

INTEGRITY SYSTEMS IN RWANDA FROM 2003-2020

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1. Introduction

This module and especially this unit teach the integrity systems in the country of Rwanda. It was designed for the 1st year students of the University of Rwanda in order to equip them with knowledge that contributes to being good citizens with good values – Indangagaciro Nyarwanda. The unit provide the knowledge on integrity in Rwanda as a whole (ubunyangamugayo - ubupfura) and strengthening the concept of corruption free society (imikorere itarangwamo ruswa) that Rwanda aspires to have.

Rwandans like any other society cannot prosper if the citizens and especially the elite have no integrity. As a country torn by genocide against Tutsi, bad governance and irresponsible leadership in armies, government, business and social structures in the past, integrity is deemed necessary to awaken transparency accountability and honesty to build new developmental citizens and to empower people in a journal of transformation.

Integrity or anti-corruption studies and systems in Rwanda leads to building a moral society ready to overcome intractable hatred of the past. It creates a more responsible and

accountable students and citizen generally. The University educates and train future elites that will be public servants, private businessmen and women, accountants, policemen/women, managers, medical doctors, ingenious and leaders in all sectors and families that need integrity to achieve their daily work and activities. Without this achievement, the scientific knowledge that the university graduate are supposed to have become obsolete or maybe disastrous as Rwandans witnessed during 1994 Tutsi genocide.

Rwanda is located in the region where there is high level of corruption in public institution, dictatorship and embezzlement of public and private funds. For instance, Tanzania, Kenya, and Burundi have a high level of corruption comparing to Rwanda. This can influence the Rwanda elite to behave the same way as generally the fact of proximity may require – *ihene mbi ntawe uyizirikaho iye*. Therefore, to make the difference, Rwanda adopted a good strategy to train young elite to have integrity before they occupy the bigger positions in public service – *igiti kigororwa kikiri gito*.

To achieve this Rwanda have established institutions and organisation that work together to promote integrity. This is called integrity system. This network of activities were mainly formalised and structured since 2013 through the creation of National Itorero Commission. In this module unit we discuss the following questions: what are the institutions and agencies in Rwanda that facilitate integrity? How do they work together to foster integrity? What did they achieve so far and what are the remaining challenges they face?

2. Institutions and agency of integrity in Rwanda

2.1. Political institutions

2.1.1. The ideology of the Rwandanness

After the genocide against the Tutsi in 1994, Rwanda government abolished the governance based on ethnic divides and discrimination and Kiga-Nduga regional disparities. To achieve so the new ideology replaced the former ones. For instance the Ndi Umunyarwanda ideology (I am Rwandan) aims at abolishing the politicisation of ethnic identity which hinged on the Hutu majoritarianism and Hutu power created by former post independence Rwandan government elite (see the case of APROSOMA, MDR, MRND and its satellite parties like CDR and other *power* parties in Rwanda from 1950s to 1994). This Hutu power ideology drove to discriminatory policies against the other existing citizens including Tutsi and Twa. The founder of ideology of Hutu majoritarianism considered Tutsi mainly as outsiders and at the extreme level as foreigners who merit no rights in the country. The twa who was considered as natural indigenous were kept marginalised for long and deprived from any right to the property including land.

The other hypocrisy is that the government used to claim the right of Hutu majority but on the contrary they created generalised poverty and illiteracy in a big number of Hutu peasants in the county. Only few people had access to education and to other public benefits. The state led by Hutu extremist denied free and meritocratic access to education and economic development opportunity to the mass they claimed to promote. This process of ethnicisation and politicisation of quota system created structure and systemic injustices, teaching people to use force to grab the property of others especially in hated and marginalised groups of Tutsi and Twa. This led to massive land grabbing and refusal to repatriated Rwandan refugees.

This phenomena continuously led to gluttonous, hypocrite and arrogant leaders who denied all forms of being servant to all citizens but on the contrary betraying them. Some witnesses of genocide survivors shows that public servant and even private ones among CSOs (Civil

Society organisations) betrayed them as if they were not Rwandans. For instance, we see cases where some medical doctors, some religious leaders, some army and police, refused to protect and give safety services to people in need. The state and civil society were merely led by elites who were mostly out of integrity.

