GENDER AND CORRUPTION
TOPIC GUIDE
Compiled by the Anti-Corruption Helpdesk
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Topic guides are a series of publications developed by the Anti-Corruption Helpdesk on key corruption and anti-corruption issues. They provide an overview of the current anti-corruption debate and a list of the most up-to-date and relevant studies and resources on a given corruption related topic.

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This topic guide provides an overview of the linkages between gender and corruption and a compilation of the most up-to-date and relevant studies and resources on the topic.
GENDER AND CORRUPTION

What is the relationship between gender and corruption? Are there gender specific forms of corruption? Can women empowerment be a relevant strategy in the larger fight against corruption? These are some of the questions this topic guide on gender and corruption will address.

There has been a considerable amount of research on this topic, generating a number of solid insights (while some open questions remain). Research has confirmed, for example, that women and men are affected differently by corruption. There is a broad consensus that corruption hits the poor and vulnerable groups the hardest, especially women, who represent a higher share of the world’s poor. Corruption also hinders progress towards gender equality and presents a barrier for women to gain full access to their civic, social and economic rights. Understanding the complex relationship between gender and corruption is therefore an essential step towards furthering women’s rights and eventually levelling the playing field between women and men. But women are not only victims of corruption; they are also part of the solution. While evidence is inconclusive on whether women are less corrupt than men, greater women’s rights and participation in public life are associated with better governance and lower levels of corruption in many countries of the world. Empowering women and promoting their participation in public life is essential to address the gendered impact of corruption and level gender power imbalances and inequalities.

WOMEN’S PERCEPTIONS, ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOUR TOWARDS CORRUPTION

Studies in behavioural and social sciences have found differing patterns of attitudes and behaviour between men and women when it comes to social issues, risk-taking and criminal behaviour. Experimental studies controlling for external factors such as “the risk of being caught” have also demonstrated that women tend to behave more honestly than men and are more concerned about fairness in their decisions.

With regard to corrupt behaviour, there are gender differences in how men and women perceive, experience and tolerate corruption, and these have been empirically confirmed. An influential study analysing gender differences in attitudes to the acceptability of different forms of corruption found that women are less involved in bribery and are less likely to condone bribe taking. Transparency International’s Global Corruption Barometer consistently finds that women are less likely than men to pay bribes. According to some research, when engaging in corruption, women are also significantly less aggressive in the amount they extract than their male counterparts. This is also true in the private sector, where some research indicates that female-owned businesses pay less in

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1 According to the UN, an estimated 70 per cent of the world’s poor are women.
2 Hossain, Musembi, & Hughes, 2011
3 Jha & Sarangi, 2015
4 Rivas, 2012; Lambsdorff, Boehme & Frank, 2010
5 Swamy et al., 2000
6 Transparency International’s Global Corruption Barometer
bribes, and corruption is seen as less of an obstacle in companies where women are represented in top management.

Some scholars have explained these different patterns of attitudes and behaviours between men and women through differences in risk-taking behaviours, arguing that women are more risk-averse due to their social roles, which entrusts them with the care of children and elders in the family. Women also appear to be more vulnerable to punishment and the risks involved in corruption due to explicit or tacit gender discrimination. As a result, they feel greater pressure to conform to existing political norms about corruption. Therefore, in professional settings, they are less likely to engage in corruption for fear of being caught and losing their jobs. Laboratory corruption experiments confirmed this hypothesis, finding that women tend to react more strongly to the risk of detection.

**CORRUPTION AND WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC LIFE AND POLITICS**

Does women’s representation in public life lead to less corruption?

Several studies looking at the correlation between levels of corruption and women’s representation in politics found that corruption tends to be lower in countries with a greater share of women occupying political positions. Some policy-makers have concluded that promoting women’s participation in the labour force as well as in political and public life is likely to reduce corruption. However, the evidence remains largely inconclusive as to whether women in leadership positions are inherently less corrupt than men, pointing to other factors such as the political and institutional context, culture and gender inequalities for explaining the linkages between female representation and levels of corruption.

Correlation does not imply causation. Some scholars argue that democratic institutions, which provide more effective checks on corruption, are the missing link between women’s participation in public life and lower corruption levels, as they prevent corruption while promoting gender equality at the same time. “Fairer” systems and institutions may be the driving force between both women’s participation in public life and the control of corruption.

Evidence supports this hypothesis since countries that have made advances in gender equality generally experience lower levels of corruption. Several studies analysing the relationship between social indicators, political representation and corruption find that corruption is higher in countries where social institutions deprive women of their freedom to participate in social and public life.

Social institutions and political regime may also play a critical role in shaping gender attitudes and behaviour with regard to the tolerance of corruption. One study argues that as women feel greater pressure to conform to existing political norms about corruption, they are less likely to tolerate...


10 Easeray & Chirillo, 2013
11 Rivas, 2011
12 Swamy et al., 2000; Dollar et al., 2001
13 Sung, 2003
14 Swamy et al., 2000
corruption in a democratic context where corruption is condemned than in more autocratic contexts, where corruption seems to be more accepted as a way of doing business\textsuperscript{15}.

The cultural context is also likely to shape attitudes and behaviour towards corruption. Australian women have been found to be less tolerant of corruption than Australian men\textsuperscript{16}. However, such findings were not confirmed in India, Indonesia and Singapore, suggesting that gender attitudes towards corruption may not be universal but could be culture or context specific\textsuperscript{17}. The review of evidence tends to suggest that the broader cultural, social and institutional context, in which female and male politicians operate profoundly and asymmetrically, affect the relationship between gender and corruption in global politics\textsuperscript{18}.

Or do women have fewer opportunities to be corrupt?

