

Chapter 5

Rwanda

By Real Group Ltd

Summary

Various sources consulted in this report indicate that Rwanda has made remarkable progress in controlling corruption since the 1994 genocide. The country went through a painful process of reconstruction, including rebuilding all governance systems, structures and institutions. Anti-corruption efforts have focused on strengthening the legal and institutional framework, improving government effectiveness, building a strong and competent public service, reforming public finance management systems and prosecuting corrupt officials at all levels of the public sector.

The government is reported to have conducted a robust fight against corruption and has put a number of measures and institutions in place such as the Rwanda Public Procurement Authority, Office of the Ombudsman, Rwanda National Police, National Prosecutor General Authority, Auditor General and Rwanda Revenue Authority. These efforts seem to have yielded results, with the country performing better than many other African countries in terms of control of corruption on most governance indicators.

In spite of these efforts, corruption remains prevalent in the country and there have been instances of embezzlement of tax and public funds, fraudulent procurement practices and judicial corruption as well as high-ranking officials involved in corrupt practices. Sectors most affected by corruption include the judiciary, public finance management, public administration and public procurements.

In seeking effective ways of reducing corruption, Rwanda has adopted a radical rather than incremental approach, focusing on simultaneously strengthening systems on several fronts rather than progressively introducing reforms in selected areas and sectors.

What stands out and probably contributes the most to the successful fight against corruption is the government's clear and public emphasis on zero tolerance of corruption. Sustaining the progress that has been made will depend on continued political will, public awareness and strengthening of public institutions to lead the fight against corruption.

5.1 Introduction

Rwanda made international headlines in 1994 when the genocide – one of the worst tragedies since World War II – claimed an appalling number of victims, left the country shattered and exposed the international community's indifference. During the genocide, an estimated 800,000 people were killed in 100 days.

In spite of the sombre image associated with such a calamity, Rwanda has been able to change its reputation in recent years and, thanks to sustained high growth rates, has increasingly been seen as a development model. Improved governance and political stability are often quoted as key reasons for the country's economic success.

Rwanda was selected as a case study owing to its relatively strong score on Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) in 2014, and also because it has registered a significant improvement in its score on this index over the past decade. The objective of the study is to provide a qualitative analysis of what works in the fight against corruption in the country by identifying the institutions that have taken the lead in reducing corruption and account for the factors – both technical and political – that have enabled these institutions to implement successful anti-corruption strategies.

5.1.1 Methodology

The selected research approach for this case study began with a rigorous literature review of recent publications on corruption in Rwanda, and in Africa in general. The literature included reports, research papers, policy documents and other such materials that are available in the public domain. This provided a great deal of information but it was not entirely current. It was therefore supplemented with key informant interviews to provide more recent and first-hand information from those directly or indirectly involved in the fight against corruption in the country.

A semistructured discussion guide was developed in English and translated into Kinyarwanda and French before being shared with the targeted respondents, who were key authority figures in their respective institutions. The paper also builds on the author's first-hand experience of living and working as a market research practitioner in Rwanda, on direct observation and on countless informal interactions and exchanges of views.

5.1.2 Political and socio-economic context

Rwanda is a small, landlocked country located in central East Africa. A former Belgian colony,¹ its population, according to the 2012 census, is estimated at around 11 million spread over 26,338 square kilometres, making it Africa's most densely populated country. Its gross domestic product (GDP) was estimated in 2016 at US\$8.36 billion (World Bank 2016a) while its GDP per capita was estimated at US\$702.8 (World Bank 2016b).

Despite progress, 44.9 per cent of the population still lives in poverty and 24 per cent in extreme poverty (see National Institute of Statistics 2013/2014), while the UNDP Human Development Index 2012 (UNDP 2013) ranks Rwanda 167th out of 187 countries.