The core values of Ndumunyarwanda policy then is to bring back values and dignity of all Munyarwanda citizens without distinction. It is implemented both nationally and in Rwandan Diaspora abroad. Nationally there is teaching and gatherings that are planned for dissemination of unity policy and national values of being Rwandan with integrity. Itorero is one of the institutions that aim at fostering the dissemination and implementation of this policy. Abroad Rwanda day means the visit of the president and his delegation to the diaspora abroad and help them to discuss issues of national unity and development of Rwanda and enhancing new values of being Rwandan even if a citizen choose by his will to remain abroad – as Rwanda accept double citizenship. It calls upon the Diaspora to be participative in the national development process. The government of Rwanda abolished the politicisation of ethnic identity. It created the government of Unity and Reconciliation to abolish the intractable hatred among Rwanda society and also to heal wounds of hypocrisy that was created by former governments.

Ndumunyarwanda is a declaration that one is no longer ethnic driven but rather, state driven. It is a set of values such as patriotism (by claiming to be a citizen of Rwanda first), unity (ideology by feeling equal citizens and joining effort to combat divisionism) and reconciliation (by pardoning and working together for the present and the future of the country). Ndumunyarwanda also brings in inclusion where everyone counts in developmental processes of his nation.

To implement that ideology, the institutions were created such as Ingando, Itorero ry'Igihugu, Abarinzi bigihango, and the official Recognition of national heroes who had shown values to work for a nation without division like King Rudahigwa, who was the King who fought against discrimination among Rwanda and wanted independence of the country from Belgium dominion, Gen. Fred Gisa Rwigema, who was fighting the Habyarimana regime that had refused to repatriate thousands of Rwandan refugees who were scattered in Uganda, Tanzania, Burundi, DRC and other countries for more than 30 years from 1959 to 1994, and Agatha Uwiringiyimana, who was the first Prime Minister who was against nepotism and segregationism of MRND government during the multiparty system in Rwanda in early 1990s and who was eventually killed by the said government in 1994 together with Tutsi citizens who were in the country.

The ideology also imbed the activities of remembering dignifying and honouring the victims of Hutu majoritarian driven policies including political and civil society leader and even some citizen with integrity who were victims of the NAZI-Like hypocrisy of extremist political leaders of MRND. Building the institutions like Inzibutso (Genocide memorial centres) from National level to local levels awaken the citizens of Rwanda to remember the past characterised by the lack of integrity and fairness to their neighbours and co-citizens to build new Rwanda which get rid injustice and animosity.

Therefore integrity is one of the drivers of politics in Rwanda where everyone must count or count, and where Rwandan citizens are fair to his co-citizen without looking at odd differences. The system of consider that whoever promotes the past divisive ideology is an enemy of the state and the survival of a nation. The first enemy of a nation according to the current Rwanda includes ethnic divisionism, discrimination, colonialism and the genocide.

Integrity then is considered as a political solution and ideological driver that can bring back dignity, accountability, fairness among citizen and the survival of the nation of Rwanda.

2.1.2. Integrity according to the Rwandan Constitution

The constitution of the republic of Rwanda of 2003 as revised in 2015 is a founding father and mother of the values of integrity in Rwanda. Its preamble shows the important commitments of Rwandan society toward integrity. The first is the establishment of the rule of law. The rule of law means that no one is superior to the law and so no one is supposed to abuse or go unpunished once he/she transgress the provisions of law. Because most of Rwanda officials as mentioned above were characterised by going beyond the limit of law and social norms by transgressing others' rights, the rule of law is a paramount strategy to safeguard integrity in the society of Rwanda. The constitution stipulates that Rwandans are committed to: "...building a state governed by the rule of law, based on the respect for the human rights, freedom and on the principle of equality of all Rwandans before the law as well as equality between men and women" (Official Gazette, n° Special of 24/12/2015, p. 26).

