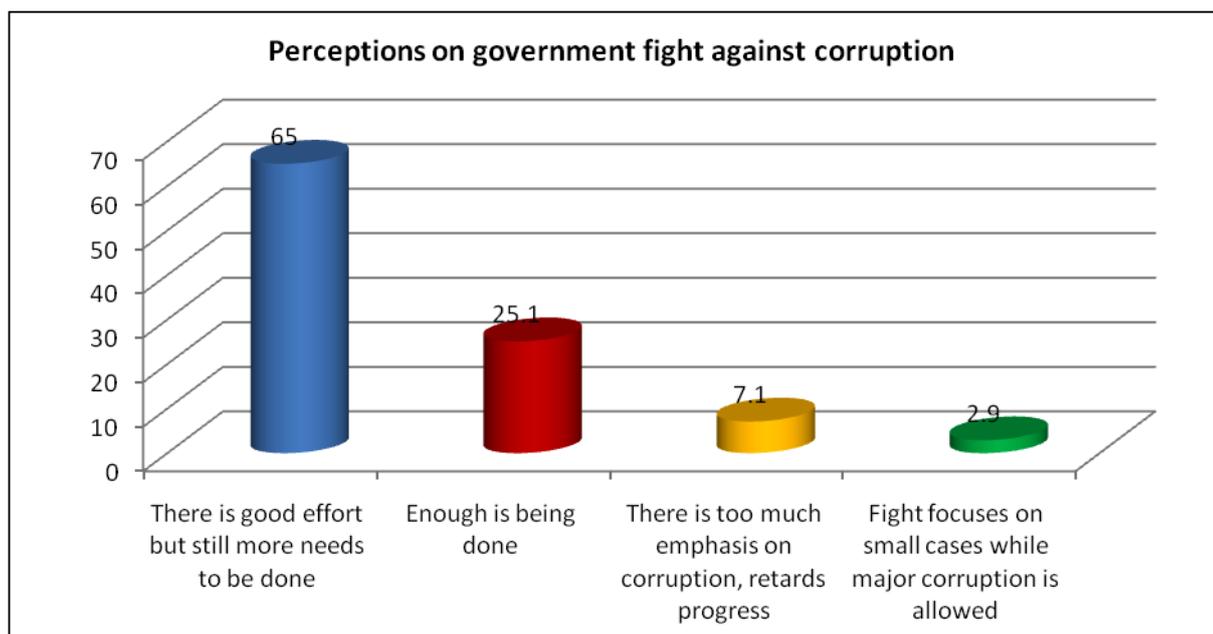


Fig: 16: Perceptions on government fight against corruption

Generally, there is appreciation and recognition for the Government's fight against corruption. Most respondents (65%) admit that there is good effort but with room for improvement while 25.1% assert that enough is being done. A further 7.1% however suggest that there is too much emphasis on anti corruption and this is negative for development, whereas 2.9% believe that the anti corruption fight only focuses on small cases and does not tackle high level cases.

These results, globally praising the Government, are not very different from RBI 2010. However, in comparison with last year, less Rwandans think that enough is being done (35.8% of respondents chose this option in 2010) while more people acknowledge the good efforts but demand more (from 56% to 65%): this means that more Rwandans, while still appreciate the performance of public authorities, would like them to do more to curb corruption.

5. Getting involved

The role of Government and other public institutions such as the Police and the Office of the Ombudsman is obviously key in the fight against corruption. However, if the fight is to be won, the efforts of everybody is needed, starting with ordinary citizens. That is why the RBI wanted to ascertain whether Rwandans are ready to get involved in anti-corruption actions.

5.1 Future Action on Corruption

Consequently, respondents were asked what their future action would be if they were to be demanded a bribe. The following table shows their answers.

