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# SURVEY ON CORRUPTION IN MEDIA IN RWANDA

Perception and experience of Media  
practitioners and stakeholders



2015

*Be corruption free to free others from  
corruption*



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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Government of Rwanda has reached considerable achievements in the fight against corruption over the last two decades. The Government's political will in fighting corruption translates into 'Zero tolerance to corruption' policy across all thematic sectors. To name but a few, Public Finance Management (PFM) and Service delivery have been targeted by strong oversight mechanisms to prevent and punish corrupt behavior and eliminate corruption transactions. In this effort, the media sector is expected to be among the strong messengers and tools of the anticorruption efforts. Without vibrant, professional and active media, peoples' voices will not be heard and corruption will stay overlooked and unnoticed.

Therefore, Transparency International Rwanda (TI-Rw), with the support from the German Federal Ministry for Economic Development and Cooperation and GIZ Good Governance and Decentralization Program, is proud to present a report about corruption in media. In line with its mission of "*fighting corruption through enhancing integrity values in the Rwandan society*" TI-Rw has undertaken a survey on corruption in media to assess the perception of corruption in media, looking into the level and forms of corruption in Rwandan media. As in every research, operational recommendations targeting media stakeholders are formulated as a result of the findings.

The selection of media for this research is obvious. As noted many times before and widely acknowledged in Rwanda, the role of the media is critical in promoting good governance and controlling corruption. It not only raises public awareness about corruption, its causes, consequences and possible remedies but also investigates and reports incidences of corruption. The effectiveness of the media, in turn, depends on access to information and freedom of expression, as well as a professional and ethical cadre of investigative journalists. Therefore, having 'clean' media houses and zero corruption in media is a precondition in the fight against corruption everywhere else. This rationale is thus behind the inception of this very important study.

On behalf of TI-Rwanda, I would like to express my sincere appreciation and gratitude to all the institutions and individuals who made this analysis possible. Among them are the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development and GIZ who provided the necessary funding, media practitioners and partners who assisted us to access the required data, the consultant, Mr. Reverien INTERAYAMAHANGA in collaboration with TI-Rw's research team who drafted the report.

Last but not least, I would like to thank TI-RW's Executive Director, Mr. Apollinaire MUPIGANYI, who provided the necessary support and guidance to the research including the necessary quality assurance of the final report.

**Marie Immaculée INGABIRE**  
Chairperson of TI-Rw





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## Executive Summary

‘Zero tolerance to corruption’ policy pursued by the Government of Rwanda (GoR) has been instrumental in combating corruption in the private and public domain. Corruption and levels of accountability in thematic areas such as public service delivery, public procurement or gender-based corruption have been periodically monitored through Transparency International Rwanda (TI-Rw) and other governmental and non-governmental stakeholders. However, corruption in media has not been hitherto assessed in detail.

The word ‘media’ is derived from the word medium, signifying mode or carrier. Media in today’s society has an outstanding role in creating and shaping of public opinion and strengthening of societal capital. It is in this context that the GoR and all other stakeholders have recognized the pivotal role of media in the fight against corruption, and more broadly for strengthening of good governance. If media professionals’ integrity is compromised, its ability to shape public opinion, inform citizenry and objectively report might be limited.

The report *Survey on corruption in media in Rwanda: Perception and experience of Media practitioners and stakeholders* is based on primary research. 1481 individuals including media practitioners, civil society organizations, members of the private sectors and representatives of government institutions were randomly drawn as a sample. Interviews, focus group discussions and key informant interviews have gathered statistically representative data on perceptions of corruption within the media sector.

This report pursues six objectives: i) assess the prevalence (personal experience) of corruption in media in Rwanda; ii) assess the likelihood of corruption in media; iii) identify the main forms of corruption; iv) examine the causes and consequences of corruption; v) identify existing mechanisms to curb corruption and their effectiveness and vi) formulate operational recommendations to fight corruption in Rwandan media.

Gathered perceptions indicate that the *prevalence of corruption*, both by journalists and media stakeholders, is high. All media practitioners interviewed maintained that corruption exists in this sector. 71% of media practitioners and 83% of media stakeholders acknowledged personal experience with corruption in media. Corruption seems to be prevalent especially on the demand (media) side. 76% of media practitioners acknowledge demanding corruption, which is comparable to 75% of media stakeholders. Proposing corruption is reported in around 25% of cases on both sides.

When it comes to *forms of corruption*, bribes (cash transfers) and nepotism rank highest. Favouritism and sex-based corruption are also found as frequent occurrences. Gift giving and extortion are least frequently reported, nevertheless present. The amounts of corrupt

transactions are reportedly very significant. The perceptions from media practitioners put the total of accumulated volume of a bribe at 10.155.000 Rwf, equivalent to 13.540 USD.

When analysing concrete *channels of corruption* in media, accessing adverts emerged as the area most prone to corruption according to media practitioners' perception (45.1%) and stakeholder's perception (34.4%). It has been reported that it is a common practice that advert contracts with private companies have usually a clause of never publishing anything that can tarnish their image. A special area in this regard is promotion of artists. "*Gutanga bit*" is a commonly used expression meaning that artists are obliged to award journalists in one way or another in order to be regularly invited for a TV show or their masterpiece to be given priority of being aired on radio, TV or online.

The most *frequent reasons* for making a corrupt transaction, reported by both media practitioners and stakeholders, is publishing information. Winning an advertisement, hiring a relative, censoring of information or musician promotion are other frequently cited reasons to enter corruption transaction.

In terms of *institutions prone to indulge media in corruption*, private sector institutions emerge as most likely to indulge media in corruption. Public institutions come in the second position, followed by local governments. CSOs stand as least inducing corruption in media. In this connection, 35.1% and 28.8% of media practitioners and stakeholders respectively reported a challenge accessing information. Despite the robust *Access to Information Law*, some institutions do not comply or do not provide information to the journalists unless they report favourably.

A specific form of corruption is referred to as 'Giti'. This practice referred to as "*Imyanzuro y'inama*", where after every meeting or event, journalists approach the staff in charge of finance asking for money or transport. If Giti is not provided, the angle or way of reporting a story is purposively changed. This practice is of course against article 2 of the media code of ethics stating, "*Journalists and any other media professional shall abhor lies. They have the obligation to respect facts and search for truth, keeping in mind the public right to true information*". However, this conduct is still entrenched when dealing with media practitioners.

In a bid to *address some of the challenges and gaps highlighted* above, it is proposed that Rwanda Media Commission and RURA should strive for compliance with the existing code of ethics for Rwandan media to uproot corruption practice within media.

Given the level and prevalence of corruption in media, institutions in charge of media development (MHC and RGB) in collaboration with media self-regulation body (RMC) should organise regular trainings on media ethics and professionalism intended to media practitioners in Rwanda.

Economic vulnerability seems to be a real cause of many forms of corruption in media. The Government of Rwanda, particularly Rwanda Development Board, should initiate measures that are particularly attractive for investors in the media sector. Such measures would include the reduction of the printing cost and other facilities pertaining to media operations, among others. This recommendation can also contribute significantly in mitigating the magnitude of *Giti*. Insistence on work contracts and other minimum working conditions may address the individual economic insecurity of media practitioners. Rwanda Media Commission should encourage media houses managers to address this issue and regularly monitor the compliance. *Gender-based corruption* also needs to be addressed as a form of corruption requiring specific measures. Media development policies need considering specific gender challenges in the media industry. This type of corruption seems to be widespread and a real impediment for the development of media industry.

# 1. INTRODUCTION

## 1.1. Background and context

Corruption stands as one of main governance and economic development challenges in the world. Corrupt institutions and systems cannot ensure an inclusive, fair, effective and efficient service delivery to people. In the same vein, corrupt economic systems can hardly offer a legal and political environment that is likely to boost fair and competitive economy. *“The manner in which government conducts itself in its business transactions immediately affects public opinion and the public’s trust in good government. In addition to encouraging the public’s good will and strengthened trust, the more practical business benefits of transparency are increased competition and better value for goods, services, and construction”*<sup>1</sup>.

According to Oluwole Owoye and Nicole Bissessar, *“ Policy experts and other international agencies rank public sector corruption or the use of public office for personal gain, as a major constraint that has hindered Africa”’s economic, political, and social development”*<sup>2</sup>

As the World Bank put it *“Political Risk Services rates 10 areas that can be identified with governance, such as “democratic accountability,” “government stability,” “law and order,” and “corruption.””*<sup>3</sup>. Important governance assessments conducted in Rwanda have not overlooked corruption among key areas considered. These include mainly Joint Governance Assessment<sup>4</sup>, Rwanda Governance Scored Card<sup>5</sup>, Local Governance Barometer<sup>6</sup>, etc.

Since almost a decade, Rwanda has constantly proved a high political will in promoting good governance. In this regard, a number of governance institutions were established. These include the Office of the Ombudsman, the Office of the Auditor General, the National Human Rights Commission, the Parliament (encompassing the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies), the National Public Procurement Authority, to name but a few. In addition to this institutional framework, a relevant legal and policy framework was set up through the adoption of the Constitution of Rwanda as amended to date, legal reforms and passing of new laws and policies.

In a bid to monitor the state of corruption and the progress made in fighting it in Rwanda, some assessment framework were established both nationally and internationally. The most known of the kind include Rwanda Bribery Index, Corruption Perception Index and East Africa Bribery Index which are conducted annually. A number of surveys and assessments

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<sup>1</sup> CIPS & NIGP (2012) Transparency in public procurement, p.3

<sup>2</sup> Oluwole Owoye and Nicole Bissessar, *Bad Governance and Corruption in Africa: Symptoms of Leadership and Institutional Failure*

<sup>3</sup> The World Bank Research Observer, vol. 23, no. 1 (Spring 2008), p.10

<sup>4</sup> Government of Rwanda (2008) Rwanda Joint Governance Assessment

<sup>5</sup> Rwanda Governance Board (2012) Rwanda Governance Scorecard

<sup>6</sup> Institute of Research and Dialogue for Peace (2013) Local Governance Barometer

are conducted by governance institutions (Rwanda Governance Assessment, Justice Sector User Perception Survey, Rwanda Local Governance Barometer). However, many of them are not conducted on a regular basis. At non-state actors side, very few civil society organizations such as Transparency International Rwanda and media do also play a role in fighting corruption.

However, it is worth noting that most of the above mentioned corruption assessment frameworks and surveys focused on areas such corruption in service delivery, corruption in public procurement and gender-based corruption. None has therefore assessed corruption in media arena in Rwanda. Most of studies and surveys conducted on media have rather targeted media performance, sustainability and capacities.

While media have been recognized worldwide as a strong mechanism to fight corruption through investigations and denunciation, this role cannot be objectively played if media are not free of corruption. As Transparency International put it *“Giving gifts and placing advertisements in the media can be alternative ways to influence media reporting in favour of private or political interests. Journalists tend to be especially vulnerable to this form of corruption in developing countries where their salaries are often very low”*<sup>7</sup>.