Indeed, the Rwandan constitution admits the commitment to building a state governed democratically. As specific in the constitution, the system of Rwanda is based on consensual and pluralistic democracy. There are a number of systems in the world such as consociational democracy, or liberal democracy. In consociational democracy, for instance, people elect their leaders and take political decisions basing on their territorial differences or ethnic denominations/quota system (see case of Switzerland and Burundi). In liberal democracy, winner takes all and there is no power-sharing. The political party which has lost election does not equally have opportunity to enter into government and so wait until they compete again in the next election. On the contrary, consensual democracy that Rwanda adopted is a

system based on the fact that decisions are discussed and agreed consensually by different parties both in government position and in opposition. Opposition parties, rebels or other factions are not neglected in political decision making process once they want to cooperate.

To illustrate the consensual democracy in Rwanda we take the case of political parties that work together in Rwanda. The RPF parties though has a bigger legitimacy due to the role it had in stopping genocide and forms of social injustices in Rwanda, lead the country together with other parties accepted in the country. The constitution provides only 50 percent of the seats in government for winning party and that other parties that achieved a threshold of 5 percent occupy the rest – it is a fair power sharing if one considers other systems globally.

There have been not only an inclusion of political parties in governments but even the rebel group especially the FDLR leaders who accepted to follow the new ideology of new Rwanda and unity and reconciliation have been repatriated, reinserted and reintegrated both in politics, defense and in the society in general. Consensual decision making have been a guiding principle and value of Rwandan government. The only exclusion have been to people who have committed genocide, who still have genocide ideology or who seriously threaten national and regional security and have not accepted to stop such activities. Others among elites have been able to work together for national decision-making.

Pluralistic governance means the acceptance of the differences of ideology and behavior of the people in the society apart from the genocide ideology or other bad conducts that are not allowed by law and culture of Rwandans. For instance, Rwanda is tolerant to beliefs, different values and culture that manifest in the country; the formation of different political parties, pressure groups and adherence to religions and other forms of association. It was proven that Rwanda is one of the countries of East Africa which have no taboos against minority groups such as women, albinos, HMP (Historically Marginalized Persons) compared

to other countries of sub-Saharan Africa. There has been adoption of different laws that promotes those minority groups and policy and action to promote minority groups such as women and HMPs. The consensual system of governance aims at strengthening unity and reconciliation, good governance, development, social justice, tolerance, and resolution of the problems through dialogue (Official Gazette, n° Special of 24/12/2015, p. 26).

The other commitment of Rwandan society through its constitution is the prevention of genocide and the upholding of family morality and patriotism. The constitution stipulates that Rwandans are: “committed to preventing and punishing the crime of genocide, fighting genocide negationism and revisionism, eradicating genocide ideology and all its manifestations, divisionism and discrimination based on ethnicity, region or any other ground” (Official Gazette, n° Special of 24/12/2015, p. 26).

The constitution of Rwanda recognizes the family morality, and patriotism, the values of Rwanda hinges upon the fact that a development and national cohesion starts in the family. The general interest results from collective interests of individuals, being a child, old, or young does not prevent you to get more security and protection – that everyone have right to. On patriotism, the people need to serve their country with zeal striving to move it ahead regionally and internationally and striving to it economic competitiveness, security and prosperity.

State organs/agents should serve the common interests (Official Gazette, n° Special of 24/12/2015, p. 27). This means that public agents should focus to common interest rather than individual crony or private interests – a thing that previously destroyed the country through the creations of neopatrimonialism (*akazu, nziso*) or other forms of favouritism (*ikimenyane*) public service delivery and recruitment should be meritocratic and the use of public fund should be rational.

Rwandan constitution stick on territorial sovereignty, political integrity (right to choose forms of government), leadership integrity (leading for common interests, being a servant (*gukorera abatwaga*), leading not dictating (*kuyobora apana gutegeka*), and tolerance and resilience (*kwihanganirana no kwihangana*). The constitution and national laws stipulate all of these in different articles and in more details.