Integrity may be more a function of opportunity rather than gender. Gender relations may limit women’s opportunities to engage in corruption and there is little evidence that women would act in a less corrupt manner if they could access high-level decision-making or management positions in the public and the private sectors. Women are traditionally underrepresented in male-dominated interactions where corruption occurs, such as commerce and politics and, in many countries, interactions of citizens with public officials in general.\textsuperscript{19} Since industrialisation, men have dominated the public sphere, while women have been restrained to their role as housewife and mother in the domestic sphere. Due to socially prescribed gender roles, women’s dealings are often focused outside the formal economy, limiting their interaction with corruption. As women lack access to resources, they may also be less targeted by demands for bribes and less likely to indulge in corrupt transactions. For example, findings from the 2015 Global Corruption Barometer indicate that, apart from when accessing court services, African women are less likely than men to have paid pay bribes in accessing most public services.\textsuperscript{20}

Some authors also argue that, as newcomers into the political or business arena, they are also less familiar with the rules of illicit transactions, and inexperience may also limit their ability to engage in corrupt transactions. There is, therefore, no evidence to suggest that women will not take advantage of opportunities to participate in corruption as they enter the workforce or take up more senior management positions\textsuperscript{21}. As a result, anti-corruption approaches based on recruiting more women into government could only have a short-term effect on corruption in democracies, and these are likely to fade as women became more firmly integrated into insider political and economic networks.

Supporting women’s participation in public life should therefore be pursued and promoted as an essential right and not as an anti-corruption imperative or strategy. This is all the more important as women have fewer opportunities to participate in public life and influence policy-making; they largely rely on policies designed by men to address their specific needs. In Scandinavian countries, for example, studies show that where women participation has been high (30 per cent) for quite a period of time, public policies become more responsive to their policy concerns, such as social, family or gender equity.\textsuperscript{22}

\textsuperscript{15} Easeray & Chirollo, 2013
\textsuperscript{16} Bowman & Giligan, 2008
\textsuperscript{17} Atalas et al., 2006
\textsuperscript{18} GOPAC, 2014
\textsuperscript{19} Goetz, 2003
\textsuperscript{20} Global Corruption Barometer.
\textsuperscript{21} Pande & Ford, 2011, Gender quotas and female leadership: a review
http://www.hks.harvard.edu/fs/rpande/papers/Gender%20Quotas%20-%20April%202011.pdf
\textsuperscript{22} Wängnerud, 2000. Testing the politics of presence: women’s representation in the Swedish Riksdag
THE GENDERED IMPACT OF CORRUPTION

Irrespective of whether women are more or less corrupt than men, they experience corruption in different ways than men, due to power imbalances and to the difference in participation in public versus domestic life. In addition, women (particularly poor women) often have fewer resources to use informal payments to access services or circles of influence and can be more frequently “denied” access to services because of their inability to pay bribes.

Gendered impact of corruption at the point of service delivery

As women tend to have a weaker voice to demand accountability, they can also become easier targets for corruption as they are less aware of their rights and less likely to report abuse. On the other hand, men tend to be more often in positions of power and have more opportunities to abuse their position for their own benefit. A number of studies show that men tend to see corruption in a more positive light than women, providing the opportunity to supplement one’s income and to potentially become rich\(^{23}\). Studies also show that women are more likely than men to feel that their lives are affected by corruption in a negative way\(^{24}\).

As women constitute the vast majority of people living in poverty, they are more affected by the vicious cycle that corruption creates for disadvantaged people\(^{25}\). As primary caretakers of their families, women are more dependent on public service provision, including healthcare and education, which makes them more vulnerable to extortion at the point of service delivery. As they lack resources to seek private alternatives, they are also primarily exposed to the devastating impact of corruption on the quality and quantity of public services\(^{26}\). Indeed, many women report the public service sector as the most corrupt part of the government. While women are likely to be more frequently in contact with schools and medical facilities, men are more frequently in contact with certain sectors, such as traffic police and registration authorities\(^{27}\).

Gender specific forms of corruption

There are also gender specific forms of corruption which are disproportionately experienced by women, such as sexual extortion. The phenomenon of “sextortion”, where sexual favours are used as a currency for corrupt practices, has gained prominence in recent years.\(^{28}\) women can be forced to perform sexual favours in exchange for services. These are forms of corruption that are not always recognised as corruption and even less likely to be reported, due to a culture of shaming and victim blaming.

Gender perspective on seeking redress for corruption

In many developing countries, women’s lack of political and economic leverage as well as lower levels of literacy and awareness of their rights and entitlements reduce their ability to demand accountability.

Although women tend to condemn corrupt behaviour more than men, they report corruption less often than men, as confirmed by Transparency International’s Global Corruption Barometer data, because they are more afraid of the consequences. Especially in the case of sexual extortion, this

\(^{23}\) Nordic Consulting Group, 2009
\(^{24}\) Transparency International’s Global Corruption Barometer.
\(^{25}\) http://www.transparency.org/whatwedo/activity/poverty_and_corruption_in_africa
\(^{26}\) Hossain et al., 2009
\(^{27}\) Nordic Consulting Group, 2009; Global Corruption Barometer
\(^{28}\) Huairou Commission, UNDP, 2012; Hossain et al., 2009
can be attributed to a culture of shaming and victim blaming in many countries. Women also often lack the necessary knowledge or means to report corruption or to file a complaint on the lack or quality of public service provided.

Corrupt law enforcement is likely to undermine women’s rights when bribes are used to protect the perpetrators of criminal acts against women from prosecution (such as rapists, sex traffickers, or abusive spouses and employers). Corruption may also create additional obstacles for women seeking redress: a corrupt judiciary implies a lack of access to justice for women, whose cases are often not processed or decided against them if the defendant has power, wealth or connections. In particular, case studies conducted in Uganda found that women had a common concern around limited access to justice in the police handling of cases of rape, defilement and domestic violence. As a response, women often find alternative solutions to public service and settle disputes outside the official system instead of contacting authorities.

Corruption and women’s access to public and political life

There is a growing body of research showing that corruption prevents women from getting into high-level posts in politics and business. Corruption and bad governance have a negative effect on women’s participation in politics, trapping women in the vicious circle of gender inequalities, lack of empowerment and corruption. Research in 18 European countries shows that corruption, clientelism and political networking have a negative impact on the proportion of elected women in local councils, further reducing the opportunities for women’s political participation.