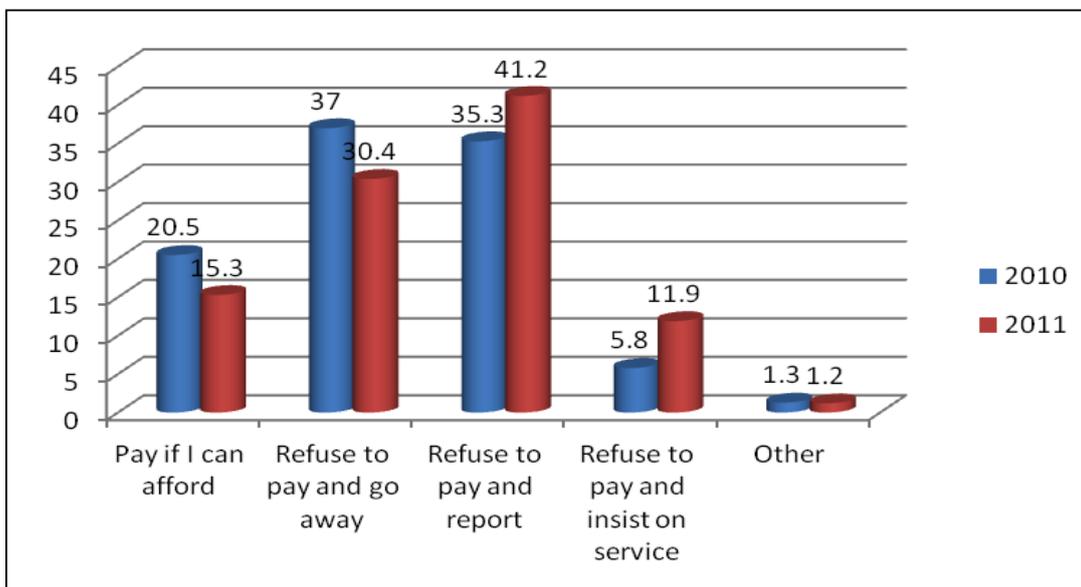


Fig 17: Future action on corruption

The table shows that only 15.3% of respondents would still pay for a bribe if they could afford it, while cumulatively 83.5% are ready to take positive actions. More in detail, 41.2% would refuse to pay and report the corrupt practice, 30.4% would refuse to pay and walk away, while 11.9% would not pay and at the same time insist to obtain the service. In comparison with 2010 findings, the assertion to pay bribe in the future has decreased by more than 5% while consequently the percentage of respondents who are decided to take any of the three positive actions have increased from 78.1% to 83.5%. Though this increased assertiveness still needs to translate into concrete action, this seems to be a small victory on citizen empowerment as regards claiming their right to service and refusal to engage in corruption.

5.2 Reporting of Corruption Cases

Since one of the key issues in fighting corruption is to bring corrupt individuals to justice, the survey also sought to determine whether the respondents who encountered corruption reported it or not. The following figure shows the outcome and compares it with 2010.

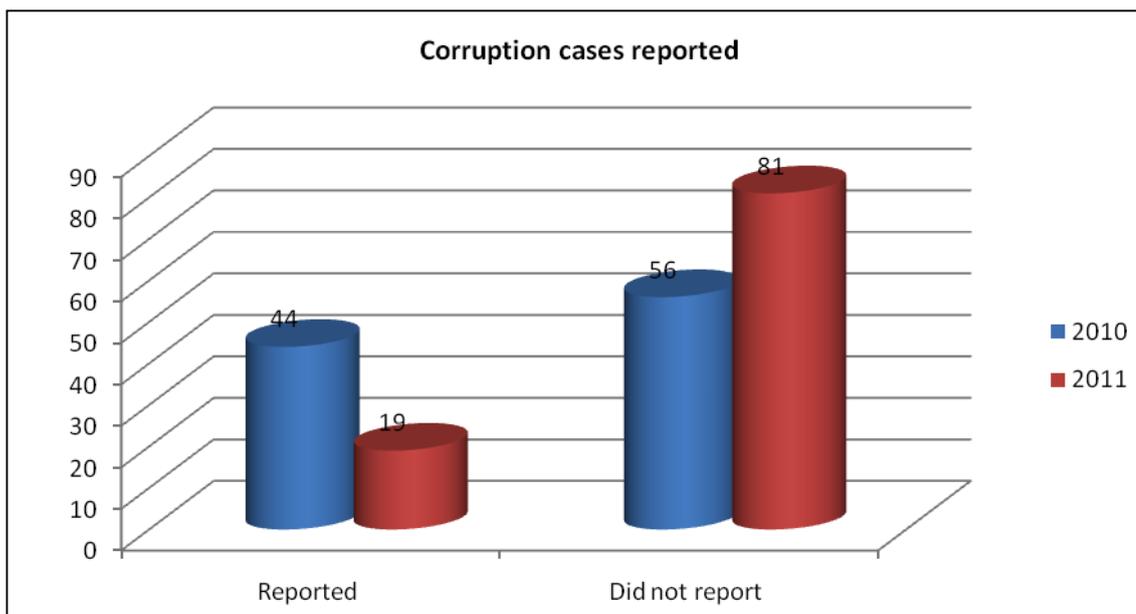


Fig 18: Reporting of corruption cases

The graph clearly shows that a large majority (81%) of those who were demanded a bribe decided not to report the incident; even though last year's RBI also revealed that most people did not report (56%), the spectacular increase