This view was also echoed in Rwanda Media Barometer which argues that *“Absence or degradation of economically stable working conditions can hinder both objectivity and independence of media practitioners”*; this Barometer contends that *“The existing literature shows that a number of private media are seriously hampered by economic means which, in great part is caused by scarcity of the publicity market. Therefore, the media indulge in many malpractices including sensationalism and defamation in a bid to earn a living. Hence, there is striking lack of respect of technical and ethical rules”*<sup>8</sup>.

It is against this background and to take up this challenge that Transparency International Rwanda undertook a study on corruption in media in Rwanda.

## **1.2. Objectives**

This study aims to investigate the state of corruption in the Rwandan media. Specifically, it is meant to achieve the following objectives:

- Measure the prevalence (personal experience) of corruption in media in Rwanda;
- Measure the likelihood of corruption in media in Rwanda;
- Identify the main forms of corruption in media in Rwanda;
- Examine the causes and consequences of corruption in Rwandan media

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<sup>7</sup> Transparency International (2013) Overview of corruption in the media in developing countries, p. 5

<sup>8</sup> Rwanda governance Board (2012) Rwanda Media Barometer, p. 47

- Identify existing mechanisms to curb corruption in media in Rwanda and their effectiveness;
- Formulate operational recommendations to fight corruption in Rwandan media.

## **2. METHODOLOGY**

### **2.1. Approaches and methods**

In terms of approaches, the study on corruption in media used both quantitative and qualitative approaches. While the former approach consisted in a semi-structured questionnaire, the latter relied largely on focus group discussions (FGDs), key informants interviews (KIIs) and desk research.

First and foremost, a desk review was conducted on legal and policy framework on corruption in Rwanda and existing literature on corruption in media.

As far as the questionnaire is concerned, it was administered to media practitioners to collect data on perception and personal experience with corruption in media. Likewise, the questionnaire was administered to media stakeholders such as representatives of public institutions, civil society and members of the private sector. In these institutions, public relations or communication officers and senior staff (head of the institutions or head of financial services) were primarily targeted.

FGDs and key informants interviews, the former method was organized with some media practitioners and representatives of CSOs, while the latter was conducted with key officials in public institutions, top managers of media outlets and the private sector. The discussions mainly collected qualitative and in-depth information, testimonies and anecdotes on corruption in media in Rwanda. Some aspects of the study, notable the forms of corruption were preselected and grouped into ‘multiple choice’ so that categorization of segments of the study would be possible.

### **2.2. Study population and sampling strategy**

The population for this study included media practitioners, public institutions, civil society organizations and members of the Private sector. Based on the level of interactions with media (both as consumers and providers of information), these categories of respondents are meant to be knowledgeable about media work and the level of corruption in this sector.

Based on the four population strata, a minimum sample size for each stratum was computed using Raosoft formula. With a margin error of 5% and a confidence level of 95%, the minimum sample size for each stratum was 377, which was rounded to 380.

Given that this study recommends 4 strata, the minimum working sample size is as follows:

With  $n = 380$

$$N = n \times D^{0.65} \text{ (Kish, 1965)} = 380 \times 4^{0.65}$$

**$N = 935$**

Thus, the sample of 935 individuals including media practitioners, civil society organizations, and members of the private sectors and representatives of government institutions was calculated as a minimum threshold. The actual purposive sample drawn went beyond this figure reaching in total population of 1468 individuals. While ordinary people prove to be one of key consumers and providers of information to media, researchers assumed that they are not enough knowledgeable of corruption malpractices in Rwandan media, given that their interactions with media is not likely to involve corruption.

As regards sampling frames, the list of registered media practitioners was availed by MHC. Additionally, the lists of registered CSOs, members of the private sector, and government institutions were secured from Rwanda Governance Board (RGB), Rwanda Private Sector Federation (RPSF) and Public Service Commission (PSC) respectively. Respondents were randomly selected. For the sake of ensuring high representativeness, in relevant cases, stratified sampling techniques were considered.

**Figure 1: Key media stakeholders involved in this study**





### 2.2.1. Pilot survey and data collection

Before starting the data collection process a “pilot survey” was conducted with people in the study population other than those targeted by the actual survey. The pilot survey helped testing the research tools with regard to the clarity, wording, coherence and consistency of the questions. In addition, it served as an opportunity for interviewers and supervisors to get used to the tools before applying them. Feedback and inputs from the pilot survey were considered in producing the final version of the questionnaire.

Once all data collection tools were approved, researchers embarked on the fieldwork. Skilled enumerators and team leaders recruited and trained to this end conducted this exercise. The training covered issues such as survey methods, questionnaire structure and content, interviewers/supervisors’ responsibilities, as well as on survey ethics.

### 2.2.2. Data processing and analysis

For the purpose of data processing, a specific data entry template was designed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). After the data collection, quantitative data were captured by data entry clerks under the supervision of the Consultant’s IT specialist. After the data entry by clerks, and data cleaning by the IT specialist, graphs and/or tables were generated on the basis of the tabulation plan, and the analysis therefore followed.

As far as qualitative data is concerned, the consultant researcher using the content analysis method analysed data. For both quantitative and qualitative data, the consultant researcher who also drafted the report performed analysis and interpretation. The data analysis involved a scoring logic approach for scaling questions as follows:

### 2.2.3. Scoring scale

The above scoring logic used the following scale where a numeric value was assigned to each response option as presented below:

**Table 1: Scoring scale**

Response option	Score	Perception value
Inexistent/very low performance	0.0–1.9	0%–20%
Low performance	2.0–2.9	21%–40%
Moderate performance	3.0–3.9	41%–60%
High performance	4.0-4.9	61%–80%
Very high performance	5.0	81%–100%

#### 2.2.4. Formula used to calculate questions' score:

A Weighted Average Mean was used to calculate the questions score which is an average in which each quantity to be averaged is assigned a weight. These weightings determine the relative importance of each quantity on the average as indicated in the formula below:

$$\bar{x} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^n x_i w_i}{\sum_{i=1}^n w_i}$$

Where  $x_1, x_2 \dots x_n$  are quantitative scores (0, 2, 3, 4) and  $w_1, w_2 \dots w_n$  are frequency scores corresponding to respective qualitative scores.

#### 2.2.5. Formula used to calculate indicator's score

The first step in the scoring process is to construct a score for each question using the above-mentioned formula. As a second step, question scores are aggregated into a score for each sub-indicator. The sub-indicator score is computed as a simple mean of associated question scores (Qscores).

The same process is used to calculate the indicator score and the overall score as indicated in the following formula:

$$\text{Sub - indicator score } x, i = \frac{Q \text{ Score } x, i, 1 + Q \text{ Score } x, i, 2 + Q \text{ Score } x, i, n}{n}$$

$$\text{Indicator Score } x, i = \frac{SI \text{ Score } x, i, 1 + SI \text{ Score } x, i, 2 + SI \text{ Score } x, i, n}{N}$$

$$\text{Overall score} = \sum_{k=1}^n I \text{ Score } x, i$$

Where

**SQ** : sub-question

**Q** : question

**SI** : Sub-indicator

**I** : indicator

**n**: Number of questions, sub-indicators and indicators

#### 2.2.6. Fieldwork supervision and other control measures

In order to ensure high data skilled supervisors and team leaders supervised the data collection process. The following measures were taken:

- Involvement of key media stakeholders in the implementation process including the validation of tools, methodology and draft report;

- Assessment and approval of the survey tools and methodology by the National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda (NISR);
- Recruitment of skilled enumerators and supervisors;
- Training of enumerators and supervisors;
- Testing of the questionnaires;
- Supervision of data collection activity;
- Overall coordination of the field work;
- Use of SPSS software for data analysis;

### **2.2.7. Ethical considerations**

In many societies (Rwanda included), corruption and related malpractices are crimes that are punishable and a set of mechanisms have been put in place to curb those behaviours. Researching corruption proves therefore very sensitive as it involves the discussion of personal experience with and perception of such illegal behaviours. Moreover, participants are led to refer to cases of corruption in which their institutions and some powerful people including their bosses or leaders are involved. Researchers' search of knowledge should not therefore go against some ethical principles including the obligation to avoid hurting or embarrassing the respondents as well as respecting their privacy. For the purpose of this study on risks of corruption in media, a number of ethical measures were taken as follows:

- ✓ A verbal informant consent was requested from respondents after a self-introduction of the enumerator/interviewer and a thorough explanation of the research objectives, the use of data and information from the research, and their right to withdraw or not respond any question they do not feel comfortable with;
- ✓ Confidentiality and anonymity were granted to all participants in the study
- ✓ The research tools and methodology were reviewed and validated by members of an ad hoc Steering Committee
- ✓ The research protocol was reviewed and approved by the National Institute of Statistics of Rwanda (NISR).

### 3. BRIEF LEGAL AND CONCEPTUAL OVERVIEW OF CORRUPTION IN MEDIA

#### 3.1. Defining corruption

Various definitions have been given to the term “corruption”. There seems to be no consensual definition of this concept due to the fact that some scholars and institutions define it on the basis of various forms (actions) it takes, while others define it according to its content. According to World Bank, corruption consists in “abuse of public office for private gain”<sup>9</sup>. The same institution argues “*Public office is abused for private gain when an official accepts, solicits, or extorts a bribe. It is also abused when private agents actively offer bribes to circumvent public policies and processes for competitive advantage and profit. Public office can also be abused for personal benefit even if no bribery occurs, through patronage and nepotism, the theft of state assets, or the diversion of state revenues*”.

As Ibrahim Shihata, quoted by World Bank<sup>10</sup> put it in cases of corruption, “*a position of trust is being exploited to realize private gains beyond what the position holder is entitled to*”. In the same vein, Shihata contends that “*Attempts to influence the position holder, through the payment of bribes or an exchange of benefits or favours, in order to receive a special gain or treatment not available to others is also a form of corruption, even if the gain involved is not illicit under applicable law*”.

However, this definition looks at corruption as a public sector phenomenon as if it does not occur in other sectors of societies life. As Jenny Balboa and Erlinda M. Medalla put it, “*while corruption is commonly attributed to the public sector, it also exists in other aspects of governance, such as political parties, private business sector, and NGO*”<sup>11</sup>.