This is also true for women’s participation in business and economic life. Corruption also affects women’s access to employment, credit and other financial services, creating additional obstacles on their path to economic empowerment. Women often face major discriminations in their countries, which are exacerbated when a society is corruption ridden. With institutions already restricted for women and promotion related to personal connections rather than merit, there are fewer opportunities for women to access decision-making circles in governments and companies.

WOMEN AS PART OF THE SOLUTION: A GENDERED APPROACH TO ANTI-CORRUPTION

Fighting corruption can improve women’s opportunities and quality of life. Countries with higher gender equity, experience lower levels of corruption, while gender inequity provides fertile ground for corruption through old boy networks. As gender equity and anti-corruption are closely intertwined and mutually reinforcing, considering the gendered dimensions of corruption can help design effective anti-corruption mechanisms.

While it is important to involve men, because they are more aware of how the system functions and are usually in roles of power and responsibility, there is a growing consensus on the crucial importance of involving women in public life, including but not limited to anti-corruption and the design of gender responsive and gender sensitive anti-corruption policies. In addition, as women play a key role in shaping the value system of any society and of future generations, in particular

29 Hossain et al., 2009
30 Transparency International, 2010
31 Nordic Consulting Group, 2009
32 Branisa & Zegler, 2011; Elin Bjarnegård, 2013
33 Sundstrom & Wangnerund, 2013
34 Transparency International, 2007. Gender and corruption: understanding and undoing the linkages
through raising their children, they have an important contribution to make in building sustainable integrity systems\textsuperscript{36}.

A number of steps can be taken to mitigate the gendered impact of corruption and promote public policies that address both gender inequities and corruption. Forms of corruption that affect women most, such as sexual extortion and human trafficking, should be recognised as such and be dealt with in a specific area of anti-corruption efforts. As petty corruption at the point of service delivery affects women more in their role as care givers and, by extension, denies them and their families access to essential public services, it should also be an important focus of gender sensitive anti-corruption. More specifically, actions can include:\textsuperscript{37}

- Collecting reliable gender disaggregated data. Policy-makers need to be better informed about the different ways in which corruption affects men and women differently (as well as other groups), to design targeted and more effective anti-corruption policies.
- Awareness-raising on the differential gender impact of corruption. Policy-makers need to become aware and to understand the gendered impact of corruption to design policies that address women and men’s specific concerns and experiences.
- Mainstreaming gender into anti-corruption programmes. Anti-corruption programming should integrate a gender equality dimension by taking into account the respective impact of anti-corruption programmes on women and men at the programme design stage. As part of such approaches, targeted anti-corruption policies should be combined with efforts to empower women in governance. This can be achieved through building the capacity of government, civil society, and media.
- Promoting women’s participation in public and political life. Women’s engagement in anti-corruption efforts can not only contribute to improved integrity and accountability but also contribute to building governance systems that are more responsive to women’s needs. Women’s groups, including grassroots groups, are important allies in the fight against corruption and the design of gender sensitive anti-corruption strategies.
- Capacity building and institutional support of women leaders. Women are often newcomers in decision-making circles and public life and often lack the necessary experience to make a difference. In many countries where political quotas are applied, capacity building and institutional support are necessary for making women’s participation more effective. In India, for example, a study of the impact of female leadership on the governance of a large public programme found more inefficiencies and leakages and vulnerability to bureaucratic capture in village councils headed by women. As women accumulated management and political experience, governance improved, and the governance of the programme was significantly better in female headed councils than in other councils\textsuperscript{38}.
- Promoting participatory and gender responsive budgeting. Resource allocation at the country level needs to adequately reflect gender specific concerns and priorities and ensure that expenditures benefit those who need it most. Women also need to be involved in the budget process, from budget planning, implementation, reporting and oversight to ensure that the budget adequately reflects their concerns. Their capacity may need to be improved for them to have a meaningful contribution in the budgeting process.
- Integrating women in the labour force of public services. Some countries have promoted the feminisation of the workforce as a strategy to curb corruption, with some success. While women’s education and participation in the labour force should be promoted as ensuring women’s rights and not as only an anti-corruption strategy, women’s engagement in anti-corruption efforts contributes to both improving integrity and accountability. For example, the increased representation of women teachers has contributed to reducing gender-based violence and sexual extortion in school systems and provides positive role models for young

\textsuperscript{36} Transparency International, 2014
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid
\textsuperscript{38} Afridi & al., 2013
women, resulting in improved performance in school enrolment and dropout rates. In Peru, in the late 1990s and early 2000s, a women-only traffic police force was established in Lima with some effect on reducing corruption.

- **Gender sensitive reporting mechanisms.** It is also important to strengthen women's voices and empower them to report corruption and demand accountability. Complaint mechanisms should be transparent, independent, accountable, accessible, safe, easy to use and, most importantly, gender sensitive. In some cultures, for example, girls will not complain to men. A study conducted in India found that women were more likely to report corruption in councils headed by women, which tend to indicate that presence of a women leader strengthens women's voices.

## RESOURCES ON THE LINKAGES BETWEEN GENDER AND CORRUPTION

### Are women less corrupt than men?

**Case studies on gender and corruption: The link between gender and corruption in Europe.**


This paper focuses on the link between gender and corruption in Europe and provides an overview of theoretical debates on the role of the gender perspective. It adds new knowledge through a number of cross-country comparative studies and case-studies at the subnational level and on both an elite and citizen level in Europe. Empirical results from Europe show that gender appears to matter for aspects such as tolerance of corruption, but the size of the gender gap, with women being more restricted than men, varies across Europe. Moreover, the link between gender and corruption at the elite level of society is affected by the norms and cultures of various government institutions. The author concludes that increasing the proportion of women in positions of power is no “quick fix” for corruption but might be a start for a policy change.

**Gender and corruption in business.** Breen, M., Gillanders, R., McNulty, G. and Suzuki, A., 2015.

https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/63850/1/MPRA_paper_63850.pdf

Are women less corrupt in business? The authors revisit this assumption using firm-level data from the World Bank’s Enterprise Surveys, which measure firms’ experience of corruption and the gender of their owners and top managers. The authors find that women in positions of influence are associated with less corruption: female-owned businesses pay less in bribes and corruption is seen as less of an obstacle in companies where women are represented in top management.