Rwanda is a country at peace and often considered 'among the most stable on the continent' (World Bank 2008). Its GDP has registered an average annual growth rate

of 7–8 per cent since 2003, hitting 8 per cent in 2012, making it the world's 10th fastest-growing economy in the 2000–2010 decade. Extreme poverty is reported to have decreased dramatically.²

The World Bank Doing Business reports indicate that Rwanda improved its world ranking by almost 100 positions from 150th in 2008 to 46th in 2015. A number of socio-economic indicators – including school enrolment, life expectancy, child mortality and prevalence of HIV – have significantly improved (see the World Bank's 2009–2012 World Development Indicators) and the Human Development Index (HDI) has reflected such improvements.³

An important contribution to these achievements has been foreign aid, which has been injected in large quantities by donors since the aftermath of the genocide, making Rwanda a so-called 'aid darling'.⁴ While a discussion on why donors invest so much in the country is well beyond the scope of this paper, the reasons are likely to include guilt for the international community's inaction during the genocide, genuine appreciation of its efficiency at managing aid and achieving poverty-reduction results, the government's ability to use 'donor-friendly language and positioning' and donors' 'desire for African success stories'. What is important to stress here is that overall, thanks to its performance in recent years in economic growth and socio-economic fields, many observers now consider Rwanda a clear success story and even a development model for other countries.⁵

5.2 Combating corruption

For the purposes of this case study, corruption is broadly defined as the abuse of entrusted power for private gain. It has many forms that include bribery, extortion, fraud and embezzlement and is one of the main challenges facing governance and economic development in the world. Corrupt institutions and systems prevent 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.

In Rwanda the fight against corruption is a major part of a larger fight against economic crimes and financial malpractices. The government policy of 'zero tolerance' towards corruption coupled with immense political will has led to a number of anti-corruption measures over the past decade, and the impact of these is showing in various local and international ratings on corruption.

One of the key reasons behind the improvements of the last few years is considered to be governance.⁶ The government is commended for its high degree of organisation, its capacity to manage resources efficiently and its focus on delivering results. The country has also achieved significant progress over the last years in terms of government effectiveness and transparency of the regulatory framework.

According to the 2015 edition of Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index, Rwanda improved its score from 49 in 2014 to 54 in 2015. This

score was estimated as the average score of the G20 countries. The fourth best performer on the continent and 44th worldwide, it has again emerged the least corrupt country in the East African Community, followed by Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda and Burundi.

Rwanda's commitment to improve governance has also been demonstrated by its participation in the New Partnership for Africa's Development's African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). The APRM encourages participating states to ensure that their policies and practices conform to agreed political, economic and corporate governance values. Rwanda was among the first 16 countries to accede to the APRM and the second in which the review process was launched. The APRM's report for Rwanda was adopted in July 2006.

The government's political will to fight corruption has been translated into a number of new laws and institutions.

5.2.1 Legal framework

The legal anti-corruption framework is considered very strong in Rwanda. At its heart is Law No. 23/2003 on Prevention and Repression of Corruption and Related Offences, but a number of other laws include commitments to the fight against corruption (see below), particularly the Penal Code in Articles 220–227. Rwanda has also signed and ratified most international anti-corruption conventions, including:

- African Union Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption (signed December 2003; ratified June 2004);
- United Nations Convention against Corruption (signed November 2004; ratified October 2006); and
- United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (signed December 2000; ratified September 2003).

In addition, the government adopted a code of conduct and rules of disclosure for public officials. Asset declaration for politicians and civil servants was included in the 2003 Constitution, requiring public officials to declare their wealth. The Office of the Ombudsman adopted a strong stance in this regard, declaring that those who do not comply would face prosecution. According to the Great Lakes Centre of Strategic Studies overview of corruption in Rwanda, the office reported in 2006 that 3,490 politicians and other civil servants were asked to declare their wealth. Among them, 72 per cent have declared their wealth while 28 per cent are still completing the process.

In 2010, the Ombudsman conducted further research (in Kinyarwanda) to identify the impact of declaring assets and property.⁷ Results showed improvement in the management of public assets and private assets. Transparency in the management of public assets had also increased and the embezzlement of public assets had been reduced.

A whistleblower protection law was approved in September 2012.

Laws containing commitments to anti-corruption

- The Constitution of Rwanda of 2003 as amended to date
- Law No. 12/2007 of 27/03/2007 on public procurement as modified and complemented to date
- Law No. 23/2003 of 07/08/2003, relating to prevention, repression and punishment of corruption and related offences
- Ministerial Order No. 001/14/10/TC of 19/02/2014 establishing regulations on public procurement, standard bidding documents and standard contracts
- Ministerial Order No. 001/08/10/MIN of 16/01/2008 establishing regulations on public procurement and standard bidding documents

5.2.2 Institutional framework

Major reforms have taken place with the establishment of a number of government institutions particularly focusing on corruption-related issues including the Office of the Ombudsman, the Rwanda Public Procurement Authority, the Office of the Auditor General, the Anti-Corruption Unit in the Rwanda Revenue Authority and the Public Procurement Appeals Commission. Moreover, the Public Accounts Committee (PAC) was established within Parliament in 2011 and the government approved a national policy to fight corruption in 2012 that formalises the so-called ‘zero tolerance’ approach.