In Rwanda, corruption is defined by article 633 of the penal code <sup>12</sup>. This term, considered as a criminal behaviour, covers a range of acts as follows:

- any act of abuse of a position, power or honour one enjoys within a state organ, in a public or private institution, in a foreign company or international organization working in the country, or power conferred by any other function

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<sup>9</sup>World Bank, Helping Countries Combat Corruption: The Role of the World Bank. 2. Corruption and Economic Development, retrieved at

<http://www1.worldbank.org/publicsector/anticorrupt/corruptn/cor02.htm>

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Jenny Balboa and Erlinda M. Medalla, “Anti-Corruption and Governance: The Philippine Experience”, submitted to APEC Study Center Consortium Conference Ho Chi Minh City, Viet Nam 23-24 May 2006, p.3, retrieved at [http://www.apec.org.au/docs/06ascc\\_hcmc/06\\_9\\_1\\_balboa.pdf](http://www.apec.org.au/docs/06ascc_hcmc/06_9_1_balboa.pdf)

<sup>12</sup> Organic Law N° 01/2012/OL of 02/05/2012 Instituting the Penal Code

which is used contrary to the law, by giving to oneself, giving to others or requiring an illegal benefit or a service contrary to the law;

- any act leading to the accumulation of property without legal justification;
- using a person with a position, power or honour mentioned above (see point 1 above) in order to benefit from an illegal advantage or a service contrary to the law;
- giving or agreeing to give a gift in cash or any other illegal benefit, for the provision of a service or act in unlawful way or to reward the provider of the service or act rendered, either by the recipient or an intermediary;
- requiring, receiving or accepting to receive a gift in cash or any other illegal benefit for the provision of a service in an unlawful way or to be rewarded once the service is provided or the act is done either by the recipient or an intermediary.

This definition has the advantage of not restricting corruption to a particular sector of a society life (public, private, etc.). Additionally, it attempts to describe most of acts that constitute corruption.

### **3.2. Legal, policy and institutional framework on corruption in Rwanda**

Rwanda has established zero-tolerance to corruption as a national value. It has a legal, policy and institutional framework, which indicate that the country is highly committed to combatting corruption.

In 2012, an anti-corruption policy was adopted with the aim of setting “*an ambitious agenda to achieve a public service that: appreciates and embraces integrity; accepts the need for transparency and accountability; ensures full compliance with regulatory and legal requirements*”<sup>13</sup>. In the same vein, the policy “*seeks a well-informed public that demands high standards from public officials and a private sector that operates on a level playing field and acts as a partner in the fight against corruption*”<sup>14</sup>.

Moreover, Rwanda has a range of laws that clearly criminalize corruption and put in place a set of mechanisms and institutions to curb it. These include the following:

- The constitution of the Republic of Rwanda which, in article 32, provides that “*Any act intended to cause sabotage, vandalism, corruption, embezzlement, squandering or any tampering with public property shall be punishable by law*”<sup>15</sup>.

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<sup>13</sup> Office of the Ombudsman, Rwanda Anti-Corruption Policy, June, 2012, p.3

<sup>14</sup> ibidem

<sup>15</sup> The constitution of Rwanda of 2003 as amended to date,

- Law n° 23/2003 of 07/08/2003, relating to prevention, repression and punishment of corruption and related offences. The aim of the law is to “*prevent, suppress and punish corruption and related offences committed in service sector organs, public and private institutions as well as in non-governmental organizations*”<sup>16</sup>.
- Law n° 12/2007 of 27/03/2007 on public procurement. Art.4 emphasises that “*Public procurement shall be governed by the following fundamental principles: 1° transparency; 2° competition; 3° economy; 4° efficiency; 5° fairness; 6° accountability*”.
- Organic law n° 61/2008 of 10/09/2008 on the leadership code of conduct. The law aims to “*provide for minimum standard of behavior and conduct for leaders in the country in order to gain moral authority capable of leading society in a manner respectable of the law*”<sup>17</sup>.
- N°05/2013 du 13/02/2013 modifying and completing the Law n°12/2007 of 27/03/2007 on Public Procurement

In addition to these laws and policy, the government of Rwanda has established a range of institutions that are meant to contribute in curbing corruption in this country. Some are so important that they are provided for by the Constitution. Others were set up on the basis of various laws. They include but not limited to the following:

- **The Office of the Ombudsman:** Provided for by Art. 182 of the Constitution of Rwanda of 2003 as amended to date. The responsibility of the Office consists, among others, in “*preventing and fighting against injustice, corruption and other related offences in public and private administration*”.
- **The Office of the Auditor General of State Finances (OAG):** art.183. The Office of the Auditor General of State Finances is an independent national institution responsible for the audit of state finances and patrimony. According to Art.184, “*without prejudice to the provisions of Article 79 of this Constitution, the Office of the Auditor General for State Finances shall submit each year to each Chamber of Parliament, prior to the commencement of the session devoted to the examination of the budget of the following year, a complete report on the balance sheet of the State budget of the previous year. This report must indicate the manner in which the budget was utilized, unnecessary expenses which were incurred or expenses which were contrary to the law and whether there was misappropriation or general squandering of public funds*”.
- **Rwanda Public Procurement Authority (RPPA):** established by the law n°25/2011 of 30/6/2011 establishing Rwanda Public Procurement Authority (RPPA) and determining its mission, organization and functioning. One of its missions as stated in art.3 is to “*control activities of awarding public contracts and their execution; to develop professionalism of the staff involved in public procurement*”.

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<sup>16</sup> Article 1

<sup>17</sup> Article 1

- **National Public Prosecution Authority (NPPA):** provided for by the Constitution, and whose responsibility is “*inter alia, for the investigation and prosecution of crimes committed in whole country*”.
- **Parliamentary Public Accounts Committee (PAC):** a parliamentary committee, established in 2011, PAC will be responsible for “*examining and investigating financial misconduct within public institutions, and report cases of misuse of public funds to the plenary to decide on punitive measures*”<sup>18</sup>.
- **Rwanda National Police (RNP),** provided for by 170 of the Constitution of Rwanda as amended to date.

### 3.3. Media and corruption

#### 3.3.1. Dichotomous status of media

Media have been viewed as the fourth Estate or fourth branch of the government<sup>19</sup>. This is due to the role played by media in overseeing the government. Effective media therefore stand as watchdogs. A free press is not a luxury. James D. Wolfenson argues that “*A free press is at the absolute core of equitable development, because if you cannot enfranchise poor people, if they do not have a right to expression, if there is no searchlight on corruption and inequitable practices, you cannot build the public consensus needed to bring about change*”<sup>20</sup>.

Investigative journalism worth its name has always contributed in researching and reporting cases of corruption, thus feeding the work of the judiciary. Their role in this regard has also consisted in educating the general public about corruption.

As Transparency International puts it, “*there is a broad consensus that a free press helps curbing corruption by improving ‘citizens’ accessibility to information which in turn makes it more difficult for politicians and public servants to get away with corrupt behaviours*”<sup>21</sup>. The same author argues that “*in particular, the media plays a key role in exposing corruption and raising general awareness of its detrimental effect upon society, as well as in promoting integrity and accountability norms, values and practices in society*”<sup>22</sup>.

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<sup>18</sup> Musoni Edwin, “Parliament establishes Public Accounts Committee” in *The New Times*, April 29, 2011, <http://www.newtimes.co.rw/section/article/2011-04-29/30699/>

<sup>19</sup> Rachel Lubberda, *The Fourth Branch of the Government: Evaluating the Media's Role in Overseeing the Independent Judiciary*, 22 *Notre Dame J.L. Ethics & Pub. Pol'y* 507 (2008). Available at: <http://scholarship.law.nd.edu/ndjlepp/vol22/iss2/11>

<sup>20</sup> Quoted by *Driving Democracy – Chapter 8: The Fourth Estate*, 2007 retrieved at <http://www.hks.harvard.edu/fs/pnorris/Acrobat/Driving%20Democracy/Chapter%208.pdf>

<sup>21</sup> Mendes Mara, U4 Expert Answer: Overview of corruption in the media in developing countries, Transparency International, 2013, p.2, retrieved at <http://www.u4.no/publications/overview-of-corruption-in-the-media-in-developing-countries/>

<sup>22</sup> *ibidem*

By playing those roles, media have been largely recognised as a partner in fighting corruption both in public and private sector including the civil society.

Given its role in the fight against corruption, media need to be corruption free to be able to fight it effectively. Nonetheless, to the best of our knowledge, the role of corruption in media has been almost overlooked. There is a paucity of relevant literature on corruption from this perspective. This was also noted by Transparency International, which asserts that “*the literature on corruption and the media primarily focuses on the role of the media in fighting corruption and there is very limited research on corruption in the media*”<sup>23</sup>.

However, Norris and Odugbemi, quoted by Transparency International, contend, “*the media can be hampered to fulfil its role as a watchdog by obstacles such as restrictions on press freedom, market failures, lack of professional standards, weak civil society, and limitations in media literacy and public access to the media*”<sup>24</sup>. In the same vein, corruption in the media is likely to further undermine the role that the media can play in fighting corruption and promoting public accountability in case of other challenges such as lack of training and technical skills, low professional standards, limited financial resources, inadequate legal frameworks and an undemocratic political system<sup>25</sup>. Major factors affecting corruption in media may include among others, media regulations, media ownership, as well as resources and capacity. These factors are likely to put the media’s integrity and autonomy at risk and make them vulnerable to corruption<sup>26</sup>.

### 3.3.2. Types of corruption in media

Corruption manifests itself through various types. Depending on the society and the sector in which it occurs, some types tend to be immediately seen as corruption, while others appear to be disguised and sometimes “tolerated” by members of the society. As far as media are concerned, Transparency International summarises media-based corruption, non-exhaustively, in four clusters as follows<sup>27</sup>:

**Bribery:** involves journalists, editors and media houses accepting bribes and paid material disguised as news stories, or extorting money either for publishing favourable stories or for not publishing damaging ones.

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<sup>23</sup>idem. p.1

<sup>24</sup>Idem.p.2

<sup>25</sup>Transparency International. 2003. Global Corruption Report 2003, retrieved [http://archive.transparency.org/publications/gcr/gcr\\_2003#download](http://archive.transparency.org/publications/gcr/gcr_2003#download)

<sup>26</sup> Mendes Mara, op.cit. p.2

<sup>27</sup>Mendes Mara, U4 Expert Answer: Overview of corruption in the media in developing countries, Transparency International, 2013, p.5-6, retrieved at <http://www.u4.no/publications/overview-of-corruption-in-the-media-in-developing-countries/>



***Gifts and advertisement:*** Giving gifts and placing advertisements in the media can be alternative ways to influence media reporting in favour of private or political interests. This type of corruption often involves media practitioners whose salaries and overall working conditions are very low.

***Nepotism:*** is encountered when hiring or firing staff or publishing a feature by considering family relationship (relatives), friendship (acquaintances/closeness) in lieu of any objective criteria. This form of media corruption can have a direct influence on the media coverage.

***Favouritism:*** is defined as the practice of giving unfair preferential treatment to one person or group at the expense of another.

***Media capture:*** As mass media are often the most important source of information on public affairs for citizens, they represent an important means of manipulating public opinion for private or political interests. Media capture is a present or latent risk in less democratised societies, with attempt by either private or governmental interests to capture the media for their own benefit.