**Perspectives on gender and corruption.** Agerberg, M., 2014.


Using regional data on governance in Europe, collected by the Quality of Governance Institute, this paper looks at gender differences in the Quality of Government Institute’s regional data on governance in Europe from an individual and institutional perspective. This study examines the raw survey material, containing 85,000 respondents from over 200 NUTS regions in the EU. The results show interesting gender differences with regard to corruption: women, on average, perceive

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corruption levels as worse, report paying fewer bribes and have a lower tolerance of corrupt behaviour, compared to men. These gender differences seem to exist in basically all countries in the study. The results also indicate that a larger share of female politicians elected locally might have positive effects on the regional quality of governance.

**Gender stereotypes and corruption: How candidates affect perceptions of election fraud.**
http://journals.cambridge.org/download.php?file=%2FPAG%2FPAG10_03%2FS1743923X14000221a.pdf&code=bd6f4eeb25c72b99de5fb4dfe7e2a40f0

How do stereotypes of female candidates influence citizens’ perceptions of political fraud and corruption? Because gender stereotypes characterise female politicians as more ethical, honest, and trustworthy than male politicians, there are important theoretical reasons for expecting female politicians to mitigate perceptions of fraud and corruption. Using a novel experimental survey design, the authors found that the presence of a female candidate systematically reduces the probability that individuals will express strong suspicion of election fraud in what would otherwise be considered suspicious circumstances. Results from this experiment also reveal interesting heterogeneous effects: individuals who are not influenced by shared partisanship are even more responsive to gender cues; and male respondents are more responsive to those cues than females. These findings have potential implications for women running for office, both with respect to election fraud and corruption more broadly, particularly in low-information electoral settings.

**An experiment on corruption and gender.** Fernanda Rivas, M. Middle East Technical University, Northern Cyprus Campus, 2012.

The aim of this paper was to study in a controlled environment whether women and men behave in different ways with respect to corruption – as suggested in the papers using field data – or, on the contrary, they behave in a similar way. In the experiment, participants took one of two roles, that of a firm or that of a public official. The possibility of corruption was introduced by allowing the first player (the firm) to send some amount of money as a bribe to the second player (the public official) in the hope of persuading the official to take a decision favourable to the firm, although this decision had negative externalities over all the other participants in the experiment. The estimations show that even when controlling for the previous actions of the public officer, the public officer’s gender, and the firm’s risk aversion, a lower amount was transferred if the person playing the firm was a woman. When estimating the probabilities of the public official’s actions, men assigned a higher probability than women to the public official accepting the bribe and choosing the corrupt alternative. Moreover, both male and female firms expected female public officials to choose the corrupt alternative less frequently than male officials.


This laboratory corruption experiment found that if women are involved in a potentially corrupt transaction, it is more likely to fail. The reason is not that women are intrinsically more honest, but that they are more opportunistic when they have the chance to break an implicitly corrupt contract and less engaged in retaliating non-performance. The survey closes with tentative implications for development policy.

A substantial body of recent research looks at differences in the behaviour of men and women in diverse economic transactions. The authors investigate gender differences in behaviour when confronted with a common bribery problem, using economic experiments. Based on data collected in Australia (Melbourne), India (Delhi), Indonesia (Jakarta), and Singapore, results show that while women in Australia are less tolerant of corruption than men in Australia, no significant gender differences are seen in India, Indonesia and Singapore. Hence, these findings suggest that the gender differences reported in previous studies may not be as universal as stated, and may be more culture specific. The authors also explore behavioural differences by gender across countries and find larger variations in women's behaviour towards corruption than in men's across the countries in the sample.


This paper offers some preliminary analysis on the influence of gender on whether or not an individual engages in criminal and/or corrupt behaviour. By drawing on an empirical study, the paper examines the possible relationship between gender and perceptions of corruption in Australia. It suggests that, in general, Australian women appear to be less tolerant of corrupt scenarios than their male counterparts, although gender difference was not automatic across all scenarios. The results suggest that there may indeed be a gender dimension with respect to perceptions of corruption.


There is statistical evidence that countries with larger numbers of women in politics and in the workforce have lower levels of corruption, fuelling the myth that women are less corrupt than men. This finding can be explained by the fact that there are more women in politics and the workforce in liberal democracies that are also less corrupt than poorer less liberal regimes. The myth of women's incorruptibility is not, of course, new. It is grounded in essentialist notions of women's higher moral nature and an assumed propensity to bring this to bear on public life, and particularly on the conduct of politics. After demonstrating that some of the recent studies about gender and corruption record perceptions about propensities to engage in corrupt behaviour, this contribution suggests rather that the gendered nature of access to politics and public life shapes opportunities for corruption. In addition, corruption can be experienced differently by women and men, which has implications for anti-corruption strategies.


The topics of corruption and tax evasion have attracted significant attention in the literature in recent years. Building on that literature, the authors investigate empirically: (1) whether attitudes toward corruption and tax evasion vary systematically with gender and (2) whether gender differences
decline as men and women face similar opportunities for illicit behaviour. Using data on eight Western European countries from the World Values Survey and the European Values Survey, the results reveal significantly greater aversion to corruption and tax evasion among women. This holds across countries and time, and across numerous empirical specifications.


Two recent influential studies found that larger representations of women in government reduced corruption. Assuming that the observed gender differentials were caused by women’s inclinations towards honesty and the common good, both studies advocated increased female participation in government to combat corruption. This study argues that the observed association between gender and corruption is spurious and mainly caused by its context: liberal democracy, a political system that promotes gender equality and better governance. Data favours this “fairer system” thesis.


Numerous behavioural studies have found women to be more trustworthy and public-spirited than men. These results suggest that women should be particularly effective in promoting honest government. Consistent with this hypothesis, the authors find that the greater the representation of women in parliament, the lower the level of corruption. This association is found in a large cross-section of countries; the result is robust to a wide range of specifications.