Many public institutions now have codes of conduct. Furthermore, both politicians and civil servants have been prosecuted when allegations of corruption were brought against them, including several cases of high-ranking officials being forced to resign, dismissed or prosecuted when accused of involvement in corruption cases.⁸ In addition, top politicians such as the President or the Minister for Local Government often include calls to embrace integrity and reject corruption in their public speeches as well as when they address local leaders. Overall, then, the formal political and institutional framework currently in place seems to be adequate and appropriate to fight against corruption.

A number of institutions identify corruption cases and the police and national prosecutor’s office prosecute the actual acts of corruption. The Office of the Ombudsman plays an oversight role in the other anti-corruption initiatives.

Office of the Ombudsman

The Office of the Ombudsman is an independent public institution that was established in 2003 by Article 182 of the Constitution. Its mission, powers, organisation and functioning are determined by Law No. 76/2013, and it monitors transparency and compliance with regulations in all governmental sectors. The office is located in the capital, Kigali, but it operates throughout the country and may set up branches

in other areas. The Ombudsman has taken a strong stand against corruption and regularly exposes cases of fraud, malpractice and corruption.

The office is headed by the Chief Ombudsman assisted by two deputies, one in charge of preventing and fighting injustice and the other in charge of preventing and fighting corruption and other related offences. Its work includes:

- acting as a link between the citizen and public and private institutions;
- preventing and fighting injustice, corruption and related offences in public and private entities;
- receiving and examining complaints and mobilising institutions to resolve them;
- co-ordinating the national council against corruption and injustice;
- receiving annual declaration of assets from persons determined by the law;
- receiving annual declarations of assets of political organisations and verifying their origin and use;
- advising Cabinet and institutions on strengthening and improving the policy of preventing, fighting and punishing corruption;
- following up implementation of the policy;
- following up the respect of the leadership code of conduct by senior officials;
- sensitising the population and training the employees of public and private institutions to refrain from corruption;
- sensitising the population to work together with public and private institutions to build the country and dare to denounce bad practices based on injustice, corruption and related offences;
- contributing to strengthening good governance;
- making public the names of persons definitively convicted of corruption;
- advising public and private institutions as to the improvement of the quality of services delivered to the population; and
- following up enforcement of the law relating to access to information.

Different local innovations that have been put in place include an anti-corruption week that has been observed annually, youth anti-corruption clubs, competitions and the creation of the National Anti-Corruption Advisory Council among others.

During anti-corruption week, special anti-corruption activities are performed in different parts of the country in order to enhance public awareness of corruption and encourage citizens to play an active role in the battle against corruption. Those activities include talk shows on different radio stations and on television, billboards with anti-corruption messages, press conferences, a youth anti-corruption day, cycling or football competitions debates on corruption by youth, etc.

Special attention is being paid to gender-based corruption. The office has designated a staff member to be responsible for media outreach. The emphasis is on radio spots and websites to raise public awareness of gender-based corruption and encourage people to resist and report it.

Work with young people

The Office of the Ombudsman has encouraged the creation of anti-corruption clubs in high schools and higher learning institutions. So far, there are 47 clubs in high schools and 9 in higher learning institutions. The office assists the clubs in their activities and trains them to be trainers in their respective schools.

It has also organised a cartoon competition for students in primary school and the lower level of secondary school. The competition attracted 742 candidates in primary schools and 743 in secondary schools. It allowed the Office of the Ombudsman to assess their level of knowledge on corruption and its consequences, and also to raise their awareness of corruption.

National Anti-Corruption Advisory Council

The national advisory council to fight against corruption is composed of:

- Ombudsman, Chairperson;
- Minister in charge of local government, Deputy Chairperson;
- Minister in charge of justice;
- Minister in charge of internal security;
- Vice-President of the Supreme Court;
- Prosecutor General;
- Deputy Ombudsmen;
- Inspector General of the Rwanda National Police
- Secretary General of National Intelligence and Security Service
- Executive Secretary of Rwanda Public Procurement Authority
- Auditor General
- Chief Executive Officer of Private Sector Federation
- Executive Secretary of Civil Society Platform.