### **3.4. Legal and institutional framework on corruption and media in Rwanda**

As discussed above, corruption is criminalised in the Rwandan law. It is punishable under the Rwanda Penal code. However, no instrument regulating media in Rwanda does therefore put an emphasis on corruption as a media offence or unethical practice. Two major laws govern the profession of media in Rwanda:

- Law n°02/2013 of 08/02/2013 Regulating Media
- Law n° 04/2013 of 08/02/2013 Relating to Access to Information. In its art.12, the law states that “*notwithstanding the provisions of Article 6 of this Law, a journalist shall have free access to all sources of information and the right to freely inquire on all events of public life, and to publish them in respect of the provisions of this Law and other Laws*”.

Beyond the laws above, it is worth mentioning some institutions are provided for by the laws in terms of regulating the exercise of media profession in Rwanda. Some of them have a regulatory responsibility while others are meant to play a promotion role. They include the following:

- ***Rwanda Media Commission*** (RMC): provided for by the Law N°02/2013 of 08/02/2013 Regulating Media. Art.2 mentions a “Media Self-Regulatory Body”, which is “an organ set up by journalists themselves whose responsibility is to ensure compliance with the principles governing media and to defend the general interest”.

In its art.3, the media law indicates “a Rwandan journalist, whether exercising the profession of journalism in a registered media company or a freelance, or a representative of a foreign media organ in Rwanda, shall be given accreditation by the Media Self-Regulatory Body”. Moreover, art.4. states that “the daily functioning of media and the conduct of journalists shall be regulated by the Media Self-Regulatory Body”.

- ***Rwanda Utilities Regulatory Agency (RURA)***: Although established by a different law, this public institution is mentioned by the Law N°02/2013 of 08/02/2013 Regulating Media . Art. 2, paragraph 2 states that the national utilities statutory regulator shall also carry out the regulation of audio, audio-visual media and Internet. In this regard, art. 18 provides that “An audio, visual or audio-visual media organ may broadcast on its line a program of another audio, visual or audio-visual media organ in accordance with modalities set by a national utilities statutory regulator”.
- ***Media High Council***: established by the Law N°03/2013 of 08/02/2013 Determining the Responsibilities, Organisation, and Functioning of the Media High Council (MHC). Art.2 states that MHC “is an independent institution responsible for media capacity building”. Some of its responsibilities include:
  1. to advocate for media capacity building;
  2. to build partnership with other institutions in a bid to mobilize resources for media capacity building;
  3. to conduct regular research enabling to build media capacities;
  4. to participate in initiating and implementing policies and strategies to develop the media sector;
- ***Rwanda Governance Board (RGB)*** Established by the law No 41/2011 of 30/09/2011, RGB is managed in accordance with Organic law No 06/2009 of 21st December 2009 establishing general provisions governing public institutions functioning and administration. RGB plays an oversight central government role of media sector policy development in Rwanda. This mandate is fulfilled under the department of “***Media development, advocacy and reforms***” which was transferred from the former Ministry of Information.

## 4. PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

While the preceding chapters described the background, objectives and methodology of this study, this chapter presents the main findings of the study. After a description of selected socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents, the chapter focuses on respondents' perception and experience of corruption involving media in Rwanda.

### 4.1. Socio-demographics

**Table 2: Distribution of respondents by province**

	Media Practitioners		Stakeholders	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
<b>Kigali City</b>	326	84.0%	836	76.5%
<b>Western</b>	12	3.1%	54	4.9%
<b>Eastern</b>	7	1.8%	73	6.7%
<b>Northern</b>	14	3.6%	65	5.9%
<b>Southern</b>	29	7.5%	65	5.9%
<b>Total</b>	388	100.0%	1093	100.0%

The large majority of respondents in both categories are based in the City of Kigali. One of major explanations for this is that most of media practitioners are established in the capital city. This is the same for the category of stakeholders whose majority live in the same setting. They include mainly government institutions, civil society organisations (CSOs) and members of the private sector as shown in the table below.

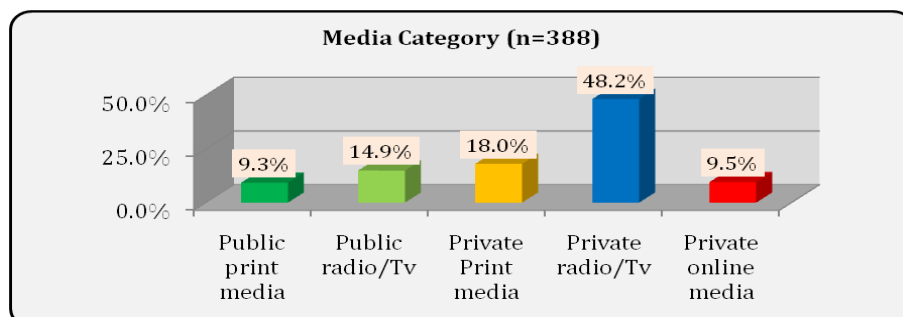
**Table 3: Distribution of respondents by type of institution**

	Frequency	Percent
<b>Media</b>	388	26.2%
<b>CSO</b>	255	17.2%
<b>Public</b>	338	22.8%
<b>Private</b>	500	33.8%
<b>Total</b>	1481	100.0%

Overall, around one fourth of respondents are media practitioners (26.2%), while one third (33.8%) are media stakeholders from the Private sector. Others include nearly one third

(23.8%) of stakeholders from the Public sector, and smaller proportion of stakeholders from the Civil society.

**Table 4: Distribution of respondents by media category**



Private radio and TV stations appear to be predominant. Close to 5 in 10 of respondents come from this media category. Since a couple of years, Rwanda saw a significant proliferation of audio and visual media, while it used to have one radio station (Radio Rwanda) operating since 1963, that is, one year after the accession of the country to its independence<sup>28</sup>, and TVR established in 1992<sup>29</sup>. In small proportions, other participating categories of media include private print media (close to 2 in 10), public radio/tv, and public print and private online media.

**Table 5: Distribution of respondents by gender**

	Media Practitioners		Stakeholders	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
<b>Male</b>	287	74.0%	704	64.4%
<b>Female</b>	101	26.0%	389	35.6%
<b>Total</b>	<b>388</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>1093</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

In both categories, the proportions of men appear to be largely higher than those of women. Around 7 in 10 of media practitioners are male and 6 in 10 of stakeholders are male. Based on this data, one can argue that women remain underrepresented in media sector (below 26%). This finding is supported by a study conducted by Media High Council (MHC) on “Media Business Growth with Capacity Needs Assessment”. It suggested that “*out of the total*

<sup>28</sup> Hitimana Emmanuel, “Amwe mu mateka n’icyerekezo by’Ikigo k’Igihugu cy’Itangazamakuru ORINFOR” in *Itangazamakuru*, retrieved at <http://www.itangazamakuru.com/index.php/2011/10/amateka/>

<sup>29</sup> Makuruki.rw “Televiziyo zikomeje kwiyongera ku bwinshi mu Rwanda! Menya amateka atangaje ya Televiziyo nyarwanda!” , kuwa 12-05-2014 saa 02h51 <http://makuruki.rw/spip.php?article121>

respondents investigated in online media overwhelming majority (90.5%) of them were males, whereas about 9.5 per cent were found to be females. 75.9% men, and 24.1% female journalists in print media, 71.9 men and 28.1% female journalists in radio stations, 60% men and 40% women journalists on Television, 94.7% editors are men while 5.3% are female. In community radios, 73.7% are men while 26.3% are female”<sup>30</sup>

This proves very challenging in Rwanda which, since a couple of years, has impressed the world with a very high political will and commitment to promote gender equality, and whose constitution provides for a minimum representation of women in decision-making organs (30%).

**Table 6: Distribution of respondents by age**

	Media Practitioners		Stakeholders	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
<b>18-24</b>	52	13.4%	102	9.3%
<b>25-29</b>	144	37.1%	266	24.3%
<b>30-34</b>	96	24.7%	276	25.3%
<b>35-39</b>	40	10.3%	173	15.8%
<b>40-44</b>	36	9.3%	152	13.9%
<b>45-49</b>	13	3.4%	63	5.8%
<b>50-54</b>	3	0.8%	29	2.7%
<b>55-59</b>	4	1.0%	22	2.0%
<b>60 and +</b>			10	0.9%
<b>Total</b>	<b>388</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>1093</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Media sector seems to be largely occupied by young people. Cumulatively, around 8 in 10 respondents in this category are younger than 40. In the same vein, the data also suggests that 5 in 10 respondents are aged below 30. It can be argued that young people are increasingly graduating from higher learning education in study fields that are almost new in Rwanda (established after 1994) such as media, journalism and communication studies, as well as information technologies. Those young people are more likely to be conversant with modern media technologies and requirements, therefore having more chance to be hired by media organs. In the same vein, Media High Council’s study supports this argument as it contends “the younger generation has comparative interest in working in all categories of media compared to other age groups”<sup>31</sup>. This organisation adds “older people still have places as editors as it has been noticed in age group of 31-40 years”.

<sup>30</sup> Media High Council (2014) *Media Business Growth with Capacity Needs Assessment*, Kigali, p. 25-26

<sup>31</sup> *Idem*, p.27

**Table 7: Distribution of respondents by highest level of education attained**

	Media Practitioners		Stakeholders	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Primary Only	6	1.6%	26	2.4%
Secondary Only	52	13.7%	213	19.7%
Higher Learning or University Degree	321	84.7%	840	77.8%
Total	379	100.0%	1079	100.0%
Missing	9		14	

It is interesting to notice that around 8 in 10 media practitioners who participated in this study have at least a higher learning/university degree. The proportion of media stakeholders with such an education level is also high but slightly lower (77.8%) than that of media practitioners. This finding suggests a revolution in the landscape of media in Rwanda from an education viewpoint. The impressive level of education among Rwandan media practitioners was also highlighted by the study conducted by Media High Council whereby “most of journalists interviewed have bachelor’s degree at a proportion of 73.9% in online media, 74.2% in print media, 79.4% in Radios stations, 60% on TV, 84.6% among editors and 78.9% in community based media”<sup>32</sup>.

## 4.2. Perception on Corruption in Media sector in Rwanda

### 4.2.1. Awareness of corruption in media

**Figure 2: Stated reasons why bribery has not been paid**

	Media Practitioners		Stakeholders	
	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>
<b>Yes</b>	388	100.0%	1093	100.0%
<b>No</b>	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>388</b>	100.0%	1093	100.0%

As in other sectors and elsewhere around the world, corruption in media is not unknown. Both media practitioners and media stakeholders are aware of corruption malpractices involving media. Qualitative data has also supported this finding. All media practitioners interviewed maintained that corruption exists in this sector. In the words of one journalist

<sup>32</sup>Media High Council, *op.cit.* p.28

“based on various forms of corruption, I notice that it actually exists in our media sector”. Forms of that corruption are examined in the table below.