Using several independent data sets, this study investigates the relationship between gender and corruption. The microdata show that women are less involved in bribery and are less likely to condone bribe taking. Cross-country data shows that corruption is less severe where women hold a larger share of parliamentary seats and senior positions in the government bureaucracy, and comprise a larger share of the labour force.

Women’s participation in public and political life and corruption


This paper uses meso-level theories to elaborate on the relationship between recruiting more women in office and corruption, the paper suggests that institutional logics mediate the effect of gendered experiences on corruption. The authors argue that the relationship between more women and lower levels of corruption is weaker in the state administration than in the legislative arena, because the bureaucratic administrative logic absorbs actors’ personal characteristics. The institutional argument is refined by claiming that the stronger the bureaucratic principles are in the administration, the less gender matters. The theory uses data provided by the European Commission (EC) covering the EC countries and original data from the Quality of Government Institute Expert Surveys, covering a larger set of countries on a worldwide scale.
Gender equality in parliaments and political corruption. GOPAC, 2014.
Global Organization of Parliamentarians Against Corruption position paper
http://gopacnetwork.org/Docs/PositionPapers/PP_WPN_EN_WEB.pdf

The most recent research on gender and political corruption challenges the view that increasing the number of women elected to political office decreases political corruption. The reality is far more nuanced, with the broader social and institutional context, in which female and male politicians operate, profoundly and asymmetrically, shaping the relationship between gender and corruption in global politics. An increase in the number of women in parliament will tend to reduce corruption, if the country in question has reasonably robust systems to uphold democracy and to enforce anti-corruption laws. However, in the absence of such systems, women’s participation in parliament is unlikely to have any impact on the levels of national corruption.

As a result, the Global Organization of Parliamentarians Against Corruption’s (GOPAC) Women in Parliament Network concludes that to reduce corruption, countries should recruit greater female participation in politics in tandem with taking steps to increase institutional political transparency, to strengthen parliamentary oversight and to enforce strong penalties for corruption.


This paper uses the national policy of randomly allocating village council headships to women to identify the impact of female political leadership on the governance of projects under the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act in India. Using primary survey data, the authors find more programme inefficiencies and leakages in village councils reserved for women heads: political and administrative inexperience make such councils more vulnerable to bureaucratic capture. When using a panel of audit reports, governance improves as female leaders accumulate experience. Women political leaders not only catch-up in the delivery of public programmes but generate governance dividends once initial, gendered disadvantages recede.

United Nations Economic Commission for Europe

Corruption determines the quality of the “doing business” environment at large. The aim of this paper is to explore entrepreneurs’ corrupt behaviour by looking at two questions: (1) does gender matter in corrupt behaviour and (2) can corruption be an explanatory factor for gender gaps in company growth by looking at empirical evidence of whether and the extent to which female entrepreneurs face gender-specific challenges and might have different behaviours based on different ethics and moral standards. The findings suggest that women entrepreneurs do have a significant lower propensity to bribe compared to men entrepreneurs. Looking at the impact of corruption on employment growth, the authors find a general negative impact of administrative corruption especially for micro-enterprises but a positive one for women entrepreneurs. This is consistent with the fact that the majority of women are micro-entrepreneurs; for them it is easier to escape the attention of corrupt officials, but greasing the wheels of state bureaucracy might become necessary and facilitate their firm’s growth.


Cross-national studies have found evidence that women are individually more disapproving of corruption than men and that female participation in government is negatively associated with perceived corruption at the country level. In this paper, the authors argue that this difference reflects
greater pressure on women to comply with political norms as a result of discrimination and risk aversion, and therefore a gender gap exists in some political contexts but not others. Bribery, favouritism, and personal loyalty are often characteristic of the normal operation of autocratic governments and not stigmatised as corruption. The paper finds weak or non-existent relationships between gender and corruption in this context. It finds much stronger relationships in democracies, where corruption is more typically stigmatised.

*Re-examining the link between gender and corruption: The role of social institutions.*
Branisa, B., Ziegler, M., 2011.
Proceedings of the German Development Economics Conference, Berlin 2011, No. 15

This paper reviews the literature on the relationship between the representation of women in economic and political life, democracy and corruption, and brings in a new previously omitted variable that captures the level of discrimination against women in a society: social institutions related to gender inequality. Using a sample of developing countries, the authors regress corruption on the representation of women, democracy and other control variables. The sub-index, civil liberties from the OECD Development Centre’s GID database, serves as a measure of social institutions related to gender inequality. The results show that corruption is higher in countries where social institutions deprive women of their freedom to participate in social life, even accounting for democracy and representation of women in political and economic life as well as for other variables. The findings suggest that, in a context where social values disadvantage women, neither political reforms towards democracy nor increasing the representation of women in political and economic positions might be enough to reduce corruption.

*Corruption and the balance of gender power.*
in Clarkson University, Review of Law and Economics
https://ideas.repec.org/a/bpj/rlecon/v6y2010i1n2.html

This paper seeks to explain the negative relationship between female participation in a government and corruption found in empirical research. The authors propose that even if there are no innate gender differences towards moral values, the costs of corrupt behaviour may still differ across genders and are related to the proportion of female participation in government agencies. Hence, females behave more honestly than males do, not because they are naturally prone to it, but because they cannot afford to be corrupt if they are a minority.

*Gender, corruption and sustainable growth in transition countries.*
https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/20469/

This paper analyses the relationship between gender and corruption for a specific sample of countries, sharing a common cultural and historical legacy: transition countries. The relationship between a higher number of women in parliament and a decreasing level of corruption is supported by data. Relations with other forms of social activity by women were found to be insignificant. From the evidence the article concludes that an increase in women representation in parliament has a positive effect for a country through its negative relationship to corruption. However, the authors understand that due to a small sample size the results could not be considered as fully credible.

*Rent-seeking and gender in local governance.*
http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00220380802265611#.VpT8nv5ihaQ

The paper examines the relationship between corruption and gender in the context of local government in India, using a logic model. Recent debates about women’s participation in electoral
politics suggest that the presence of more women in government will engender public policy and tends to reduce corruption. The evidence examined in this paper indicates that gender is not a significant factor in explaining levels of corruption. Although nearly 40 per cent of the elective positions in the institutions of local government are occupied by women, there is no significant gender difference in attitudes towards rent-seeking or in actual levels of corruption between male and female representatives.