Article 10 of the constitution highlight further the fundamental principles of the Rwandan society such as explained above. These are six principles and are as follow:

“1^o prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide, fighting against denial and revisionism of genocide as well as eradication of genocide ideology and all its manifestations; 2^o eradication of discrimination and divisionism based on ethnicity, region or on any other ground as well as promotion of national unity; 3^o equitable power sharing; 4^o building a State governed by the rule of law, a pluralistic democratic Government, equality of all Rwandans and between men and women which is affirmed by women occupying at least thirty percent (30%) of positions in decision-making organs; 5^o building a State committed to promoting social welfare and establishing appropriate mechanisms for equal opportunity to social justice; 6^o constant quest for solutions through dialogue and consensus” (Official Gazette, n^o Special of 24/12/2015, p. 34-35).

The constitutions also talks about right to apply home grown solution to Rwandan problems. Rwandans are free/should be free to find out the solutions of their problems through home grown solution.

Moreover, Rwandans also have rights to right to life and inviolability of human being and other rights to restore human and moral dignity. The constitution further stipulates the physical and mental integrity of Rwandans. The article 14 provides that everyone has the right to physical and mental integrity. It says that no one shall be subjected to torture or

physical abuse, or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment and that no one shall be subjected to experimentation without his or her informed consent. The above mentioned articles of the Rwandan constitution underpin the values of integrity in regards to the respect of the individuals and emphasize the no harm principle to the lives and mental health of citizens.

2.2. Agencies

There both public and private agencies of integrity in Rwanda that work together to achieve such ultimate goal of social political and economic transformation. The public we can highlight leaders like President Paul Kagame and other central and local level leaders of Public institutions and their respective government organisations. The President, through his speeches, behaviours and actions, shows values of like kwigira (search for homegrown solution that overcome national overdependence to foreign aid and the like), kwihesha, agaciro (human dignity), and being a servant leader to people. Other presidential initiative was to raise the values of customer care services in the country and the promotion of good service delivery to people. Kwigira and Kwihesha gaciro was basically one of the core values of Rwanda for deeper individual and national integrity. Customer care embeds the respect of people who need service from you and aims at creating business effectiveness and responsible public servant. Currently, in most of the office doors you find telephone numbers of servants and of supervisors for more consultation if the service intended was badly delivered. A customer can hierarchically call and claim his or her rights to senior leader of the servant.

In most of his speech the president always reminds Rwandans to have dignity and to respect themselves and their neighbours as well as the fact that no one can give you value and respect that they come from individual self (umuntu niwe wihesha agaciro). In this framework,

Rwandans need to be proper both morally and physically and their environment as well needs to be like – cleanness.

The government and its organs such as the ministries (Ministry of family, culture, gender, etc, internal security organs: Police, Army, Ombudsman (Umuvunyi), Auditor general), parliament (PAC) and Justice (Both Gacaca courts and other courts), RURA, RBS, RCA, RRA, and other disciplinary organs have important role to work for integrity in Rwanda. They all cooperate to achieve so, by controlling, punishing, advising and standardising service mechanism in the country.

The Private sector: NGOs, religions, domestic Companies, and MNCs (Multinational Corporation) through business integrity pledges are required to abide and contribute to the building of integrity system in Rwanda. They do that mostly through advocacy for vulnerable people, and minority groups and sensitizing good values in the country. They are pro-active and sometime hold government officials accountable. The example is the reporting and action of Transparency International Rwanda.

2.3. Coordination and Teaching of integrity in Rwanda

This teaching and coordination is originally from the traditional institution of building integrity in Rwanda before colonialism – the *itorero* organ which was a training camp of citizenship and civic value of traditional Rwanda. It was a centre where people used to learn the importance of a society, and of a nation-state and the way to protect it.

The current *Itorero* draws from this conception even though it focuses on citizenship values and socio-economic transformation values. This is mostly due to the specific need of Rwanda and the transformative need to development. The current *itorero* is more inclusive and have equally men and women. It started as elite based but currently *itorero* services expanded and decentralised to local entities to reach the local people.