#### 4.2.2. Perceived forms of corruption and their levels in the Rwandan media

**Table 8: Perceived level of each of the forms of corruption in media in Rwanda**

	<i>Forms of corruptions in Media in Rwanda</i>		<i>Not Existing</i>	<i>Very Low</i>	<i>Low</i>	<i>High</i>	<i>Very High</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Score</i>
<b>Media Practitioners</b>	<b>Money</b>	N	34	16	88	108	103	349	<b>2.66</b>
		%	9.7%	4.6%	25.2%	30.9%	29.5%	100.0%	<b>66.5%</b>
	<b>Gift-giving (in kind)</b>	N	72	30	60	44	19	225	<b>1.59</b>
		%	32.0%	13.3%	26.7%	19.6%	8.4%	100.0%	<b>39.8%</b>
	<b>Sex based corruption</b>	N	71	35	75	53	30	264	<b>1.76</b>
		%	26.9%	13.3%	28.4%	20.1%	11.4%	100.0%	<b>43.9%</b>
	<b>Favouritism</b>	N	51	22	68	68	51	260	<b>2.18</b>
		%	19.6%	8.5%	26.2%	26.2%	19.6%	100.0%	<b>54.4%</b>
<b>Nepotism</b>	N	54	15	56	70	86	281	<b>2.42</b>	
	%	19.2%	5.3%	19.9%	24.9%	30.6%	100.0%	<b>60.6%</b>	
<b>Coercion/extortion</b>	N	82	41	53	43	24	243	<b>1.53</b>	
	%	33.7%	16.9%	21.8%	17.7%	9.9%	100.0%	<b>38.3%</b>	
<b>Media stakeholders</b>	<b>Money</b>	%	79	32	152	320	362	945	<b>2.90</b>
		N	8.4%	3.4%	16.1%	33.9%	38.3%	100.0%	<b>72.6%</b>
	<b>Gift-giving (in kind)</b>	%	271	50	140	113	58	632	<b>1.43</b>
		N	42.9%	7.9%	22.2%	17.9%	9.2%	100.0%	<b>35.6%</b>
	<b>Sex-based corruption</b>	%	211	62	149	170	150	742	<b>1.98</b>
		N	28.4%	8.4%	20.1%	22.9%	20.2%	100.0%	<b>49.5%</b>
	<b>Favouritism</b>	%	198	40	150	170	116	674	<b>1.95</b>
		N	29.4%	5.9%	22.3%	25.2%	17.2%	100.0%	<b>48.7%</b>
	<b>Nepotism</b>	%	171	21	130	234	243	799	<b>2.45</b>
		N	21.4%	2.6%	16.3%	29.3%	30.4%	100.0%	<b>61.2%</b>
<b>Coercion/extortion</b>	%	317	55	121	93	34	620	<b>1.15</b>	
	N	51.1%	8.9%	19.5%	15.0%	5.5%	100.0%	<b>28.7%</b>	

The data suggests that of all forms of corruption existing in the Rwandan media, money appears to be mostly used (66.5% and 72.6% as perceived by media practitioners and media stakeholders respectively). This form of corruption has also consistently been reported in all previous assessments as the most used in various sectors<sup>33</sup>. However, other forms like nepotism, favouritism and gender based corruption were pointed out with significant

<sup>33</sup> See Rwanda Bribery Index 2014, East Africa Bribery Index and Global Corruption Barometer 2013.

proportion of respondents. As one journalist contended “*corruption is also encountered in staff recruitment by media houses. For example, a friend of mine told me about consultant involved in recruiting staff for one local media. Before getting a job, you have to negotiate the amount of bribe you will give him if hired; say if your salary will be worth frw 800,000, you have to grant him frw 200,000 out of that amount*”.

### 4.2.3. Areas that are most prone to corruption in media

**Table 9: Media related areas that are most prone to corruption**

	Media practitioners		Stakeholders	
	Frequency	Percent(n=388)	Frequency	Percent
<b>Accessing adverts</b>	175	45.1%	376	34.4%
<b>Access to information</b>	136	35.1%	315	28.8%
<b>Company registration/licensing</b>	1	0.26%	N/A	N/A
<b>Staff recruitment</b>	140	36.1%	330	30.2%
<b>Opportunities to go in duty /mission</b>	103	26.5%	218	19.9%
<b>Other</b>	3	0.8%		

Corruption in media is seen when the media practitioners are interacting with their partners/clients as well as within the media institutions.

Accessing adverts emerged as the area most prone to corruption according to media practitioners’ perception (45.1%) and stakeholder’s perception (34.4%). Indeed, testimonies were given that the advert contracts with big private companies have usually a clause of never publishing anything that can tarnish their image. This is also the case when it comes to the artist promotion; the special term used for this is “Gutanga hit” meaning that the artists have to give something to the journalists if they want to be regularly invited for a TV show or their masterpiece to be given priority of being aired on radio, TV or online several times.

35.1% and 28.8% of the respondent media practitioners and stakeholders respectively reported a challenge also in equal access to information for journalists. Some institutions do not comply with the access to information law; they only give information to those journalists who can’t criticize them.

However, it is worth mentioning that corruption in media company registration scored very low (less than 1%). This proves encouraging in the sense that registration of a media house/outlet touches the very entry point in media sector, a positive achievement, which deserves to be recognized.



Within the media institutions like in other institutions, issues of corruption in staff recruitment and management such as deployment for a mission outside the institution were also mentioned. Sex-based corruption; favouritism and nepotism were mentioned as other forms of corruption in the process of staff recruitment and grating of employment benefits in the media institutions. This is not an isolated case for the media sector, other surveys on corruption in Rwanda revealed such forms of corruption in other sectors assessed.

#### 4.2.5. Institutions most indulging media in corruption

**Table 10: Institutions that most indulge media in corruption**

	Media practitioners		Stakeholders	
	Frequency	Percent(n=388)	Frequency	Percent
<b>Public institutions (Central Government)</b>	137	35.3%	349	31.9%
<b>Local governments</b>	93	24.0%	256	23.4%
<b>CSOs</b>	75	19.3%	156	14.3%
<b>Private sector institutions</b>	247	63.7%	643	58.8%

Private sector institutions emerge as most indulging media in corruption. The majority of both media practitioners and stakeholders converge on this view. Public institutions (Central Government) come in the second position as indulging media in corruption malpractices, followed by local government. In this regard, during the FGD and interviews, respondents revealed *“There are some journalists who collude with District authorities and ignore ethics of journalism while they are reporting on those districts. Some journalists are even given the names of the mayors with whom they are frequently involved in corruption”*.

CSOs emerge as least inducing corruption in media. In this area, testimony says *“Some CSOs are visible in the media sometimes due to the money disbursed to certain journalists”*.

#### 4.2.6. Public vs Private media vulnerability to corruption

**Table 11: Vulnerability of media corruption (private vs. public)**

	Media practitioners (n= 388)		Stakeholders(n=1093)	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
<b>Private</b>	288 (74.2%)	100(25.8%)	822(75.2%)	271(24.8%)
<b>Public</b>	129(33.2%)	259(66.8%)	290(26.5%)	803(73.5%)

While the preceding table examined the institutions that most indulge media in corruption, the above table looks at Public vs Private media vulnerability to corruption. Private media appears to be most prone to corruption. Data shows high proportions (around 7 in 10) of respondents in both categories, who share this perception. It is often argued that private

media in Rwanda are financially unviable and that some of them are therefore prone to corruption and other unprofessional and unethical practices. Private media express this concern, arguing that their vulnerability is worsened by the fact that most of adverts from government institutions pass largely through public media; therefore preventing private ones from accessing related financial benefits.

**Table 12: Media categories that are most prone to corruption (print, radio, television, online)**

	Media practitioners		Stakeholders	
	Frequency	Percent(n=388)	Frequency	Percent(n=1093)
<b>Print</b>	193	49.7%	603	55.2%
<b>Radio</b>	165	42.5%	407	37.2%
<b>Television</b>	77	19.8%	154	14.1%
<b>Online</b>	81	20.9%	127	11.6%

Print media emerge as most prone to corruption. Close to 5 in 10 respondents from media practitioners and a slightly higher proportion from media stakeholders support this view. The second category most prone to corruption is Radio stations. As far as electronic media is concerned, FGDs and interviews support that corruption seems to increase as expressed in the following testimony of a respondent *“The trend of corruption grows mostly in electronic media including website where there is [an] increasing interaction with the public”*.

### 4.3. Prevalence of corruption in media

While the preceding section examined respondents' perception of corruption in the Rwandan media, the present section focuses on assessing respondents' experience with corruption.

#### 4.3.1. Personal experience of corruption in media

**Table 13: Respondents who encountered media related cases of corruption in the past 12 months**

	Media practitioners		Stakeholders	
	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>
<b>Yes</b>	113	29.1%	183	16.7%
<b>No</b>	275	70.9%	910	83.3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>388</b>	100.0%	<b>1093</b>	100.0%

The data suggests that close to 3 participating media practitioners and nearly 2 in 10 media stakeholders have personally experienced corruption in media over the past 12 months. Although the perceived level of different forms of corruption was high as shown in tables 10 above, the proportions of respondents who personally experienced corruption in media prove to be low in both categories of respondents. Indeed, personal experiences of corruption are often underreported in surveys because corruption is illegal, thus punishable by the law and therefore whoever is found to be involved in such behaviours will be punished. However, those proportions stand to be the highest among other studies with similar methodology<sup>34</sup>.

#### 4.3.2. Forms of corruption personally experienced

**Table 14: Forms of corruption personally experienced by respondents**

Form	Media practitioners		Stakeholders	
	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>% (n=113)</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>% (n=183)</i>
<b>Money</b>	80	70.8%	128	69.9%
<b>Gift-giving ( in kind)</b>	9	8.0%	15	8.2%
<b>Sex based corruption</b>	9	8.0%	27	14.8%
<b>Favouritism</b>	10	8.8%	24	13.1%
<b>Nepotism</b>	14	12.4%	27	14.8%

<sup>34</sup> Analysis of professionalism and accountability of Courts for a sound rule of law in Rwanda, TI-RW, 2015

<b>Coercion/extortion</b>	16	14.2%	10	5.5%
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Again, money emerges as the form of corruption most encountered by respondents in both categories. Around 7 in 10 respondents from both categories who encountered cases of corruption in media over the past 12 months experienced this form. Other forms including nepotism, coercion, favouritism and sex-based corruption were also mentioned, though in very small proportions. One should also note that 14.2% of media practitioners encountered cases of corruption through coercion. Though in small proportion, this proves to so worrying that it can even affect both psychological and physical integrity of people.

### 4.3.3. Passive versus active corruption

**Table 15: Proportions of bribe demanded and bribe proposed**

	Media practitioners		Stakeholders	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
<b>Demanded</b>	86	76.1%	137	74.9%
<b>Proposed</b>	27	23.9%	46	25.1%
<b>Total</b>	113	100.0%	183	100.0%

The large majority of respondents (around 7 in 10 from both categories) suggest that corruption was demanded. This finding implies that active corruption is much higher than passive one. These findings may be explained by the fact that each category of respondents has interests in entering into corruption behaviours.