The main responsibilities of the council are to establish strategies for fighting against corruption and to set up modalities for sharing information on corruption.

Operational audits and declaration of assets

The Office of the Ombudsman conducts operational audits in public and private institutions in order to identify any existing loopholes related to corruption. The

audits mainly emphasise respect for the laws governing institutions, procurement procedures, human and financial resources management and service delivery. After an operational audit is conducted, a report containing a critical analysis and strong recommendations is produced and submitted to the institution(s) concerned for implementation.

The office receives annual declarations of assets from persons determined by law and verifies their accuracy and origin. This helps in identifying people with illegally obtained assets. It also receives annual declarations of assets from political organisations and verifies their origin and their use. Those who do not declare their assets face sanctions.

Gathering information on corrupt behaviours

The Office of the Ombudsman sensitises people on the whistleblowers protection law and encourages them to report corruption. People may report through toll-free numbers, anonymous letters and emails. Corrupt acts may also be identified while conducting operational audits. Information on corruption is also publicised via newspapers and posts on different popular news websites (this is the result of good cooperation with the media). Popular talk shows are also used; citizens may call in and report corruption or unjust practices. In some remote districts, the office has established anti-corruption internet cafés that are used by anti-corruption clubs to help people report cases of corruption and injustice.

Involving the public in preventing and combating corruption

The office transmits corruption prevention messages to citizens through its quarterly magazine, which is distributed all over the country free of charge. A list of corruption convictions is published on a quarterly basis in various newspapers, on the office's website and in its magazine. The office also uses billboards as a quick way of getting out anti-corruption messages to many people.

Sensitising people on the bad effects of corruption – and encouraging them to report and reject it – is also done through training sessions for different groups of people (youth, women, church leaders, journalists, NGO representatives, private institutions) to enable them to act as watchdogs.

In November 2013, the Office organised a national dialogue on corruption in public procurement. All the various institutions including ministries, district offices and other public bodies as well as representatives of the private sector and civil society took part in the dialogue. Its aim was to exchange ideas on strong and collective strategies and measures to prevent and fight against corruption in public procurement. After discussions, participants adopted recommendations to tackle this issue.

Partnerships

The Office of the Ombudsman has signed memoranda of understanding with the police and with Transparency International Rwanda. It collaborates with religious organisations in raising public awareness of corruption and gives support to the

coalition of civil society and the public and private sectors to fight against corruption. It is a member of the Asset Recovery Inter-Agency Network for Eastern Africa.

Office of the Auditor General for State Finances

The Office of the Auditor General (OAG) for State Finances (OAG) was created by Articles 183 and 184 of the Constitution. It is the Supreme Audit Institution of Rwanda and is independent of the government. It is vested with a legal status and has administrative and financial autonomy. According to the Constitution, the OAG is in charge of the audit of the central and local government, semi-public companies, publicly owned enterprises, national mixed capital enterprises and state projects. Its principal mission is to promote transparency, accountability and best practices of management in the operations of the government.

The OAG began its activities by carrying out conformity and financial audits. Its co-operation with private firms and other audit institutions will make it possible for the office to start performance audits. Audits of computerised systems will also be carried out as soon as the accounting systems of the audited institutions are sufficiently computerised.

The OAG is a member of the International Organization of Supreme Audit Institutions and is thus in contact with many similar institutions. Already, the OAG has co-operative relations in the field of training with the Office of the Auditor General of India, the Netherlands, South Africa and Sweden. In the near future, the OAG would like to reinforce these bonds by carrying out joint audit missions.

5.2.3 Collaboration with other groups

An anti-corruption strategy cannot succeed without collaboration between the public and private sectors. In this context, the National Anti-Corruption Policy emphasises the role of civil society, the public sector and public institutions in the fight against corruption. As noted above, the Office of the Ombudsman involves these different sectors in its activities.

The role of civil society

Civil society in Rwanda is an important stakeholder and a key player in the fight against corruption. Civil society organisations help in raising public awareness and reporting on corruption. However, while they assist in monitoring compliance with regulations and imposition of sanctions against corrupt officials, their role is still weak.

Media scrutiny and publicity are essential to raising public expectations and public awareness of corruption practices and to cause political pressure to take measures against corruption. It is imperative to disseminate through the media all information on how to investigate and report cases of corruption.

