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Gender and corruption: A toolkit to address the 'add women and stir' myth

Bérengère SIM*, Nikita BLANES*, Josette BOCKELIE*, Angel KHARYA*, Ana Paula NUNES*, José Ricardo ORTIZ*, Laëtitia ROMAIN*, Suvina SINGAL*, Julie VAINQUEUR**

Sciences Po Paris, Paris, France

berengere.sim@sciencespo.fr
nikita.blanes@sciencespo.fr
josette.bockelie@sciencespo.fr
angel.kharya@sciencespo.fr
anapaula.nuneslopesgarcia@sciencespo.fr
jose.ortizrodriguez@sciencespo.fr
laetitia.romain@sciencespo.fr
suvina.singal@sciencespo.fr
julie.vainqueur@sciencespo.fr

* All authors contributed equally
**Non-author contributor: fact checker, researcher

Abstract: The year 2001 saw the beginning of the controversy linking gender and corruption pushed to the forefront of anti-corruption policy debate: David Dollar, Raymond Fisman, and Roberta Gatti published "Are women really the 'fairer' sex? Corruption and women in government" and Anand Swamy, Stephen Knack, Young Lee, and Omar Azfar published "Gender and Corruption."

Both papers established a statistically significant positive correlation between women and corruption levels; the authors validated utilising women as an anti-corruption tool based on their 'scientifically-proven' incorruptibility. This toolkit was created in response to this controversy; it seeks to switch the focus from the question of what women can do to reduce corruption to developing a deeper analysis of how corruption, gender and other dimensions intersect in order to create meaningful and effective policy measures.

This toolkit builds upon a white paper "Mapping Controversies: Gender and Corruption," which used a science, technologies, and society approach. It draws on the findings and research of the white paper: literature and desk research of over 200 scientific and academic publications and interviews with seven experts in the fields of gender studies and corruption.

The toolkit recommends the application of a rights-based approach when encouraging women's participation in government, as opposed to the over-simplified and instrumental strategy of infusing institutions with women as a corruption cure-all. This toolkit recommends that researchers and policy makers consider nuanced and inclusive notions of gender and corruption respectively. Furthermore, when studying gender and corruption, the differentiated impacts of corruption on different genders (including intersectionality) must be taken into account.

Key Words: Gender, Corruption, Toolkit, Women, Transparency, Intersectionality

1   Gender and corruption: correlation, causation, or simply the wrong question?

In 1999, Mexico City's police chief established an all-female force, in a bid to tackle corruption amongst police officers (Washington Post, 1999). Around the same time, a similar policy was implemented in Lima, Peru, as reported by *The Daily Telegraph* (Swamy et al., 2001). These calls for women to the front lines of police forces are some of the first examples of the 'just add women and stir' anti-corruption strategy: recruiting women on the basis that they are less likely to partake in corruption.

Using these two examples as a springboard for their research, David Dollar, Raymond Fisman, and Roberta Gatti published, "Are women really the 'fairer' sex? Corruption and women in government" in 2001. That same year, Anand Swamy, Stephen Knack, Young Lee, and Omar Azfar published the article "Gender and Corruption." These two articles laid the groundwork for the controversy surrounding gender and corruption. By establishing a statistically significant positive correlation between women and corruption levels, the authors validated utilising women as an anti-corruption tool based on their 'scientifically-proven' incorruptibility. Both papers' conclusions support policy measures that rely upon this idea: increase or exclusively appoint women, as in the cases of Mexico City and Lima, to curb corruption.

Since 2001, numerous academic and scientific articles as well as experiments have dissected the correlation presented in these two founding papers. While some authors claim the correlation is spurious based on political norms, institutions or general cultural differences, other behavioural or psychological studies appear to support the findings. The debate has gone on to provide the basis for policy decisions across the world that call for increased women representation as an anti-corruption measure.

Yet, the science upon which gender and corruption policies are based is inherently flawed, as this policy toolkit will explore. Moreover, the policies based on this scientific reasoning often reinforce inequalities and harmful stereotypes. This underscores the harmful repercussions of flawed science on policy making.