### 4.3.4. Resisting or paying bribe when demanded or proposed

**Table 16: Proportion of respondents who paid bribe after it was demanded**

	Media practitioners		Stakeholders	
	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>
<b>Yes</b>	39	47.0%	77	57.0%
<b>No</b>	44	53.0%	58	43.0%
<b>Total</b>	83	100.0%	135	100.0%

Considerable proportions of people who are indulged (demanded) in corruption do pay it as requested. Close to 5 in 10 and 6 in 10 media practitioners and media stakeholders respectively have paid corruption when it was demanded. This indicates how it is still difficult for people who encounter corruption demand to resist it, especially in case of a win-win situation. This challenges the effectiveness of anti-corruption campaigns so far conducted, and that of the institutions put in place to curb this economic plague. The

proportion of media stakeholders who do not resist demanded corruption stands higher than that of media practitioners. One can argue that due to the power of media to publish news and reach the public, stakeholders tend to be in a higher need of media practitioners than the latter (media) would need stakeholders.

**Table 17: Amount of bribe paid by respondents following a demand**

Media practitioners		Stakeholders	
Number of bribe payers	Amount	Number of bribe payers	Amount
1	5,000	2	5,000
5	10,000	5	10,000
4	20,000	1	13,000
3	30,000	5	15,000
1	40,000	9	20,000
4	50,000	4	25,000
1	80,000	4	30,000
4	100,000	1	35,000
1	150,000	1	40,000
5	200,000	20	50,000
1	250,000	2	60,000
1	260,000	1	70,000
1	300,000	11	100,000
2	500,000	2	150,000
2	1,000,000	4	200,000
1	1,250,000	1	250,000
2	1,500,000	1	300,000
		1	500,000
		1	2,000,000
		1	4,000,000
<b>Total Amount Demanded and Paid(39)</b>	<b>10,155,000</b>	Total Amount Demanded and Paid(77)	<b>11,063,000</b>
<b>Average Bribe Demanded and Paid</b>	<b>260,385</b>	<b>Average Bribe Demanded and Paid</b>	<b>143,675</b>

The study suggests important amounts of corruption paid following a demand. These amounts stand at Frw 10,155,000 (i.e. USD 13,540) and Frw 11,063,000 (i.e. USD 14,750) solely for the media practitioners and stakeholders respectively participating in the survey. Given that the study involved a sample of media practitioners and stakeholders, the total amounts paid for a demanded bribe prove obviously higher than those revealed by this survey. The average amounts paid per person for each demanded bribe are also considerable.

They stand at Frw 260,385 (i.e. USD 347) and Frw 143,675 (i.e. USD 192). Although the total amount paid for demanded bribe is slightly higher in media stakeholders than in media practitioners, the average bribe demanded and paid by media practitioners is almost the double of that paid by stakeholders.

**Table 18: Proportions of those accepting bribe after being proposed**

	Media practitioners		Stakeholders	
	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percent</i>
<b>Yes</b>	18	78.3%	16	35.6%
<b>No</b>	5	21.7%	29	64.4%
<b>Total</b>	<b>23</b>	100.0%	<b>45</b>	100.0%

The data suggests that close to 8 in 10 media practitioners involved in active corruption found their bribe received, versus 35.6% among media stakeholders. However, the total number of respondents proves too small to draw any significant conclusion.

**Table 19: Amount of bribe proposed and received**

Media practitioners		Stakeholders	
Number of who paid	<i>Amount</i>	<i>Number of who paid</i>	<i>Amount</i>
1	10,000	2	5,000
1	15,000	1	10,000
1	30,000	3	20,000
1	40,000	1	50,000
3	50,000	4	100,000
3	60,000	2	200,000
1	70,000	1	300,000
2	150,000	1	350,000
1	160,000	1	700,000
2	200,000		
1	300,000		
1	400,000		
<b>Total Amount Proposed and Received(39)</b>	<b>2,055,000</b>	Total Amount Proposed and Received(16)	<b>2,280,000</b>
<b>Average Bribe Proposed and Received</b>	<b>114,167</b>	Average Bribe Proposed and Received	<b>126,667</b>

Unlike for the demanded bribe, the total amounts of the proposed bribe and received remain low (Frw 2,055,000 and Frw 2,280,000 respectively). It is almost five times lower than the total amounts of demanded bribe and paid. This depends largely on the fact that the

proportions of participating media practitioners and stakeholders who encountered demanded bribe and paid are much higher than those who experienced proposed bribe and received. Average amounts of bribe proposed and received stand at Frw 114,167 and Frw 126,667 respectively, which are also lower than those of demanded and paid bribe (see the preceding table).

### 4.3.5. Reasons for paying corruption

**Table 20: Reasons for paying corruption**

		Frequency	Percent(n=61)
<b>Media Practitioners</b>	Publishing information	27	44.3%
	Winning an advert/	14	23.0%
	Censoring information	7	11.4%
	Blackmail	5	8.2%
	Hiring a relative (staff recruitment)	4	6.6%
	Employment issue(getting mission or job)	3	4.9%
	Getting a frequency	1	1.6%
	Other	1	1.6%
	.....	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent (125)</b>
<b>Stakeholders</b>	Publishing information	44	35.2%
	Hiring a relative (staff recruitment)	19	15.2%
	Musician promotion	12	9.6%
	Blackmail	11	8.8%
	Winning an advert	9	7.2%
	Censoring information	5	4.0%

Publishing information (44.3%) and winning adverts (23%) emerge as major reasons for which bribe involving media practitioners was actually paid or received. While some media houses need to hunt information for publication, thus remain operational, it seems that some media cannot publish stakeholders' information unless the latter pay bribe to former. It also seems that some media houses pay bribes to get adverts from stakeholders. It is worth reminding that private media have particularly been complaining about not being able to access adverts from government institutions. Such complaints are pointing out issues of favouritism and sometime exchange of money to access to public adverts. Other minor reasons for which corruption was paid or received by media practitioners include censoring information, musician promotion, blackmail, etc.

It emerged from the qualitative phase of this study (FGDs and interviews) that the promotion of musicians is increasingly being affected by corruption involving media. In the

words of a participant, “*It happens that you see a musician whose quality is really poor; and you see that he/she is very praised by media. Why is it so? On another hand, you noticed that the good ones who do not have something to pay or simply proves self-confident is not promoted by media*”.

Corruption involving musicians was also described by a radio broadcaster in these words: “*I often talk to many musicians; when a musician comes to seek your service, you tell him/her give me something; if he/she refuses, you can’t play his/her song. I rather tell my colleague from other radio stations: “let’s punish this musician, he/she does not offer anything”. So my colleagues working with other radio stations put an embargo on his/her music productions”. So you get to notice that these clips are not played by any of the top five radio stations. This is termed “**kukugira ishyamba**”.*

In the same vein, the following testimony from an interview with a musician speaks loud about this reason for corruption: “*recently, a young friend of mine produced a song. He is a novice in the entertainment sector; I think this was his second song. He took his song to one of radio stations here in the city; a journalist he contacted told him to bring him frw 20,000. Obviously this is not a big amount, maybe the journalist noticed that they guy was financially vulnerable. If such an amount was charged from that person, you can imagine how much they can demand from a well-off person. My friend strived to get that amount and handed it to the journalist. However, this journalist changed his mind and said he cannot play the song until my friend pays frw 40,000. The latter eventually gave up*”.

Based on the above anecdotes and testimonies, one can argue that corruption in the Rwandan media is a reality. What do people do when they encounter such corruption involving media? Do they engage in it or resist it? Do they report it or simply quiet it? This is largely examined in the table below.

#### 4.3.6. Behaviours in case of corruption occurrence

**Table 21: Actions taken by those who encountered corruption malpractice**

	Media practitioners		Stakeholders	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent(n=153)
<b>Paid</b>	39	34.5%	77	50.3%
<b>Refrain and no reporting</b>	78	69.0%	67	43.8%
<b>Report to relevant authority</b>	10	8.8%	10	6.5%
<b>Report through media</b>	7	6.2%	8	5.2%

The study reveals that majority of those who were involved in corruption did not report it. Data reveals that among those who encountered corruption, 34.5% and 50.3% of media practitioners and media stakeholders have respectively paid it. However, 69% and 43.8% respectively, refrained from paying bribe, but, interestingly, did not report it.



**Figure 3: Stated reasons why bribery has not been paid**

	Media practitioners	Stakeholders	
	Frequency	Frequency	Percent (n=70)
Was not convinced	1	16	22.9%
Was afraid of consequences	3	27	38.6%
Found it unprofessional	7	25	35.7%
Could not afford it	0	7	10.0%

The biggest proportion of respondents (close to 4 in 10 stakeholders) who did not pay corruption while demanded did fear the consequences. This finding implies that on the one hand a considerable proportion of people have not yet taken corruption as unprofessional and unethical, and that, on the other hand, the existing anti-corruption mechanisms prove somewhat dissuasive. However, a nearly same proportion considers corruption as unprofessional and has therefore refrained from paying it when demanded.

**Table 22: Reasons for not reporting the corruption encountered**

		Frequency	Percent (n=76)
Media practitioners	Did not deem it necessary	24	31.6%
	Fear of consequences	21	27.6%
	No action would follow	10	13.2%
	Not my responsibility	9	11.8%
	Fear of self-incrimination	6	7.9%
	Did not know whom to report to	2	2.6%
	Lack of evidence	2	2.6%
	Advised him	1	1.3%
		Frequency	Percent (n=117)
Stakeholders	Fear of consequences	37	31.6%
	Did not deem it necessary	28	23.9%
	No action would follow	21	17.9%
	Fear of self-incrimination	16	13.7%
	Did not know whom to report to	9	7.7%
	Not my responsibility	8	6.8%
	Others	6	5.1%

The survey suggests that more than 3 in 10 respondents (in both categories) who were demanded to pay bribe did actually pay it (see table 23). It also revealed major reasons for which some respondents did not pay bribe when it was actually demanded, without being

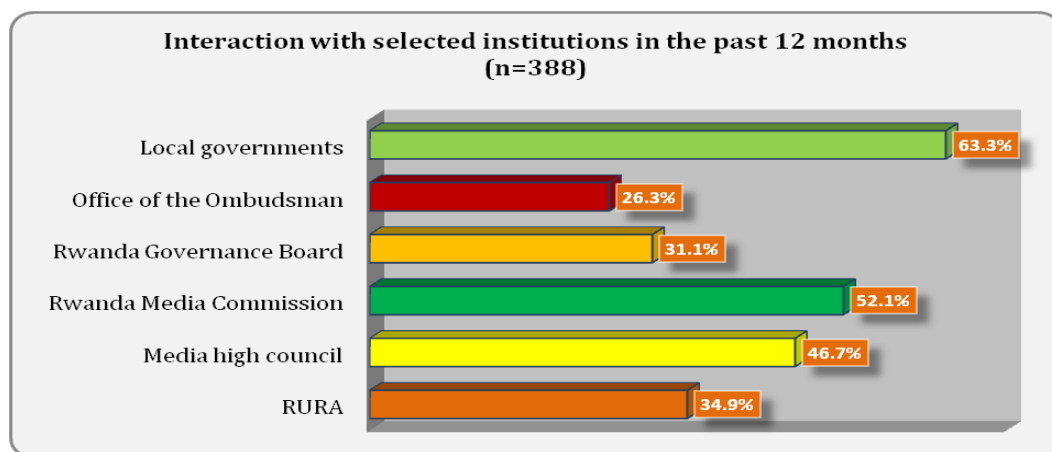
however able to report it to competent institutions. Why do some people prefer to remain quiet about such crimes and let it go unpunished? Again, fear of consequences emerges among major reasons, along with the fact that some people do not feel the necessity to report corruption cases. This implies therefore that some people do not feel safe to report corruption; which challenges either the effectiveness of protecting whistle-blowers, or people’s awareness of the existing protection mechanisms. The feeling that no action would follow the reporting appears to be another reason given by a considerable proportion of respondents who encountered corruption and refrained from paying it, but did not report it. This can also be understood as lack of confidence or low level of information of those who should report towards the existing anti-corruption mechanism.