The role of the private sector

Since corruption involves members of both the public and private sectors who are engaged in illegal and unethical behaviour, combating it requires public-private

partnerships. Thus, the private sector also plays a vital role in sensitising its members against corruption.

Under the law preventing and suppressing corruption, both public and private institutions are required to set up mechanisms for preventing and fighting corruption. The Private Sector Federation has created a code of business ethics and excellence. However, the business community still needs to be sensitised to adhere to the code and to encourage best practices in a number of key business dealings such as transparency in financial matters, eliminating corruption, ensuring good product quality, proper treatment of workers and compliance with business laws.

5.3 Conclusion: lessons, challenges and recommendations

In seeking effective ways to reduce corruption, Rwanda has adopted a radical rather than incremental approach to anti-corruption, focusing on simultaneously strengthening systems on several fronts rather than progressively introducing reforms in selected areas and sectors.

Since 2003, a number of legislative and other measures have been introduced against corruption, notably the law preventing and suppressing corruption, the law establishing the Office of the Ombudsman and the public procurement law. Such measures have led to some progress, though corruption is still reported by the public in both high and low levels of administration.

The research for this case study suggests that the thing that probably contributes the most to the successful fight against corruption is the government's clear and public emphasis on zero tolerance on corruption. According to the interviewees, the top leadership has taken the position of not being beholden to any special interests, which 'denies corruption the oxygen it needs to thrive'; at a government retreat in February 2015, the President delivered 'a strong message on the dire consequences that will face those caught in the corruption trap'.

Sustaining the progress that has been made will depend on continued political will, public awareness and strengthening of public institutions leading the fight against corruption.

5.3.1 Lessons

Various governance indicators show that Rwanda performs relatively well in terms of control of corruption compared with many other African countries. The country has also achieved significant progress over recent years in terms of government effectiveness and transparency of the regulatory framework.

This progress can be to a great extent attributed to the stringent National Anti-Corruption Policy, which represents Rwanda's commitment to achieving good governance through preventing and fighting corruption. It focuses on people, systems and organisations and on building a culture where integrity is valued and corruption rejected. It seeks to support national development that will be able to sustain a better quality of life for people, a strong competitive economy and effective and efficient public services.

This policy sets an ambitious agenda to achieve a public service that appreciates and embraces integrity, accepts the need for transparency and accountability, and ensures full compliance with regulatory and legal requirements. It seeks to achieve 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.

The policy is set within the overall policy framework of zero tolerance and national planning and seeks to support the implementation of government policies in the area of good governance. The framework includes law enforcement and oversight institutions under the umbrella of the National Anti-Corruption Advisory Council, which provides a key co-ordination mechanism for all anti-corruption institutions.

The policy recommends a cross-cutting set of actions to be undertaken by the government in collaboration with the private sector, civil society and the public itself in strengthening the fight against corruption. A monitoring and evaluation framework is outlined to track progress and implementation, on which an annual report is expected to be submitted to Parliament. The legal framework is provided by a wide range of related laws.

In 2006, the Rwanda Ombudsman attributed the decline of corruption in the country to three major reasons: ‘we have removed corrupt leaders in the last few years, we have added additional training and supervision and the decentralisation process lowered corruption cases’ (Chêne 2008).

Political will was further stimulated by the government’s strong focus on building the business climate to attract foreign direct investment through measures aimed at streamlining licences and tax processes, and providing economic incentives to anti-corruption reforms. Anti-corruption efforts have been firmly rooted in Paul Kagame’s economic vision for Rwanda, formally articulated in a document called Rwanda Vision 2020, which promotes peace through economic and social progress.

This has translated into making investments that were driven by a long-term vision for the development of the economy rather than the pursuit of purely short-term personal gains. More specifically:

- Rent extraction has been rigorously centralised within the operations of a holding company fully controlled by the ruling Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF), so that benefits do not flow to members of the political class except indirectly and corporately by this mechanism.
- The political leadership does not maintain itself in power by distributing privileges to its supporters.
- Policy-making is not driven by resource allocation to supporters or to finance the campaigns of the RPF but by the need to overcome ethnic divisions through economic and social development.

Anti-corruption campaigns targeting corrupt officials have been integrated into a more comprehensive approach to fighting corruption, with governance interventions

of a more preventative nature such as public sector reforms, streamlining government processes and public finance management-related reforms.