Rwanda uses both formal and informal mechanism to reinstitute integrity. Informal ones are like discussion, salutation, images and public stunts that teach the people the values and taboos in Rwandan culture.

Heywood et al (2017, p. 28) affirms the existence of formal planning to institute and teach integrity in Rwanda. The formal mechanisms include changes to the school curriculum, with lessons on anti-corruption and crime, gender issues, as well as culture and values. At the national level, radio shows are used to support the overall message, and public institutions hold ‘anti-corruption weeks’ to educate Rwandan citizens about the negative consequences of corruption. Of particular importance are *itorero*, a pre-colonial style training camp where participants spend several weeks learning Rwandan history, pre-colonial values and national policies, as well as issues of direct relevance to their particular profession (Heywood, 2017, p. 28).

Heywood et al (2017) highlight that the current teaching of integrity not only serve for good citizenship but also for good working and developing person – a value for career guidance. They stated: “Interviews we conducted with citizens who had attended *itorero* suggested that the main lessons they drew from them related to patriotism, integrity, heroism, leadership, commitment, dignity, self-esteem, creativity, entrepreneurship, rights and how to live with others” (Heywood et al, 2017, p. 28)

National Itorero Commission (NIC) vision is to build a population with value system that promotes voluntary service to the nation with the aim of promoting unity, tolerance, patriotism, democratic governance that lead to sustainable social and economic transformation. It was established by the law No 41/2013 of 16/06/2013. The core values that Itorero promote are: Ubunyarwanda (Rwandan Unity), Gukunda Igihugu (Patriotism) Ubunyangamugayo (honesty- Integrity), Ubutwari (heroism patriotism) Ubwitange

(selflessness), Gukunda umurimo no kuwunoza (eager to work hard and properly doing your work, and volunteerism), Kwihesha agaciro (dignity and self respect, sometime translated as humility).

The core reason of establishing Itorero was to develop citizens that in the same framework of developmental transformation that Rwanda needs. Some of the values of transformation are being a decision maker (gufata ibyemezo), being good planner of work schedule (gupanga imirimo), advertising your activities (kumenyekanisha ibikorwa), asking advice (asking advice), having zeal to work or triggering others to work hard (guhwiturana) and learning from mistake (kwigira kubitaragenze neza), hierarchical respects, subordination and check and balance between institutions (kubahana hagati y'inzego), sacrificing one's effort (kwitanga) (Republic of Rwanda, National Itorero Commission, June, Ubunyangamugayo - Integrity 2014, p. 15).

There are also transformative behaviour such as kutarambirwa (resilience and patience), kwirinda kwaya (spending rationally), learning and teaching (kwihugura, kwiga ibishya), kwicisha bugufi (being humble), being organised and punctual (gukorera ku gihe), being a model (kuba intangarugero), being creative and innovative (guhanga ibishya) (Republic of Rwanda, National Itorero Commission, June, Ubunyangamugayo - Integrity 2014, p.16).

The Itorero Commission training papers also encourage avoiding some behaviour that are not good for national and individual development. These are: (1) delaying activities or one's work (kudindiza imikorere) – do not put tomorrow what you can do today, (2) promotion of conflict, divisionism and violence (amacakubiri) – jya ubagarira yose ntuba uzi irizera nirizarumba or being integrationist, (3) intrigue (amatiku), (4) being factionalist (kwirema udutsiko - clique), (5) behaviour of betraying others (Guca muni), (6) having dictatorial tendencies (gukoresha igitugu), liking soft life (ubuzima bworoshye), (7) being extremely

talkative – loose talk (kuvugaguzwa), and (8) being opportunistic or free rider (gukoreshwa n'inyungu bwite, no gushaka kuzamuka cg gukira utavunitse cg udakoze, for instance a leader who can eat or embezzle the public property of people such as orphans and widows just to build his own property) Republic of Rwanda, National Itorero Commission, June, Ubunyangamugayo - Integrity 2014, p. 17-18). In some countries there is integrity test before being a leader or a public servant/manager (Republic of Rwanda, National Itorero Commission, June, Ubunyangamugayo - Integrity 2014, p. 19).