of those who chose silence is definitely worrying. On top of that, the low reporting of corruption in Rwanda has been consistently confirmed by virtually all studies carried out by Transparency Rwanda and Transparency International⁵, partly contradicting the fact that most respondents express their willingness to adopt a positive action against corruption were they to be demanded a bribe in the future (figure 17). Encouraging victims to speak out and report corrupt practices should be one of the key priorities of anti-corruption strategies in Rwanda.

Given this disappointing result, it is interesting to further interrogate the reasons behind such indifference or unwillingness to report corruption practices. The figure below displays the outcome.

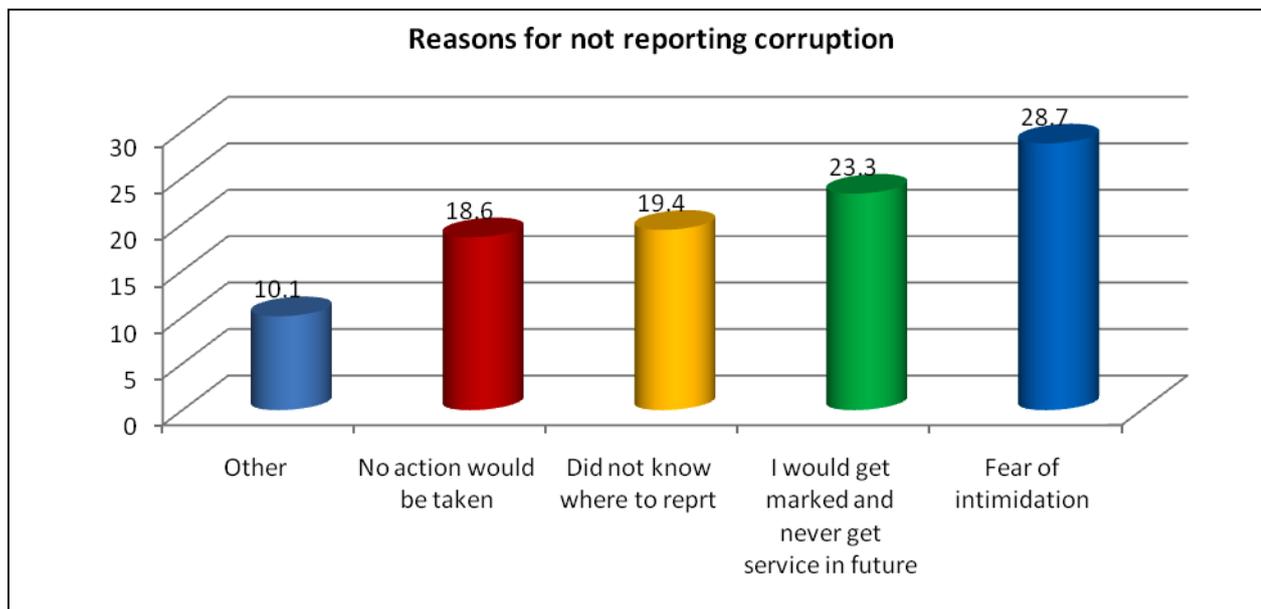


Fig 19: Reasons for not reporting corruption

The most mentioned reason for not reporting corruption is fear of intimidation as stated by 28.7% of the service seekers. Also closely related to this is the fear of being denied a service in the future, expressed by 23.3%. Other aspects brought to the fore on low anti corruption reporting are unavailability or lack of visibility of corruption reporting mechanism (19.4%) and assumption that reporting would not lead to any follow up action (18.6%). This outcome calls on authorities to pay more attention to the confidentiality, availability and effectiveness of means of reporting corruption.

These results are not very different from last year's, when fear of harassment was already the main reason for not reporting (though an improvement can be noted from 36.5%), followed by the supposition that nothing would be done (21.7%), fear to be marked (16.9%) and lack of knowledge of reporting mechanisms (11.6%). While it is encouraging that less people now fear intimidation, it is worrying that notwithstanding the sensitization campaigns, the share of people who do not know where to report corruption has increased.