This toolkit builds upon a white paper "Mapping Controversies: Gender and Corruption,"[1] which used a science, technologies, and society approach. It draws on its findings and research: literature and desk research of over 200 scientific and academic publications and interviews with seven experts in the fields of gender studies and corruption. This toolkit expands the initial research with a supplementary bibliography and a discussion using gender and feminist perspectives on the gendered

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[1] The white paper was written by a group of 16 students during spring 2016 in the context of a Sciences Po Paris' Master's course "Mapping Controversies: Gender and Corruption," which is available online through the Sciences Po Media Lab: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/315053145_Mapping_Controversies_Gender_and_Corruption, DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.27554.84164.

impact of corruption, along with providing illustrative examples of policies around the world based on flawed science linking gender and corruption.

Nonetheless, this toolkit recognises several limits. First, while it provides a general perspective on research and policy making by highlighting the gendered perspectives that exists and the ignorance of the different layers of corruption, the recommendations identified provide neither methodologies in research nor policy making. In addition, while the toolkit addresses all levels of corruption, it does not claim that they have the same impact or that they should be addressed in the same manner. Finally, while this toolkit recognises that gender is a spectrum, for reasons of data-collection and policy formulation, the toolkit uses a functional definition that refers to gender primarily as men and women. The toolkit focuses on women as a response to the types of research that has been produced.

This toolkit on gender and corruption research presents seven recommendations to improve anti-corruption research and policy making by adopting a gendered perspective of corruption. These seven recommendations are grouped under four overarching recommendations: apply a rights-based approach to gender and corruption; account for a more comprehensive understanding of the term 'gender;' employ a more nuanced definition of corruption; and focus on examining the impact of corruption on gender. As these recommendations target both research and policy making, civil society organizations, researchers of gender and corruption, and policy makers should find recommendations applicable to their work.

2   Apply a rights-based approach to gender and corruption

This recommendation will explore how 'just add women and stir' anti-corruption policies create a vicious cycle and harm the gender equality agenda, underlining the need to apply a rights-based approach. Additionally, it discusses the need to include women in public life and services as a fulfilment of their basic human rights to participate fully in society, rather than a utilitarian reasoning as "political cleaners" (Goetz, 2007).

Since the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action, the United Nations (UN) has called for both gender mainstreaming (the systematic integration of gender into development projects) and the use of a human rights-based approach (the integration of international human rights standards and principles into development projects). This has reinforced the emerging 'gender and development' approach that seeks to empower women and develop their agency through the examination of stereotypes and power relations between men and women (CEDPA, 1996; UN Women, 2014; UN Development Group – Human Rights Working Group, n.d.).

Thus, to promote the gender equality agenda, research on gender and corruption (and the policies that follow the research) ought to employ this same approach.

2.1 Encourage women to participate in public life and services as a fair system strategy

Despite the UN's position to include a rights-based approach and gender mainstreaming when it comes to policy-making, policies continue to instrumentalise women as an anti-corruption tool. During a Skype interview in April 2016, Anne-Marie Goetz, former Chief Advisor for the Governance, Peace and Security department at UN Women, explains that the interest in women and politics is a 'double-edged sword:'

> …It is very dangerous to claim that simply the physical presence of women in decision making will result in desirable outcomes without addressing many, many other things, such as the nature of the state, the prevailing culture of decision making, the dominant political parties.

Indeed, she continues, stressing that

> ...It's a dangerous sort of correlation to make because if women don't deliver lower corruption or if they deliver worse decision making then the instrumental argument for putting them in power is disproven, and that's actually extremely dangerous.

As the policy dissected below demonstrates, regardless of the successfulness to curb corruption, the utilitarian methodology harms the gender equality agenda as the sole purpose of the participation of women in public life relies upon their incorruptibility rather than their right to participate fully in society.

The case of Peru has been amply cited as a successful case of 'adding' women to curb corruption (notably in Swamy et al., 2001). Similar to the Mexico City case cited in the introduction, it consisted in the creation of an all-women traffic police in 1998. According to Karim's (2011) study of 400 women traffic police officials, it worked[2]. The Peruvian public echoed this sentiment in 2004, with an opinion poll conducted by *Apoyo Opinión y Mercado*, a Peruvian polling agency cited by Karim (*ibid*), reporting that 86% of the population approve women transit officers' work.