Country and region specific information on gender and corruption

http://digitalcommons.ursinus.edu/int_sum/1/

This paper examines whether the gender of a political leader in Latin America changes the level of corruption in the country. To understand if a female political leader brings changes to corruption in their respective countries, this paper examines the case of Argentina and the president, Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner, to see if a difference in gender brings about a change in corruption and supplements its findings with data and information on other Latin American countries. The paper first constructs a theoretical framework to explain, how and why a female political leader might have a different effect on corruption than a male leader, focusing on the effects that culture may have on female leaders' policy and how the expectation of voters may change the way a female politician acts. The next part of the paper explores whether corruption levels as well as if the policy and agendas of female politicians support the theories of the study.


Using sub-national survey data by Transparencia Mexicana to compare corruption levels over time and how they relate to the number of women in government, this paper suggests that levels of corruption affect women’s ability to enter the political arena, but that once in political office, the presence of women in government contributes to reducing corruption.

in Economics Honors Papers. Paper 17
http://digitalcommons.conncoll.edu/econhp/17

This paper examines corruption, trust, and gender perceptions in Peru and the United States. Using two self-designed surveys, 150 Peruvians and 771 Americans were asked about the perceptions of ethics. Both surveys highlight how ethical questions are related between emerging and developed nations. In a developing country, perceptions of gender differences are affected by income and education. The more educated a person is, the less likely they are to think that women are less corrupt than men. Interestingly, the education effect disappears in the study in the United States. Instead, there is a clear correlation between the results of a hypothetical trust game and real life ethical situations. If someone is more trusting in a hypothetical situation they are also found to be more trusting in real situations. A scenario that asked respondents to assess the likelihood that someone returns a stolen wallet shows that all participants see it as more likely for women to return a lost wallet. Some of the other scenarios do not have answers that are as clear.


This working paper contributes to setting the basis for a policy dialogue and analysis on gender and corruption in Latin America. The paper defines a basic conceptual framework on corruption and
gender and develops an analytical methodology based on three case studies: Chile, Colombia and El Salvador. It analyses how some ideas have been approached in current studies and questions with new evidence some premises that have been part of collective notions. This recent publication also offers some clues that can serve as starting points to promote related theoretical research and public policies.

RESOURCES ON THE GENDERED IMPACT OF CORRUPTION

U4 Brief 2015:9 4 p

What supports the claim that corruption causes more suffering for women than men? By distinguishing between indirect victimisation and direct victimisation, it is reasonable to assume women suffer more, and differently, than men. A review of the scarce evidence on the direct impacts of corruption qualifies this claim to some extent. Nevertheless, a general reduction of gender inequalities can address the root causes of the gendered impacts of corruption. Anti-corruption programming should include an analysis of differences in gender exposure and vulnerability to corruption, while gender programmes would benefit from an anti-corruption lens.

Gender and corruption. SIDA, 2015.
http://www.sida.se/contentassets/3a820dbd152f4fca98bacde8a8101e15/gender-and-corruption.pdf

Corruption and gender inequality are in many ways closely connected. Men and women are affected by corruption in different ways, and are subjects and objects of different corrupt practices and behaviours. Gender inequality breeds corruption and vice versa: corruption tends to exacerbate gender inequalities. A gender perspective is necessary if we are to find effective strategies to combat corruption and achieve sustainable development. This brief provides an introduction to linkages between gender and corruption relevant in Sida’s work, and gives suggestions on how to address corruption in gender policies and gender in anti-corruption strategies.

http://proceedings.aom.org/content/2014/1/12238.short

There is limited literature on the effect of gender on corruption in business. Using firm-level panel data from 27 countries in Eastern and Central Europe, the authors find a negative and significant, but small, relationship between female owned/managed firms and corruption propensity, with a much greater relationship being found between corruption and contextual factors.

Seeing beyond the state: Grassroots women’s perspectives on corruption and anti-corruption. The Huairou Commission; UNDP, 2012.

The objective of the study was to document grassroots women’s perceptions and lived experiences of corruption in developing countries and to bring this experience into the discourse regarding anti-corruption, gender equality and women’s empowerment. It is intended to direct attention to the lack of research on the gendered impact of corruption on poor communities. Participants shared their experiences in surveys and focus group discussions. The results show that corruption, as experienced in and defined by grassroots communities, covers a wide range of exploitative
practices, such as physical abuse, sexual favours, and both the giving and taking of bribes. Grassroots women defined the non-delivery of public services as a cause, consequence and intrinsic component of corrupt practices. Women reported being subjected to corruption when seeking employment and running businesses in both the formal and informal sectors as well as in obtaining documentation. As the most corrupt government agency, however, grassroots women most often named the police force.


This report examines the relationship between gender equality and corruption. The data suggests that “petty” corruption affects poor women in particular and that the currency of corruption is frequently sexualised: women and girls are often asked to pay bribes in the form of sexual favours. Corruption thus disproportionately affects poor women because of their low levels of economic and political empowerment that constrain their ability to change the status quo or to hold states accountable to deliver services that are their right. The second part of the report reflects on women’s relative propensity to engage in corrupt activities, as expressed in commonly held assumptions that women in public office are less corrupt than men. The section concludes that there is very little to be gained from assuming that women’s gender generates higher probity. It argues that building public accountability and governance systems that are responsive to women’s needs is more important in reducing the gendered impacts of corruption. In the third part of the report, strategic entry points for the UNDP and the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) staff to address gender issues throughout their anti-corruption and governance work are suggested.


The article hypothesises that corruption and partiality in government favour clientelism and advancement of candidates with access to traditional networks, which in turn has a negative impact on the proportion of elected women. The argument was tested on a new, as yet unused dataset on locally elected councillors in 167 regions of 18 European countries. Using a novel measure of regional corruption and quality of government, a multi-level analysis with several regional-level as well as national-level control variables was performed. As such, this article is one of the first to study the variance of women’s local political representation within countries in a comparative perspective. The results suggest that levels of corruption, partiality, and ineffectiveness of government substantially affect the proportion of female councillors. The article contributes by illustrating how bad governance is an important determinant for women’s political presence in contemporary Europe and concludes that hindrances to female representation are not eliminated by the reformation of formal and organisational factors alone.