⁵These include RBI 2010, Global Corruption Barometer 2011, the study on Gender-based corruption in workplaces, and a TR accountability project on local service delivery in Kigali city.

6. Conclusions

Bribery in Rwanda is at low levels, as evidenced by the very low indices of likelihood and prevalence. The Government's efforts at combating corruption are visible to the public, as revealed by the citizens' faith in the presidency in championing the anti corruption fight and by the perception that corruption in the country is at a controlled level and is decreasing. Notwithstanding this overall positive picture, some challenges remain, particularly the low reporting of corrupt practices, and Rwanda is far from being perceived as a corruption-free country, hence the need to continue the fight against the scourge.

The Police, though its performance has improved compared to last year, have the highest likelihood, prevalence and share of bribery; moreover, public confidence in the institution is diminishing from the past year. The police are at the helm of maintaining law and order in a country and if their integrity is questionable then it affects the moral fabric of a Nation. There is therefore need to ensure that strict anti corruption measures are instituted in the Police institution in Rwanda to control imminent corrupt practices.

Mediators (abunzi) are the second institution in terms of likelihood and remain, as it was the case in 2010, vulnerable to corrupt practices. Third comes civil society, which notwithstanding a dramatic improvement compared to last year, still remains among the bodies where a bribe is most likely to be demanded. Village institutions and justice sector are also at high risk, as they come right after the Police in the prevalence index and are also among the worst performers in terms of likelihood of bribe demands.

Amounts of money involved in bribery have decreased from 2010, which is a very positive outcome, however an average bribe of 20,000 Rwf still seems very high given that the majority of respondents have an annual income below 35,000 Rwf. Following the Police, the highest share of the money spent on bribes went to Ministries and other High Public Organizations and to the education sector, which come ahead of the local authorities, thus partly challenging the assumption that corruption mostly takes place at decentralized levels.

10% of respondents were asked a bribe while seeking service. This is a low level and has slightly decreased from last year, which is encouraging. Sadly, most victims of corruption did not report the incident, confirming that corruption is largely unreported in Rwanda, as indicated in most studies; actually the reporting is even lower than it was in 2010. Service seekers cite fear of intimidation and fear of future service denial if they reported any corrupt occurrence, suggesting the need to strengthen confidentiality of anti corruption mechanisms. On the positive side, people seem to be ready to adopt a more positive action were they asked a bribe in the future, raising hope that low reporting might be reversed.

Rwandan citizens also need empowerment and enlightenment on their rights to demand for the services they are entitled to. The most mentioned reason for indulging in corruption is general service seeking. It is therefore necessary for citizens to be educated on their rights to services in order for them to be assertive in service demand without requiring to be involved in getting any inducement to get such service.

It has also been demonstrated that inducements offered to get services do not always result to satisfactory services. This is an important finding which can help dissuading the public from indulging again in corruption in the future.

6.1 Recommendations

Based on the findings of RBI 2011 and on the trends emerged from the comparison with RBI 2010 it is possible to formulate the following recommendations:

- Continue the current anti-corruption initiatives and strategies, including awareness-raising and sensitization campaigns, as they are yielding good results
- Public institutions, private sector and civil society organizations should increase efforts to strengthen their governance structures and improve transparency; those which have not done so yet, should adopt a code of conduct and put in place confidential reporting mechanisms
- Pay special attention to risks of corruption within the Police and redouble efforts to increase the integrity of Police agents as well as their motivation
- Carry out public campaigns to encourage victims of corruption to report the cases they experienced or witnessed; reporting is extremely low in Rwanda and is decreasing, so this issue must urgently become a priority in the anti-corruption agenda
- Improve the availability and confidentiality of reporting mechanisms and make sure that reports of corruption cases are adequately and promptly followed up on
- Step up efforts to improve the quality, promptness and transparency of service delivery as most bribes are paid in order to obtain better and quicker services
- Increase the profile and visibility of the Police and the Office of the Ombudsman as key anti-corruption actors; put in place the necessary measures for such institutions to inspire citizens' confidence
- Though it is positive that bribery levels are low and decreasing, other forms of corruption (nepotism, favouritism, fraud, sexual corruption, embezzlement of public money etc), and particularly grand corruption, which are not the subject of this research, should not be forgotten
- A wide range of actors, including Government, private sector, civil society, media and development partners, should continue engage in the fight against corruption; each organization, within the scope of its role and mandate, can and should contribute to curb corruption in the country

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