Since street-level corruption is one of the most visible forms of corruption, politicians and the National Police of Peru focus on this type of corruption based on its 'marketable' qualities; yet, street-level corruption is far less rampant than institutional corruption in Peru (*Ibid*). Indeed, a study published in 2005 highlighted that corruption within the National Police of Peru begins at the top (Costa and Neild, 2005). Echoing Goetz's fear concerning the "dangerous correlation" made between women and lower levels of corruption, one of the female traffic officers admitted in an interview: "maybe one per cent of women take bribes, but when one female takes a bribe, we are all denounced as corrupt, when the real corrupt ones are our supervisors" (Karim, 2011: n.p.). Thus, the National Police of Peru's policy not only endangers the gender equality agenda by reinforcing stereotypes, but also distracts from the more important corruption issues the country faces. Despite the positive effect on lowering corruption by adding women, Karim (*ibid*) found high levels of frustration due to lower

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[2] 53.8% of women traffic police officers give tickets as opposed to 4.6% of men and 30.8% of women uphold the law versus 3.9% of men. Also, 95% of the 400 women surveyed felt they have played a role in reducing corruption (*Ibid*).

pay and fewer opportunities for promotion amongst the women police transit officers in Lima. The author concludes: "administrative corruption and gender-based job dissatisfaction may threaten to undermine those gains [the reduction in street-level corruption]" (*ibid*: n.p.).

Hence, anticorruption policies must take into account a gendered perspective and use a rights-based approach to protect the gender equality agenda and avoid instrumentalisation of women in public life. Furthermore, these policies ought to take advantage of the possibility to directly implicate those most affected by corruption, notably women, to co-construct policies that will be effective and pertinent to responding to the issues.

3   Account for a more comprehensive understanding of the term 'gender'

Research and policy making ought to adopt a more nuanced conception of gender to consider the horizontal and vertical complexity of the term. Gender must be differentiated from sex when research claims to analyse the relationship between gender and corruption. Furthermore, research and policy making must look at intersectionality within the concept of gender and how these notions differ the relationship with corruption.

3.1   Include a more nuanced concept of 'gender' rather than the binary concept of 'sex' in experiments and research in corruption research

Human beings exhibit anatomical features, which could allow them to be categorised into constructed binary sex categories, i.e. female or male[3]. A gendered perspective, however, lends support to the argument that gender, i.e., the behaviour or traits associated with the respective sexes are not intrinsic to them, but are instead a performance of the roles into which they have been socialised (de Beauvoir 1972; Millet 1971; Butler 1990). The gender binary arises from attributing traits associated with femininity (i.e. emotional vulnerability, altruism, risk averseness) to females, while traits associated with masculinity (i.e. risk-taking, independence, assertiveness) to males. These notions of femininity and masculinity, and hence, gender, are socially constructed. That is, masculine and feminine traits are not natural to anatomically differentiated bodies (such as the binary categories of male and female), but are defined and imposed on through a social process. These traits vary depending on the context in which a person is situated, which is composed of other social dimensions such as racial classification, class, nationality, etc. In addition, what it means to be a masculine or feminine also changes over time.

Most behavioural experiments or studies establishing women as the fairer sex (Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990; Schulze and Frank, 2000) do not take into account the social construction of gender. Behaviour is related to gender and not sex; such research conflates the two concepts. As a result, all

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3 Sex categories have been theorized as socially constructed by social scientists as well (see Antony 1997; Gatens 1996; Grosz 1994; Prokhovnik 1999; Butler 1999).

males are assumed to be masculine and all females are assumed to be feminine. This conflation implies that the way in which males and females act is biological—thus making it appear that behaviour can be correctly predict on the basis of their sex, and that it is permanent and does not change over time. This faulty assumption of behavioural traits being innate to sex continues to inform policy. For instance, in 2017, the police force in New Delhi, India, decided to recruit women as public facilitation officers due to a woman's "empathetic and caring nature" (Jhal, 2017). This decision was made under the assumption that including women would result in the registration of more complaints and more efficient management mechanisms.