_A gender analysis of corruption forms, effects and eradication strategies: Case studies in the poor in urban and post conflict settings, Uganda._ Nordic Consulting Group, 2009.

This study focuses on the extent to which various forms and effects, as well as eradication strategies of corruption are gendered, using a case study approach in two areas: Kampala and Pader. The study includes a mapping of the forms of corruption and their different demands in relation to men and women as well as an examination of whether women and men face different constraints in coping with and reporting corruption. The study confirms that there are gender differences in forms and effects of corruption. Most notably, women experience extortion more frequently than men. They are more easily intimidated into paying a bribe especially in post-conflict
areas. Sexual extortion as a special variation of extortion was highlighted as an issue by women specifically. Further, women are severely affected by corruption in the health sector because they are more dependent on access to quality healthcare. Men on the contrary mentioned how they can benefit from corruption. This study also suggests that men are more aware of how the system functions and they have many ideas on how corruption could be eradicated. Women are more engaged in issues that affect them personally. Both men and women stress that complaint mechanisms should be brought closer to the communities as a key eradication strategy.

http://www.unifem.org/progress/2008/media/POWW08_Report_Full_Text.pdf

This volume of Progress of the World’s Women demonstrates that the Millennium Development Goals and other international commitments to women will only be met if gender responsive accountability systems are put in place both nationally and internationally. In too many countries, even where the constitution or laws prohibit it, women may be denied equal pay; they may be sexually harassed at work, or dismissed if they become pregnant. Women who assert a claim to land may find that claim disputed by village elders or their own husbands. Women seeking care during childbirth may be pressed to pay bribes for a midwife’s attention. Women who have been victims of sexual violence might encounter judges more sympathetic to the perpetrators, and receive no redress for their suffering. Women’s struggles to expose gender-based injustice and demand redress have changed how we think about accountability. The chapters in this volume examine how gender responsive changes to accountability systems are enhancing women’s influence in politics and their access to public services, to economic opportunities, to justice, and finally to international assistance for development and security.

Resources from Transparency International’s Anti-Corruption Helpdesk

Working paper
http://www.transparency.org/whatwedo/publication/working_paper_02_2010_corruption_and_gender_in_service_delivery_the_unequal

Corruption in the provision of basic services, such as health and education, can have disproportionate and negative consequences for women and girls, compromising their own empowerment as well as the gender equality and development of their country. It can seriously compromise their access to quality schools and clinics, their own social and economic empowerment and even their country’s prospects for growth, gender equality and wider social change. Corruption directly thwarts progress in all these areas by exacerbating poverty and gender gaps. In developing countries, the effects can be stark when basic services are of low quality and gender inequalities are already high. This working paper investigates corruption’s role in the process and the severe impact it exacts on women and girls.

U4 Expert Answer
http://www.u4.no/publications/state-of-research-on-gender-and-corruption/

Corruption may affect progress towards gender equality and women’s empowerment by limiting women’s capacities to claim their rights. Evidence is inconclusive on whether women are more or less prone to corruption than men. A review of recent literature indicates that a more important dimension is corruption’s disproportionate impact on women. This appears to be particularly the case in fragile state settings. Research shows that good practice to mitigate the effects of corruption on women include improved female participation in oversight processes and accountability systems.

There are few governance indicators that systematically capture the gender dimension of corruption in education. However, there is a growing consensus that corruption undermines the quality and quantity of public services, and reduces the resources available for the poor and the women, ultimately exacerbating social and gender disparities. Corruption hits disadvantaged groups – including women – harder, as they rely more on the public system, have less resources to make informal payments to access education services and seek legal protection. Women are also more vulnerable to specific forms of corruption, such as sexual extortion, in exchange for schooling, good grades and other school privileges. There is no empirical evidence available on the long-term impact of corruption on gender disparities in the education sector. However, there is a general consensus that such practices have long-term consequences on women’s education outcomes, psychological and physical health as well as gender equity, ultimately affecting long-term social and economic progress.


Access to healthcare is fundamental to quality of life. It is essential to inclusive human development, and it is also a fundamental human right enshrined in the UN Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. The health sector is particularly exposed to corruption due to multiple information asymmetries, the complexity of health systems and the large size of public funds involved. Corruption in the sector takes many forms and ranges from undue influence on health policies, to embezzlement of funds, to the solicitation of bribes and under-the-counter payments at the point of service delivery. The consequences of expensive, ill-tailored, inaccessible or unsafe health products and services hit women particularly hard. This is because they often have higher and differentiated needs for health services, but also because they bear the brunt of poor services as primary providers of homecare and are less empowered to demand accountability and assert entitlements. Corruption in the health sector, therefore, contributes to and exacerbates in most developing countries persistent disparities in access to health services. This has hugely detrimental effects, not only on the health of women but also on their capabilities for educational attainment, income-generation and thus, ultimately, their status and the attainment of gender equity.


There is little research capturing the gender dimension of corruption in humanitarian assistance. However, as women represent the higher proportion of the population in need of assistance worldwide, they are likely to be disproportionately affected by the impact of corruption on the quality and quality of humanitarian assistance. Corruption in humanitarian aid occurs at all stages of the programme cycle, from the targeting and registration process, to the distribution of relief aid, procurement, financial management and programme evaluations. Women are more specifically affected by gender specific forms of corruption such as sexual exploitation and abuse. In the short term, corruption compromises women’s access to basic services such as food, shelter, family planning, health and education. This has long lasting physiological, psychological and social consequences, compromising women’s opportunities and prospects of social and economic empowerment.
RESOURCES ON GOOD PRACTICE IN ADDRESSING THE GENDER ASPECTS OF CORRUPTION

Standards and guidelines


Policy brief 01/2014

http://www.transparency.org/whatwedo/publication/policy_position_01_2014_gender_equality_and_corruption_what_are_the_linkage

Women experience, perceive and suffer from corruption differently than men, reflecting the differences between the genders that are evident in other spheres of life. Women's social, political and economic roles in a country will condition how they interact with and are vulnerable to specific types of corruption, such as sexual extortion. Making the link between gender and corruption may help to develop a better understanding of corrupt practices and craft more effective strategies to target them. As part of this agenda, focusing on and empowering women must form an important part of the solution. Higher levels of women's rights and participation in public life are associated with better governance and lower levels of corruption in many countries. Women also are an important source for understanding corruption and designing effective strategies to address the problem that affects their everyday lives.