## 4.4. Corruption in selected media related institutions

Based on the nature of their work, some institutions are believed to be more interactive with media than others are. This section seeks to examine the occurrence of corruption within those institutions. Major institutions considered for this analysis include RURA<sup>35</sup>, Office of the Ombudsman<sup>36</sup>, Rwanda Governance Board (RGB)<sup>37</sup>, Rwanda Media Commission (RMC)<sup>38</sup> and Media High Council (MHC)<sup>39</sup> and local governments<sup>40</sup>.

### 4.4.1. Interaction with selected media related institutions

**Figure 4: Proportion of respondents who interacted with selected media related institutions over the past 12 months**



<sup>35</sup> In charge of radio and TV licensing and frequency allocation

<sup>36</sup> Competent to handle issues pertaining to access to information

<sup>37</sup> In charge of media development ( see <http://www.rgb.rw/departments/media-affairs-and-communication/>)

<sup>38</sup> This is media self-regulatory body, also in charge of media accreditation

<sup>39</sup> In charge of media capacity building

<sup>40</sup> These are decentralized entities in which most of citizens-centered development projects are implemented and attract particularly media sector

Media practitioners appear to be more interacting with local governments than other institutions in the list above. The data indicates that around 6 in 10 participating media practitioners interacted with local governments in the past 12 months. Over the same period, interactions have occurred with other institutions such as RMC, MHC, RURA, RGB and the Office of the Ombudsman. These are institutions whose work has a particular connection with media and therefore involves some interactions with media practitioners in Rwanda. Do such interactions induce media-related corruption? This is examined in the table below.

#### 4.4.2. Corruption occurrence in selected media related institutions

**Table 23: Bribe demanded while interacting with the following institutions**

	Bribe Demanded	Interactions	Percent
<b>RURA</b>	0	118	0.0%
<b>Media high council</b>	0	158	0.0%
<b>Rwanda Media Commission</b>	0	176	0.0%
<b>Rwanda Governance Board</b>	0	105	0.0%
<b>Office of the Ombudsman</b>	0	89	0.0%
<b>Local governments</b>	21	214	9.8%

It is encouraging to notice through this table that institutions in charge of media licensing, media accreditation and media development are corruption free when it comes to dealing with media, as evidenced by the data in this table. Participants in both FGDs and individual interviews seemed to support this finding. However, the data suggests an opposite picture in relation with interaction with local governments. In the latter institutions, corruption occurrence stands at 9.8% among those that interacted with local governments over the past 12 months. Local governments also stand at the third position among the institutions that indulge media in corruption (see table 12 above).

## 4.5. GITI<sup>41</sup>: A particular form of corruption in the media sector

### 4.5.1. Awareness of media practitioners practicing GITI in Rwanda

**Table 24: Proportion of respondents who have heard of GITI practice in Rwandan media**

	Media practitioners		Stakeholders	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
<b>Yes</b>	372	95.9%	756	69.2%
<b>No</b>	16	4.1%	337	30.8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>388</b>	100.0%	<b>1093</b>	100.0%

GITI seems to be a well-known problem within the media sector in Rwanda. Almost all media practitioners are aware of it. In the same vein, close to 7 in 10 participating media stakeholders are aware of this coded form of bribe. How often does this practice occur in media? This is examined in the table below.

### 4.5.2. Frequency of GITI practice

**Table 25: Frequency of GITI in media**

	Media practitioners		Stakeholders	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
<b>Always</b>	60	16.1%	133	17.6%
<b>Often</b>	146	39.2%	248	32.8%
<b>Sometimes</b>	134	36.0%	287	38.0%
<b>Rarely</b>	32	8.6%	88	11.6%
<b>Total</b>	<b>372</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	756	100.0%
<b>Score</b>	<b>2.63</b>	<b>65.7%</b>	<b>2.56</b>	<b>64.1%</b>

GITI seems to be highly frequent with Rwandan media. Its frequency is almost equally perceived by media practitioners and stakeholders (65.7% and 64.1% respectively).

*“Giti should be differentiated from the usual transport facilitation provided in meetings to all participants, journalists included. That one is not Giti and it has no effects on the professionalism of the media. Giti is what is commonly called “Imyanzuro y’inama”, where after every meeting or event, journalists approach the staff in charge of finance asking for money or transport, which was not even budgeted for. This Giti, when not provided, may change the angle or way of reporting the story”*

<sup>41</sup> conditioning the covering of and reporting on an event to a prior payment of so-called transportation fee by the event organiser

*Giti is a real problem here. It occurs when some journalists attend an event and at the end, they threaten the event organiser to give them “transport fee” for fear of diluting or biasing the story on the event. This is corruption because the event organiser who pays bribe will attempt to influence the story content. This is a serious problem. Moreover, it becomes a serious problem keeps intimidating them with the question such as “So what?”*

However, this is done while article 2 of the media code of ethics states that “*the journalist and any other media professional shall abhor lies. They have the obligation to respect facts and search for truth, keeping in mind the public’s right to true information. In no way shall they suppress essential information or distort any kind of remarks, texts and documents*”<sup>42</sup>.

Giti is therefore a common occurrence when seeking information or interview. Understandably this practice generates a space for corruption as it involves a precondition, which may have an impact on the objectivity of reporting about an event or the concerned organisation.

## 4.5. Curbing corruption in media: Effectiveness of related institutions

**Table 26: Corruption in media compared to other major problems faced by media in Rwanda**

	Media practitioners		Stakeholders	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
<b>More Worrying</b>	78	20.5%	265	25.3%
<b>The same</b>	93	24.5%	279	26.7%
<b>Less worrying</b>	209	55.0%	502	48.0%
<b>Total</b>	380	100.0%	1046	100.0%

Although corruption in Rwandan media is among the problems that need to be addressed, as shown by this survey, this does not appear to be among major issues that this sector is faced with. Only less than 3 in 10 participating media practitioners and stakeholders deem corruption as worrying problem than other problems faced. Nearly similar proportions of respondents believe that corruption is as important as major problems faced by this sector. Around 5 in 10 respondents in both categories (55% and 48% respectively) consider corruption as less worrying problem than other issues faced. However, the data seems to indicate that media stakeholders are slightly more highly concerned with corruption in media sector than media practitioners are. Nonetheless, it can also be an indicator that media practitioners are so faced with other critical problems that they minimise that of corruption.

<sup>42</sup> ARFEM, REFO, ARJ, *Code of Ethics Governing Journalists, Other Media Professionals and the Media in Rwanda*, June 2011

**Table 27: Effectiveness of the following institutions in curbing corruption in media in Rwanda**

Institutions		Very Ineffective	Ineffective	Fairly effective	Effective	Very effective	Total	Score	Don't Know
<b>Office of the Ombudsman</b>	n	22	27	67	113	102	331	<b>3.74</b>	43
	%	6.60%	8.20%	20.20%	34.10%	30.80%	100.00%	<b>74.90%</b>	
<b>Rwanda Media Commission</b>	n	33	43	92	115	54	337	<b>3.34</b>	41
	%	9.80%	12.80%	27.30%	34.10%	16.00%	100.00%	<b>66.80%</b>	
<b>Rwanda National Police</b>	n	42	47	96	117	44	346	<b>3.21</b>	32
	%	12.10%	13.60%	27.70%	33.80%	12.70%	100.00%	<b>64.30%</b>	
<b>Media High Council</b>	n	52	48	113	98	22	333	<b>2.97</b>	45
	%	15.60%	14.40%	33.90%	29.40%	6.60%	100.00%	<b>59.40%</b>	
<b>Rwanda National Prosecution Authority</b>	n	49	57	87	59	23	275	<b>2.82</b>	100
	%	17.80%	20.70%	31.60%	21.50%	8.40%	100.00%	<b>56.40%</b>	
<b>Media Practitioners</b>	n	68	69	101	62	11	311	<b>2.61</b>	54
	%	21.90%	22.20%	32.50%	19.90%	3.50%	100.00%	<b>52.20%</b>	

The Office of the Ombudsman and the Rwanda Media Commission emerge as most effective in fighting corruption in media. They are effective at the level of 74.9% and 66.8% as perceived by media stakeholders. Rwanda National Police and the Media High Council are also highly effective (around 60%), while the effectiveness of the Rwanda National Prosecution Authority and Media themselves fall below 60%. One can argue that both bodies seem to be much more focusing on corruption involving citizens and public institutions than the private sector and media.

## 4.6. Causes of corruption

As discussed above, free and independent media are meant to play a watchdog' role vis-à-vis corruption in all sectors of the country's life. It was also found that, despite the paucity of a literature on corruption in the media sector, media are also sometimes involved in corruption malpractices. The findings from this survey have also evidenced this fact. The question is "How do watchdogs find themselves in a situation where they need to be watchdogged?" A couple of driving factors have emerged from this study as follows:

- ***The very nature of media as business-oriented companies:*** Many media outlets are generally established on the basis of generating money instead of being a profession based company. As a result, some media use all possible means, including unethical ones (for instance, corruption) to get money. In the words of a newspaper editor, "*Media houses need money. Despite the ethical part of it, but it is business. How are we going to survive, if we do not earn money?*"
- ***Economically fragile environment that media work in:*** media industry in Rwanda remains economically limited especially due to the limited number of companies and institutions that use advertisement as development strategy. In the same vein, private media keep claiming that in reality, they do not have enough access to adverts from the public sector. Such economic fragility therefore pushes some media houses to involve in corruption "for their survival and in a bid to cover minimum employees' expenses". Some media practitioners maintained that due to this situation, they only work on short-term contract and this does not make them feel safe on job. As a result, they find themselves in a situation where resisting corruption can only be exceptional. "*Sometimes the problem does not rely in the journalists, but their media house. As far as I am concerned, if you tell me to come and cover an event, I advise my chief editor and ask him/her to provide a transport facilitation to get to the event spot. He/she can give a vehicle or transportation fee. I will come to cover the event irrespective of whether you give me money or not. I really don't care. So the problem starts with the media house. Does it grant transportation facilitation to its journalists? That's is where you can trace corruption*"<sup>43</sup>.
- ***Economic fragility of media practitioners:*** Economic vulnerability affects manifestly their staff members. "*Some journalists work on voluntary basis without any remuneration while others get low salaries. The only possible income for them is got through unethical practices, corruption. Example: A media house which has almost 150 staff, but pays only 10 of them monthly salaries*"<sup>44</sup>. In the words of another media practitioner "some media houses are unable to offer their personnel the minimum working conditions for an employee

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<sup>43</sup> Interview with a journalist in Kigali

<sup>44</sup> Interview with a journalist in Kigali

*such as contract, health insurance, social security, salary, etc. How many journalists would resist corruption in such a situation*<sup>45</sup>.