Creating a binary and homogenous category of women and men takes away personal agency and the inherent complexities individuals possess. It also dismisses the importance of other factors, such as class, racial classification, and ethnicity that influence behaviour and shape the way in which people experience events. In addition, the gender dichotomy marginalizes people that may not fit into or identify with these two predefined categories. For example, gender variant (Doan, 2007) people, including transgender women, represent a group suffering from the tyranny of gender (Doan, 2010), marginalisation and erasure from public spaces (Namaste, 2000).

The aforementioned policies of employing women to combat corruption are based on the assumption that women are innately less corrupt than men. The studies that legitimise these policies through a positive correlation between higher involvement of women and lower levels of corruption are flawed since they fail to acknowledge the social factors that influence the behaviour of men and women. Consequently, as most societies value masculine traits over feminine traits, such policies reinforce gender inequality and perpetuate gender stereotypes.

Through a nuanced notion of gender, it becomes possible to scrutinize policies that propose a utilitarian use of women to reduce corruption. Since the assumptions upon which such policies are based do not correctly predict human behaviour, they are less likely to succeed: it is impossible make definitive claims regarding the differences between the corrupt behaviours of men and women. Rather, policies must account for the social construction of gendered behaviours (as opposed to the assumption that they are innate to individual's biology), and the changes in gender dynamics (gender is neither binary nor homogenous, and gender relations change over time).

3.2 Include an intersectional analysis of gender when producing research on gender and corruption

The Dollar et al. (2001) and Swamy et al. (2001) studies fail to see women as a heterogeneous group. Instead, these studies construct the idea that all women share the same attitudes towards corruption. Similarly, they construct the idea that all men share different common values towards corruption. Of course, these studies do not claim that all individuals of the same sex share the same attitude, but that, together, they are statistically significant. Nevertheless, these studies are not reliable as they fail to use

samples representative of all women. This recommendation focuses on the need to integrate intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1991) into research.

When conducting research on gender and corruption, it is thus necessary to use an intersectional lens. This is done by considering the dependent and intersecting natures of gender and different social dimensions (such as class, racial classification, sexuality and identity, among others). This allows researchers to depict significantly different disparities not only in people's attitudes towards corruption, but also in the ways that they are affected by it. Failing to integrate an intersectional analysis in these studies may yield results representative of only one 'category of women.' This results in a failure to depict representative samples and therefore, reproduce 'bad science,' which could be used to create policies harmful for women of different social classes and identities.

Furthermore, gender identity is not constructed identically within all societies. Therefore, it depends on the culture and context in which studies are being conducted. This merits attentiveness, as Western gender identities may not be transferable to other cultural contexts.

While intersectionality is viewed as a significant contribution deriving from Gender and Women Studies, Leslie McCall (2005) addresses the fact that integrating it into research remains complex and provides different methodologies into studying intersectionality. This may imply adopting a multidisciplinary approach to research to understand not only the context and culture in which researchers are conducting their studies, but also the different social classes and identities that exist within the parameter of their studies. Notably, this includes but is not limited to acknowledging the existence of women of different races and ethnicities and minority classes of different educational backgrounds, socio-economic classes, sexualities, or identities. Researchers should analyse how corruption affects each of these groups in order to complete a comprehensive analysis on the effects of corruption on gender.

Research on gender and corruption has thus far mostly focused on how women affect corruption levels and how women in positions of power engage in corruption, while largely ignoring how the different types of widespread corruption impact different types of women. When thinking about what corruption means - its definition and its consequences - little research and few policies have been oriented towards exploring and resolving the different types of corruption women face. Section five will present recommendations to further analyse this question of the impact of corruption on women.

4   Employ a more inclusive notion of "corruption"

The following recommendations focus on two of the most pervasive forms of corruption that have an impact on women and yet are often excluded from the indices and legal definitions of corruption: petty corruption and sextortion. Nonetheless, beyond these two forms, many others also plague the lives of women; anticorruption measures would benefit from including these forms in their conception of corruption.