Itorero hinges on the core values of integrity explained in Rwandan culture such as societal integrity Ubupfura which is a guarantee of coexistence, responsibility and good neighbourliness. Being imfura means sharing with others especially those in need, not being glutton, being in harmony with others and not leaving them when they are in trouble, imfura also is eager to help you once you are attacked. In Kinyarwanda the above characteristic means in short: Imfura murasangira ntigucure, mwagendana ntigusige, waterwa ikagutabara (Republic of Rwanda, National Itorero Commission, June, Ubunyangamugayo - Integrity 2014, p. 11).

2.4. Achievements of integrity system in Rwanda

The system of Rwanda is built in the way that teaching and access to knowledge of integrity reach a large number of populations. In the study of Integrity and integrity management of public life, Heywood et al (2017, p. 29) in the comparative study with other countries like Bolivia, Rwanda integrity system is more effective and efficient than Bolivia system.

“The Rwandan example offers an example of the importance of coherence and consistency, using appropriate resources to reach the whole population. This stands in marked contrast to the Bolivian case, where we found education efforts at the national level to be sporadic and isolated, such as occasional anti-corruption caravans that are

aimed at reaching the younger generation through fun-based activities and games, but that are insufficiently supported by other interventions” Heywood et al, 2017, p. 29).

As highlighted above, other institutions including government, justice, police, and civil society need to jointly work together to support the teaching. For instance, the teaching of Itorero is supported by police activities to track down corruption cases, also supported by the legislature but monitoring the use of public funds, and consequently supported by IOs and NGOs that are against corruption case (see the work of UNDP as an IO, AND transparent INTERNATIONAL Rwanda reports as NGOs). Building integrity in the public in Rwanda has success due to that institutional and organizational joint effort.

Building consensual democracy in Rwanda since the constitution of 2003 marks a considerable achievement, Rwanda government managed to achieve stability, rule of law, and transparency. Most of the people and political elites entered into government through powersharing. Most decisions that were agreed upon in the society were driven by means of dialogue through institutions such as Inama y’Umushyikirano (National Dialogue) and other consultative mechanism.

Most of Rwandans are now feeling being Rwandans than being Hutu, Tutsi or Twa and the level of unity and reconciliation is attaining its interesting steps. The divisive elites have no space in Rwanda since through joint efforts both nationally and internationally, there is a growing effort to combat genocide ideology. Foreign countries have already adopted mechanism to commemorate genocide against Tutsi also mechanism of punishing or extraditing genocide perpetrators, which was not the case before.

Rwanda is the least corrupt country in EAC, and the anti corruption mechanism in Rwanda have been reinforced. State citizenship relationship has been increased through different good activities including improving people’s welfare, army-police relationship with the people etc.

This state citizen relationship was mostly triggered by good servant leadership of President Paul Kagame and good institutional effectiveness in anti corruption efforts. For Heywood et al (2017), Rwanda anti corruption success is due to this leadership and responsible institution mechanism.

“Both the Rwandan national government and the municipal government of La Paz in Bolivia appear to have had some success in their respective anti-corruption efforts. Although the two examples represent different cultural contexts and different scales of government, the leadership in both cases shared a key feature in common: they were able to promote positive changes in the self-identity of public officials and also their relationships with citizens. In both cases, these developments were driven by a strong political will to bring about change” (Heywood et al, 2017, p. 36).

Moreover, Rwanda is the first country globally which has a large number of women in the parliament and adopted laws and policies that are active in gender equality, anti-sexism and anti misogyny (insults and hatred against women). Rwandans in short are living in harmony with themselves and with public and private institution.