In addition, the relatively successful delivery of public services has helped restore the legitimacy of government and public confidence in state institutions. For example, Rwanda achieved gender parity in net primary enrolment rates as early as 2000/2001 and is well on track to achieve its medium-term development goals on universal primary education and eliminating gender disparities in the education sector (AFDB 2008).

5.3.2 Challenges

The government's 'political will to fight against corruption', so often mentioned in the country and abroad, seems to be mostly a will to fight this at low to middle levels. Consequently, there have indeed been achievements but mostly in controlling bribery, mismanagement and embezzlement, particularly at lower levels. While bribery is still present and petty corruption at the local level is far from eradicated, non-monetary forms of corruption are the main issue.

Thus a strong government will to fight corruption is a prerequisite but cannot on its own lead to sustained reduction in the vice. An important tool in the fight against corruption is co-operation between a country's key stakeholder groups, such as the public sector, the private sector and civil society, with the aim of creating a deep-rooted anti-corruption culture in a country or sector.

The workload of the Office of the Ombudsman reflects the nature of demands and complaints received. It is clear that cases of injustice brought to the attention of the Ombudsman (mainly administrative and employment issues, land disputes and legal cases) take up much more of the resources of the office than corruption cases.

5.3.3 Recommendations

The Ombudsman is not empowered to prosecute cases and must depend on the Prosecutor-General to bring cases to court. Information is not readily available on the outcome of these referrals. A stronger system to monitor prosecutions in cases brought by the Ombudsman would help to bridge this gap.

The anti-corruption focus of the Office of the Ombudsman should be strengthened, particularly in relation to investigating corruption and performing its policy co-ordination role in anti-corruption across government. Beyond the measures already taken to increase outreach (such as mobile staff teams and anti-corruption clubs in schools), it would also be worth considering decentralising the services of the Office of the Ombudsman in order to increase access outside of the capital city.

There are several other aspects of the institutional framework on anti-corruption that require strengthening, including legislation dealing with conflicts of interest and protecting whistleblowers, as well as codes of ethics/conduct covering all public agencies, institutions and organisations.

The institutional framework should be enhanced to ensure that corruption is more likely to be discovered and addressed, and to strengthen citizen awareness of

corruption and independent oversight of public bodies. Such long-term initiatives create the fundamental conditions for project-specific integrity pacts and industry-specific compliance pacts to be effective in the long term. In order to complement the efforts of governments, the private sector and civil society organisations, investors should also insist on having effective corporate control systems in place in order to make their investments more secure.

The role of independent civil society as a watchdog, advocate, monitor and contributor to policy development in the fight against corruption needs to be strengthened, for example by supporting investigative journalism and educating the public and training officials on the need to fight corruption.⁹

Annex 5.1 List of interviewees

- Obadiah R Biraro, Auditor General of State Finances, Office of the Auditor General of State Finances
- Augustus Seminega, Director General, Rwandan Public Procurement Authority
- Theoneste Karenzi, Deputy Chairman of the Public Accounts Committee, Rwandan Parliament
- Emmanuel Itamwa Mahame, Judicial Spokesperson, Judiciary of Rwanda
- Jules Marius Ntete, Inspector General, National Public Prosecution Authority
- Albert Kavatiri Rwego, Programme Manager, Transparency Rwanda
- Arthur Asiimwe, Director General, Rwanda Broadcasting Agency (RBA) (public media)
- Shyaka Kanuma, Director/Chief Editor, *Rwanda Focus* newspaper (private media)
- Jeanne Pauline Gashumba, Director of Preventing and Fighting Corruption and Related Offences Unit, Office of the Ombudsman

Notes

- 1 Rwanda was actually a Belgian-administered UN trusteeship; it gained independence in 1962.
- 2 According to government figures, in 2011 44.9 per cent of the population was under the poverty line and 24.1 per cent under the extreme poverty line (down from 56.9 per cent and 37 per cent in 2005/6 respectively) (see National Institute of Statistics 2012).
- 3 Rwanda's Human Development Index (HDI) score was 0.233 in 1990, 0.314 in 2000 and 0.434 in 2012. The 2013 Human Development Report ranks Rwanda among the top five HDI improvers since 2000 (UNDP 2013).
- 4 In 2011, official aid to Rwanda reached almost US\$1.3 billion, accounting for around half of the country's national budget, with top donors being the World Bank Group, the United States, the Global Fund, the United Kingdom and the European Union institutions.
- 5 It is not possible to list the multiple organisations and development experts who have praised Rwanda's 'success story'; suffice to say that they include the World Bank and experts such as Jeffrey Sachs and Paul Collier, as well as personalities such as Bill Clinton and Tony Blair.
- 6 The Institute of Governance notes that most definitions of governance 'rest on three dimensions: authority, decision-making and accountability'; observers who praise Rwanda's governance usually place more emphasis on the first two of these.