4.1 Create equitable indices to measure corruption

Several tools are employed by institutions around the world in the effort to measure corruption. The three most employed indices in the literature dealing with gender and corruption are Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index (CPI), Political Risk Services' International Country Risk Guide (ICRG) and the World Bank's Worldwide Governance Indicators[4]. Yet, while researchers and policy makers use these corruption indices to look at gender, none of them accurately captures the gender-dimension of corruption. There is therefore a need to create equitable indices that use representative samples and analyse the types of corruption that touch women's lives most.

4.1.1 Use truly representative samples when designing corruption indices

The CPI and the ICRG only survey the experiences and perceptions of a small group of experts, business people and public officers. Relying on such a small sample risks limiting the scope of the results and leads to conclusions that only hold true for an unrepresentative group of society (Provost, 2013). Furthermore, the groups surveyed are not the sectors of society most affected by corruption, nor are they the ones with the largest female representation, quite the opposite.

In order to have accurate indicators of how corruption affects women, measuring tools must include them in the group consulted. Indices measuring corruption ought to comprise not only of business people and public officials but also citizens from all economic and social classes. This would ensure the participation of minorities as well as guaranteeing a balance among genders and between rural and urban areas.

4.1.2 Include forms of corruption that most directly affect women when measuring levels of corruption

Women both perceive and experience corruption differently than men (Transparency International, 2000; Transparency International, 2016; Transparency International, 2010; Hossain et al., 2010). Some forms of corruption, such as petty corruption and sexual extortion, have a particularly strong effect on women and, yet, are not taken into consideration by the indices most employed for measuring corruption.

Petty corruption, or bureaucratic corruption, takes place where bureaucrats meet the public directly (U4 Experts, n.d.). Although it affects the daily lives of women, neither the CPI nor the ICRG include it. In order to have more accurate indices that can inform public policies, it is imperative to take into consideration the different forms of petty corruption, especially those affecting women's access to health and educational services (*ibid*).

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[4] For a more in depth analysis of the elaboration and shortcoming of the mentioned corruption indices, see the White Paper Part 3.1: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/315053145_Mapping_Controversies_Gender_and_Corruption; DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.27554.84164.

Sexual extortion or "sextortion" refers to the abuse of power to obtain a sexual benefit or advantage (International Association of Women Judges, 2012). It is a global phenomenon that affects women and girls around the world, especially in low and middle-income countries and remote areas. Sextortion, however, is rarely included in the definitions of corruption. Furthermore, women rarely report sextortion, as they fear the shame and stigmatization that may come with doing so, and when they do, they face difficulties doing so (Transparency International, 2016).

Clearly defining sextortion and petty corruption, along with other 'non-traditional' forms of corruption, both as a form of corruption and as a serious criminal offense, is one of the first steps towards tackling the problem. Corruption indices must take these forms of corruption into account. This will allow more research on the issue of sextortion and the role petty corruption plays in daily life, helping identify potential areas for preventative policies.

4.2   Adopt gender-responsive anti-corruption policies

Corruption policies must recognise and condemn 'non-traditional' types of corruption that have a greater impact on women, such as petty corruption and sextortion. Traditionally, policy makers have considered corruption as the exchange of money, ignoring other forms of bribery, such as extortion of sexual favours. Sextortion involves two crimes: sexual assault and corruption. Individuals in positions of influence who employ it abuse their power to coerce sexual bribery (Tanzania Women Judges Association, n.d.).

To address sextortion, a rights-based approach is advocated so that the survivors may participate fully in the development of a solution. Through this capacity-building exercise, stakeholders would have more impact on the formulation of anti-corruption policies, ultimately providing social accountability. In addition, it is important to create safe spaces and discussion channels to ensure that these women can report such offenses, seek reparation and can be guaranteed non-repetition. Meanwhile, awareness raising interventions within law enforcement regarding the crime of sextortion should also be undertaken. An increase in the number of policy dialogues and discussions on an international and national level to combat sextortion is urged in order to increase the visibility of the gender impacts of corruption. Policy makers should also promote gender responsive budgeting to effectively tackle the issue.