Practical insights: handbooks and toolkits


Central and Eastern Europe have made considerable progress in good governance but not achieved equal opportunities for men and women employed within the civil service. Political and public institutions remain deeply entrenched in patriarchal culture; women play a marginal role in decision-making and public institutions do not provide sufficient incentives to create a female friendly work environment. This survey methodology is designed as a resource for understanding and contribution to current research on gender and corruption within the civil service and as a practical toolkit for implementing a survey on perceptions and experiences of gender, transparency and corruption.


This handbook serves as a tool, rather than offering clear-cut solutions, to the problem of underrepresentation at the local level. It gives information on methods that have been used elsewhere in an attempt to increase women's participation in the political sphere. Moreover, it focuses on what women need to do and can do themselves. It is the ones most affected who can act on a problem to bring about change. The first part briefly elaborates the theoretical framework of equal participation in decision-making. Part two provides an overview of the relevant international norms and standards in the field of women's participation in politics. The third part is the main part of this handbook and highlights several good practices that are relevant to the Georgian context as

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41 This is meant as an illustrative and not a comprehensive list of resources on how to address the gendered impact of corruption.
This part is subdivided in measures to elect women to public office and measures to ensure women's political participation.

**Handbook on promoting women participation in political parties. OSCE/ODIHR, 2014.**
http://www.osce.org/odihr/120877?download=true

This handbook on *Promoting Women’s Participation in Political Parties* encourages political party leaders to support the integration of gender aspects into internal political party decision-making processes. It also seeks to develop the capacity of women politicians to advance their political careers. The key finding that has emerged during the development of this handbook is that internal party reform is critical to women’s advancement. A lack of internal party democracy and transparency, the absence of gender-sensitivity in candidate selection and outreach, as well as the failure to decentralise party decision-making processes, all inhibit women’s opportunities to advance as leaders within parties and as candidates for elected office. To this end, the handbook provides a valuable overview of voluntary measures that political parties can adopt to enhance gender equality within party structures, processes, policies and activities, as a means to provide both women and men equal opportunities to participate meaningfully in the political life of OSCE participating states.

**Gender responsive budgeting portal. UNIFEM, 2010**

The gender responsive budgeting (GRB) web portal facilitates the exchange of information between academics, practitioners, researchers and activists working on gender budget initiatives. The website provides governments, non-governmental organisations, parliaments and academics with resources for understanding and applying GRB. The portal is the only website exclusively devoted to GRB.

**Gender responsive budgets: Issues, good practices and policy options. Villagómez, E.,2004.**

This note looks first at the main issues and challenges surrounding the application of gender responsive budgeting including its definition, location (national budgets, special programmes, local authorities, specific policies and actors involved), the issues addressed (for example: healthcare, fiscal policies, social expenditure, and so on), and where it can be applied in terms of the budget cycle (planning, audit and evaluation). The following section makes a brief review of the ongoing initiatives based on an in-depth analysis of initiatives in specific areas of introducing a gender perspective into the budget in a selected number of Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) member countries. However, good practices from the most successful initiatives in a few developing countries are also included. Next, a more systematic discussion of lessons learned and policy options is presented, which could serve as a guideline for new initiatives in ECE member countries.

**Gender responsive budgeting in Nordic countries: The Scandinavian experience. Barriers, Results and Opportunities. Schmitz, C. The Nordic Council of Ministers, 2006.**

This review of the Scandinavian experience with gender responsive budgeting draws a number of lessons. Experience from the Nordic countries of integrating a gender perspective in the budgetary process shows that a comprehensive and tailor-made training programme is needed for officers at different levels, giving them specific training in accordance with their role and responsibility. Proper gender analysis can only be done by people with the relevant expertise, which means that public servants in health, agriculture, environment, and so on, have to be trained in gender analysis methods to do the analysis themselves. The also needs support from gender experts with specific knowledge in policy. This means that gender analysis should be done with competences from policy
and gender. There is also a need to develop gender analysis methods as an integrated part of ordinary procedures.

**Stopping the abuse of power through sexual exploitation: Naming, shaming and ending sextortion.** International Association of Women Judges (IAWJ), 2012. http://www.iawj.org/Sextortion.html

Even when laws are in place, relatively few sextortion cases appear to be prosecuted outside the employment context. One reason may be precisely what distinguishes sextortion from other corrupt and abusive conduct, namely that it has both a sexual component and a corruption component. Building on the work of its partners, the IAWJ developed an international Sextortion Toolkit and brochure. The toolkit is intended to raise awareness about sextortion and provide the “tools” – guidance, information, and resources – with which to address a pervasive, but often hidden, form of corruption that degrades its victims and undermines social institutions around the world. It defines the term “sextorsion”, outlines steps to take to address sextortion in a given country, provides guidance about how to assess the adequacy of the existing national and international legal framework for prosecuting sextortion in a country as well as about how to assess whether the institutional framework in a country has the capacity to support successful prosecution of sextortion.


This handbook aims to bring together knowledge and experience from NATO, partner and allied armed forces on the prevention of misconduct and handling and monitoring of complaints within armed forces, with particular regard to gender. It is a resource for armed forces, ministries of defence, ombuds institutions and others that manage and oversee armed forces in: (1) establishing a safe and non-discriminatory environment for men and women in the armed forces; (2) dealing with instances and complaints of gender related discrimination, harassment, bullying and abuse in the armed forces; and (3) monitoring and overseeing the handling of instances and complaints of gender related discrimination, harassment, bullying and abuse in the armed forces.