- 7 See: <http://www.ombudsman.gov.rw/Documents/RAPPORT%20ANNUEL2009-2010.pdf>
- 8 However, some analysts believe that such cases might also serve the purpose of 'removing personnel who are out of line politically' (Bertelsmann Transformation Index 2012).
- 9 The Office of the Ombudsman already provides training to journalists on anti-corruption every six months.

References

- African Development Bank Group. 2008. *AfDB Group Annual Report 2008*, African Development Bank, Tunis, Tunisia.
- Chêne, M. 2008. 'Overview of Corruption in Rwanda'. Anti-Corruption Resource Centre. U4 Expert Answer, 16 April.
- Institute of Research and Dialogue for Peace (IRDP). 2013. 'Local Governance Barometer'. Kigali: IRDP.
- Mara, M. 2013. 'Overview of Corruption in the Media in Developing Countries'. U4 Expert Answer. Available at: <http://www.u4.no/publications/overview-of-corruption-in-the-media-in-developing-countries/>
- Media High Council. 2014. 'Media Business Growth with Capacity Needs Assessment'. Kigali: Media High Council.
- Ministry of Local Government. 2011. 'Decentralization Implementation Plan 2011–2015'. Available at: www.minaloc.gov.rw
- Office of the Ombudsman. 'Annual Report 2010/2011'. Available at: www.ombudsman.gov.rw
- _____. 2015. 'Anti-Corruption Initiatives of the Office of the Ombudsman of Rwanda'. January.
- Rwanda: Joint Governance Assessment report 2008.
- Transparency International. 2012a. 'East Africa Bribery Index'. Available at: www.tirwanda.org/images/stories/final%20eabi%202012.pdf
- _____. 2012b. 'Government Defence Anti-Corruption Index'. Available at: <http://government.defenceindex.org>
- _____. 2013. *Global Corruption Barometer 2013*. Available at: <https://www.transparency.org/gcb2013/report>
- _____. 2015. *People and Corruption: Africa Survey 2015 – Global Corruption Barometer*. Available at: https://www.transparency.org/whatwedo/publication/people_and_corruption_africa_survey_2015
- Transparency International Rwanda. 2011a. 'Analysis of the Auditor General Report'. Available at: <http://tirwanda.org/en/resources/researches-and-publications>
- _____. 2011b. 'Gender-based Corruption in Work Places'. Available at: <http://tirwanda.org/en/resources/researches-and-publications>
- _____. 2012. 'Rwanda Bribery Index'. Available at: <http://tirwanda.org/en/resources/researches-and-publications>
- _____. 2015. 'Survey on Corruption in Media in Rwanda: Perception and Experience of Media Practitioners and Stakeholders'. Kigali: Transparency International Rwanda.
- UNDP (United Nations Development Programme). 2013. *Human Development Report 2013: The Rise of the South – Human Progress in a Diverse World*. New York: UNDP.

World Bank. 2008. 'Country Assistance Strategy for the Republic of Rwanda for the Period FY09-FY12'. Available at: <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/754501468336542352/pdf/449380CAS0P1001ONLY10IDA1R200810257.pdf>

_____. 2016a. 'Rwanda: GDP (current US\$)'. Available at: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD?locations=RW>

_____. 2016b. 'GDP Per Capita (current US\$)'. Available at: <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD>

World Bank Working Group et al. 2010. 'Collective Action in the Fight against Corruption'. Available at: https://www.globalcompact.de/wAssets/docs/Korruption_spraevention/Publikationen/collective_action_in_the_fight_against_corruption.pdf

file:///Users/air/Downloads/Rwanda_Poverty_Profile_Report_0_0.pdf

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/285749892_Aid_dependence_and_policy_independence_Explaining_the_Rwandan_paradox

<https://www.u4.no/publications/overview-of-corruption-in-rwanda/pdf>: Overview of corruption in Rwanda