2.5. The Remaining challenges

Internalisation of integrity is still high in elite than in the people especially then local peasants. Let us take for instance the case of gender equality, Wallace, Herpfer and Abbott (2009) found out that in Rwanda gender equality is more enlightened in institutions instead of being driven by the people attitude. This hinders the deeper effectiveness of gender policies for instance and other values of promoting minority groups. By using the congruence theory which assumes that there is a convergence of people's attitude and the institutions, they Rwandan case showed that it is not always the case: elites are more enlightened than the people who are more driven by patriarchy. There is a gap between the elites and the peasant

in understanding key values. The teaching of those good values are mostly limited to University students, elite trainings through *Itorero* and very limited at grassroots level. This of course hinders the effectiveness and the implementation of integrity at grassroots level.

The other challenges are poverty and illiteracy and the neighbourhood effect of Rwanda. Poverty drives to corruption and limitation in fulfilling different responsibility in both the family and at work. The country need to boost economy because a hungry man is an angry man and hunger limit integrity of a person. Research and media information shows that most of the violence even domestic violence and misbehaviour of young girls is attached to poverty and illiteracy. The challenge of Rwandan leaders is to boost economy that will drive people to have both more physical and moral integrity.

The other challenge is related to cultural and political imperialism whereby we find cases of neo-colonialism which may dictate some values that are not directly working on ground and some of this obligation has economic and political condition far from the local interests. In this regards, the freedom to choose the type of government as stipulated in Rwandan constitution or other form of home-grown solution might be endangered even threatened. Most of the research shows that some of the multinational companies even do not respect local integrity at work, corporate social responsibility and can even go beyond control of local authorities and local conditions including evasion of tax and royalties. Even though Rwanda stands well in EAC in benefiting and controlling FDIs, we have cases where by business does not respect integrity pledge.

Some levels of corruption still exist even though it is low in the country. Some cases of sexual corruption for instance, manifested in the society due to lack of enough jobs for survival of the youth. Unemployment may trigger the problems of fairness in allocation and distribution of resources. The hard local livelihood in economically poor country like

Rwanda may exacerbate other form of conflict over resources and the lack of integrity and dignity.

We still see some hate speeches among Rwanda elites and the elites that still want to promote genocide ideologies in and abroad the country. These are sometime confusing political rights and space to do things that the constitution itself prohibits especially in terms of fundamental principles written in article 10 of the constitution of Rwanda of 2003 as revised in 2015. Punishing such political elites seems like minimizing political space for some of outsiders or those who want to interfere in domestic affairs.

Punishing embezzlement, corruption and holding leaders accountable and transparent to people especially in regards to how they use public fund seem to be a challenge for the nation which always want to promote tolerance. There exist some cases where such crimes go unpunished.

There have been cases of lack of honesty in publishing research data especially at local level during the declaration of local leaders performance contract result. In order to get good marks from central government, some of local leader used to divert the truth of local livelihood situation by overestimating achievements in health care insurance or other similar data. This falsification of data can seriously hinder the accuracy in formulating policies that respond to local welfare crisis. Through presidential initiatives, such falsification is decreasing and there are institutions that crosscheck and re-evaluate the performance of local institutions. There is also institutions like the National Institute of Statistics that the government can rely on to understand quantitatively and qualitatively the local livelihood situation for clear policy formulation even if the trends need more improvements to be more effective and efficient.

Some studies have criticised the teaching methods in Itorero of young secondary school graduate that it is more prone to communitarian rather than to liberal democratic values.

Using mixed methods with both statistical and interview methods, Nzahabwanayo, Horsthmke and Mathebula (April, 2017, p. 242) highlights that the teaching methods used in Itorero is characterised by indoctrination and fanaticism. These methods according to them may drive to less freedom of analysis and deeper liberal judgement of the secondary school leavers and letter on may create blind patriotism, unqualified loyalty, and uncritical obedience. Even though, they used educational perspective, if their research is proven true, the teaching methods of Itorero to young secondary school leavers may be contradicting to some of the core value of Rwanda which is building a democratic society. Further research may be conducted on this regard to prove or disapprove scientific rigor of the conclusion of Nzahabwanayo et al (April, 2017) for deeper modification of that specific programme to accommodate more democratic governance values in the teaching methods. However, despite their critique on teaching methodology Itorero, Nzahabwanayo et al (2017) affirm the advantage of Itorero in transforming youth graduate of secondary school and the role it has in creating new Rwandans that are free from ethnic divisionism. Through their interview to Itorero trainees, they concur that Itorero build Rwandanness:

In our homes, we still hear so many things from our fathers, mothers and guardians. Some of the latter tell that Rwandans are not one – as it is upheld today; they teach that tall people with a sharp nose are Tutsi; short ones with a bold nose are Hutu. Besides, more often than not, we have been instructed not to visit certain families nor interact with their children. It is true; our parents have told us many things, some of which are detrimental to the unity of Rwandans. In this context, if one does not get a chance to undergo the *Itorero* training and learn that we are one as Rwandans, mostly likely one will grow up guided by those thwarted stereotypes. The *Itorero* training has set our minds free from bad ethnic ideologies received from our parents (page 18).

Conclusion

Integrity system in Rwanda is built on institution such as constitution of 2003 revised in 2015 and mainly through its preamble and its article 10 of fundamental principles. Those principles include prevention of genocide, eradication of discrimination, based on ethnicity, religion or other forms, promotion of unity, equitable powersharing, rule of law, consensual democracy, and promotion of women in decision making (30 percent of seat at least), social welfare and equal opportunity to social justice, quest for solutions through dialogue and consensus. The constitution equally provide for personal and mental integrity to build a citizens who is morally and physically fit for life and development.

The other agencies of integrity is government, private sector and specifically National Itorero Commission (NIC). The latter is a institution with traditional roots established in 2013 with aim of promoting values of unity, patriotism, selflessness, restore dignity and integrity at work and in leadership among Rwandans. It is currently structured in a way that it reaches the lowest level of local institutions *Umudugudu*. This enables Itorero to include very local people not only elites but also the populace in knowing and implementing values and good behaviour.

The success story of integrity in Rwanda derives from coordination, and joint action and good leadership of president Kagame who promoted the values of Ukwigira (self-reliant), Ukwihesha agaciro (dignity and self respect), and working hard to find solutions to the problem facing Rwanda.

The research shows that integrity cannot be achieved if there no joint effort of public and private institution to support teaching and sensitizing institution like Itorero in Rwanda. Checks and balance, accountability and transparency cannot be achieved by mere talks.

Justices, Judiciary, Civil Society organisations need to contribute to the implementation and exercise of integrity. The Study on Bolivia and Rwanda (Heywood et al, 2017) illustrate this.

Among the achievements, Rwanda has improvement in anti corruption measure, unity, government stability, rule of law, engaged citizens in national building and in search for solution via dialogue and consensus. Rwanda also achieved to eradicate the politicisation of ethnicity and other divisive forms in the society such as religion and territories of origin. Rwanda is currently among countries with model of good governance, positive resilience in order to find solution to problems and a country dedicated to integrity in both its leadership and in the citizens.

Women equality and gender promotion is rapidly growing in Rwanda at global scale. The country is still the first globally to have a large number of women in the Parliament – over 60 percent.

Some challenges still exist though: (1) among the challenges are some elites especially some living in Diaspora are using divisionism and revisionism to attract the political attention and support. (2) Itorero activities are not yet effective at the local level to include not only the elites but also the vast population in local communities – most of the targets are the elites including the university students and young secondary school graduate and the leaders. The newly created local Itorero organisations are still new at local level whereas basically the country cannot move ahead quickly with rapid transformation if the local people have not internalised the core values of integrity including being eager to work hard, planning their activities and having deeper knowledge of rights and obligation, mutual respect, social integrity ubupfura and respect of core values of gender and the promotion of women.

We see some legacy of betrayal for the nation among elite, corruption and embezzlement cases of community funds that goes sometime unpunished. The country has witnessed

people who still want to go beyond existing mechanism of dialogue by using violence and propaganda against national and collective interests – things that we do not often see in developed nations. These shows that building integrity, selflessness and patriotism is still a challenge which require collective effort of institutions, leadership and public organisations to improve integrity in the country and in Rwandans both nationally, regionally and internationally.

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