- **Lack of personal integrity.** Irrespective of the tough working conditions or any other circumstances, some media practitioners are not people of integrity. They easily involve in corruption as a result of greed.

## 4.7. Effects of corruption in media

Corruption does not go without consequences. This survey examined major effects of corruption in media in Rwanda. The following have emerged from this exercise:

- **Ruin the country's economy:** Corrupt transactions undermine the efficiency of the economy. For example, nepotism and favouritism, especially in staff recruitment, result in hiring unqualified or incompetent employees who, at the end of the day do not provide quality services to people. In one-way or another, this affects the country's economy as well as the service delivery. For instance, as shown above, the study suggested that the amounts of corruption demanded and paid by respondents stand at Frw 10,155,000 (i.e. USD 13,540) and Frw 11,063,000 (i.e. USD 14,750) by media practitioners and media stakeholders respectively. These amounts are, manifestly, much lower than those paid by many other people who did not fall in the study sample. This proves to be an eloquent example of the extent to which corruption ruins the country's economy.
- **Consuming untruthful/biased news:** as one media stakeholder put it "*when a story is published on the ground of corruption, the truth is hidden from the public*". As a result, publishing untruthful story or news misleads the people (media consumers) and "*quality of media products is lost*".
- **Disrepute of media houses and practitioners:** corruption induced by media houses and media practitioners challenges the integrity and professionalism of those that are involved. In the long run and if not curbed, corruption might affect the image of the whole media sector. In the words of a radio broadcaster: "*Corruption has damaged the image of some print media houses. They are considered as unserious and can't be awarded advertisement tenders*".
- **Employment opportunities granted to unmerited people:**

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<sup>45</sup> Interview in Kigali



- **Penalise people with limited resources:** *“corruption in media gives the power to the well-off and make them truthful falsely”*
- **Frustration and loss of one’s rights:** this is substantiated by the three anecdotes from media practitioners:

*“When you have paid “giti”, your news story is reported or published immediately while when you have not, it may even not be published or broadcast at all”.*

*“On TV, when you’ve not given “giti” to journalists, you may appear on screen with the worst image of you taken in the meeting or even being covered”.*

*“People in the entertainment industry who do not pay this corruption are sometimes put in a kind of quarantine and this is called “kumugira ishyamba””*

Obviously, this is the punishment inflicted to those who resist corruption induced by media practitioners. It therefore brings about frustration to the prejudiced people, in addition to seeing their rights violated.

- **Loss of objectivity in media:** objectivity stands among the core values of any media professional. Corruption in media has emerged as one of the biggest enemies of this value. As one journalist contended:” *in case of corruption, if a story has 4 facets, you will deliberately present 2 facets and drop the two remaining. Objectivity is therefore lost”.* Commenting on this idea, some media practitioners argued that *“corrupt journalists never criticize objectively”* and that *“due to corruption, objectivity in the media is gradually lost”.*

## 5. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Unlike many studies conducted to investigate the role of media as watchdog to the government and other sectors of countries life in relation to governance related-areas such as corruption, the present survey examined corruption in the media with a focus on Rwanda. Specifically, it aimed to:

- Measure the prevalence (personal experience) of corruption in media in Rwanda;
- Measure the level of corruption in media in Rwanda;
- Identify the main forms of corruption in media in Rwanda;
- Examine the causes and consequences of corruption in Rwandan media;
- Identify existing mechanisms to curb corruption in media in Rwanda and their effectiveness;
- Formulate operational recommendations to fight corruption in Rwandan media.

A mix of both quantitative and qualitative approaches was used. Beside a questionnaire used as a quantitative method, various qualitative methods were involved in data collection; they included desk research, individual interviews, focus groups' discussion. The study population consisted in media practitioners and media stakeholders. The former included members of public and private media, those from print, radio, television and online media, while the latter come largely from public, private, civil society and religious institutions. The following emerged among major findings of this study:

- ◆ Corruption in media sector in Rwanda does exist. Both media practitioners and media stakeholders have unanimously heard of corruption malpractices involving media. Qualitative data has also supported this finding.
- ◆ Money-based corruption emerged as most prevalent form of corruption in media sector in Rwanda (66.5% and 72.6%) as testified both by media practitioners and stakeholders respectively. Nepotism emerged as the second highest form of corruption in media (60.6% and 61.2% respectively), followed by favouritism (54.4% and 48.7%) and sex-based corruption (43.9% and 49.5%) as pointed out by significant proportions of respondents.
- ◆ Accessing adverts is the area most prone to corruption according to media practitioners' perception (45.1%) and stakeholder's perception (34.4%). Other areas considerably vulnerable to corruption include staff recruitment, access to information and opportunities to go in mission. Interestingly, media company registration seems to be almost not affected.

- ◆ Private sector institutions emerge as most indulging media in corruption. Public institutions come in the second position, followed by local governments. CSOs stand as least inducing corruption in media.
- ◆ High proportions of both media practitioners (74.2%) and media stakeholders (75.2%) view the private media most prone to corruption. Qualitative data also supports this finding.
- ◆ Institutions in charge of media licensing, media accreditation and media development are corruption free when it comes to dealing with media, as evidenced by the data. Participants in both FGDs and individual interviews seemed to support this finding. However, the data suggests an opposite picture in relation with interaction with local governments. In the latter institution, corruption occurrence stands at 9.8% among those that interacted with local governments over the past 12 months.
- ◆ As far as personal experience with corruption is concerned, close to 3 participating media practitioners and nearly 2 in 10 media stakeholders have personally encountered it over the past 12 months. This seems to be the highest prevalence of corruption ever reported in Rwanda.
- ◆ Money emerges as the type of corruption most encountered by respondents in both categories (70.8% and 69.9% respectively). Other types including nepotism, coercion, favouritism and sex-based corruption were encountered but in very small proportions.
- ◆ Considerable proportions of people from whom corruption was demanded (5 in 10 and 6 in 10) have actually paid it.
- ◆ These amounts demanded and paid stand at Frw 10,155,000 (i.e. USD 13,540) and Frw 11,063,000 (i.e. USD 14,750) only for participating media practitioners and stakeholders respectively. On average, Frw 260,385 (i.e. USD 347) and Frw 143,675 (i.e. USD 192) are paid by a media practitioner and media stakeholder who indulged in a bribe.
- ◆ Publishing information (44.3%), winning adverts (23%) emerge as major reasons for which bribe involving media practitioners was actually paid or received. Other minor reasons for which corruption was paid or received by media practitioners include censoring information, staff recruitment, musician promotion and blackmail.

- ◆ GITI, which is defined by respondents as “conditioning the covering of and reporting on an event to a prior payment of so-called transportation fee by the event organiser”, seems to be a well-known problem within the media sector in Rwanda. Almost all media practitioners are aware of it. Both media practitioners and stakeholders are aware of this (65.7% and 64.1% respectively).
- ◆ In regards to people’s behaviours in case of corruption encounter, the study reveals that reporting corruption remains very problematic in Rwanda. 34.5% and 50.3% respectively paid a bribe. However, 69% and 43.8% respectively, refrained from paying bribe, but, interestingly, did not report it. Surprisingly, only less than 1 in 10 respondents in both categories eventually did not report it at all. Fear of consequences and the feeling that reporting corruption is necessary emerged as major reasons for not reporting it. Moreover, the study reveals considerable proportions of respondents who appear to have no confidence in institutions that are in charge of fighting corruption.
- ◆ Media practitioners are perceived as most effective in fighting corruption in media (67.8% and 68.7% respectively). Rwanda National Prosecution Authority and Media High Council are also highly effective (around 60%), while the effectiveness of Rwanda Media Commission and Rwanda National Police falls slightly below 60%. The Office of Ombudsman and Transparency International Rwanda seem to be lowly effective in this regard, the former standing at around 45% and the latter at around 35%.
- ◆ As far as causes of corruption in media are concerned, the study revealed the very nature of media as business-oriented companies, economically fragile environment that media work in, economic fragility of media practitioners, lack of personal integrity as well as pressure from relatives and friends who want to use media on their own benefit.
- ◆ The study also examined the consequences of corruption in media. Main consequences include: ruin the country’s economy, consuming untruthful/biased news, disrepute of media houses and practitioners, employment opportunities granted to unmerited people, penalise people with limited resources, frustration and loss of one’s rights as well as loss of objectivity in media.
- ◆ GITI, which is defined by respondents as “conditioning the covering of and reporting on an event to a prior payment of so-called transportation fee by the event organiser”, seems to be a well-known problem within the media sector in Rwanda. Almost all media practitioners are aware of it, both media practitioners and

stakeholders acknowledge that they know about this wide-spread practice (65.7% and 64.1% respectively).

In a bid to address some of the challenges and gaps highlighted above, the following actions are therefore recommended:

- Rwanda Media Commission and RURA should strive for compliance with the existing code of ethics for Rwandan media to uproot corruption practice within media.
- Given the level and prevalence of corruption in media as shown by this study, institutions in charge of media development (MHC and RGB) in collaboration with media self-regulation body (RMC) should organise regular trainings on media ethics and professionalism intended to media practitioners in Rwanda.
- Economic vulnerability of the Rwanda media sector emerged among the major causes of corruption in the Rwandan media. The Government of Rwanda, particularly Rwanda Development Board, should initiate measures that are particularly attractive for investors in the media sector. Such measures would include the reduction of the printing cost and other facilities pertaining to media operations, among other things. If implemented, this recommendation can also contribute significantly in mitigating the magnitude of *Giti*, which is still rampant in the media sector.
- The study revealed that many media practitioners work in economically fragile environment, which also shapes the state of corruption in media. Absence of work contract and other minimum working conditions were particularly highlighted among rampant issues in this regard. Rwanda Media Commission should encourage media houses managers to address this issue and regularly monitor the respect of this right.
- Gender-based corruption in media appears to be another form of corruption pointed out by respondents. Rwanda Media Commission, following the example of Gender Desk (Rwanda National Police), the Office of the Ombudsman, Gender Monitoring Office (GMO), and Transparency International Rwanda (TI-Rw) should establish a toll free number for media stakeholders to report such cases of corruption in media if they occur.

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