There is a growing consensus that corruption undermines the quality and quantity of public services, and reduces the resources available for the poor and women, ultimately exacerbating social and gender disparities (Hossain et al., 2010; Transparency International, 2009). Indeed, "corruption hits disadvantaged groups – including women – harder, as they rely more on the public system" (Chêne, 2009: 1). This compounds with having fewer resources to make informal payments to access education and health services and seek legal protection (Nawaz and Chêne, 2009). Corruption constricts their access to basic public services, credit and markets in-turn reinforcing their social and

economic marginalisation (UNDP, 2010:10). Governance indicators thus ought to systematically capture the gender dimension of corruption in education, health, or in other public services.

5   Focus on examining the impact of corruption on gender

The studies on gender and corruption misplace the focus when they ask "are women less corrupt than men?" The more important question for policy makers (and thus researchers) lies in the analysis of how corruption impacts individuals differently. This includes a 'horizontal' analysis of corruption's different impact on women in respect to men and an intersectional analysis on how corruption affects different types of women (and men) differently.

5.1   Improve research on the differentiated impact of corruption on women

As aforementioned, corruption impacts individuals differently; in fact, it affects women in more pervasive and insidious ways. As women are more reliant on public services than men and make up the majority of the world's poor, they suffer disproportionately when corruption reduces the amount of resources available and the quality of public service delivery (Hossain et al., 2010). This is especially true for health and education. While there is little to no empirical evidence available

> ... On the long-term impact of corruption on gender disparities in the education sector […] 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 (Chêne, 2009: 1).

Furthermore, women often have "differentiated needs for health services, especially because they bear the brunt of poor services as primary providers of homecare and are less empowered to demand accountability and assert entitlements" (Nawaz and Chêne, 2009: 1). This requires responding to differentiated needs and analysing relationships and sectors on which corruption research and policies do not traditionally focus.

An initiative to develop sex disaggregated data is important in order to have concrete numbers and figures about how corruption affects women (especially the ones belonging to different social classes) differently from men. For example, there have been "sex-for-food scandals", where peacekeepers and aid workers have exploited women and children (Hossain et al., 2010: 15). Sex disaggregated data would allow policy makers to estimate the frequency, amount, and type of bribes demanded from different types of individuals to allow for an intersectional analysis of corruption.

As aforementioned, women are also more vulnerable when it comes to procuring basic services. Hence, the gender-blind nature of the existing standardized tools, such as public opinion surveys, rankings of various countries on the basis of their corruption levels, or level of bribery in private sector etc., fail to measure the frequency with which women face corruption in comparison to men (Hossain et al., 2010: 9). All corruption indicators should systematically be generated through a

gendered lens. These new gendered indicators would facilitate developing improved redress mechanisms as well as categorically addressing these issues.

5.2   Focus research on the ways to reduce corruption's impact on women

To address corruption's impact on women, research ought to analyse the role stereotypes play in the condemnation of women leaders accused of corruption. Latin America has had more female presidents than any other part of the world, making the region a pertinent focal point for this analysis. In an article analysing the impact of the presence of women in politics on corruption in Latin America, Schwindt-Bayer (2016) explores the reasons why women presidents are not a magical solution to corruption in the region.

Indeed, many women-led administrations have found themselves mired in corruption scandals: Laura Chinchilla, president of Costa Rica from 2010 to 2014, saw several of her ministers accused of tax evasion and influence peddling; Dilma Rousseff's (2011 to 2016) impeachment from the Brazilian government followed widespread accusations of corruption within the *Partido dos Trabalhadores* (Worker's Party); Chilean president Michelle Bachelet (2014-) was dragged into a corruption scandal when a Chilean magazine, *Qué Pasa*, reported that her son, Sebastián Dávalos, tried to use his position to negotiate favourable terms on a real estate deal for his wife's company; and Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, president of Argentina from 2007 to 2015, was indicted in May 2016 for endangering the nation's finances.

Graph 1: Relationship between corruption and women's legislative representation in Latin America (2015)
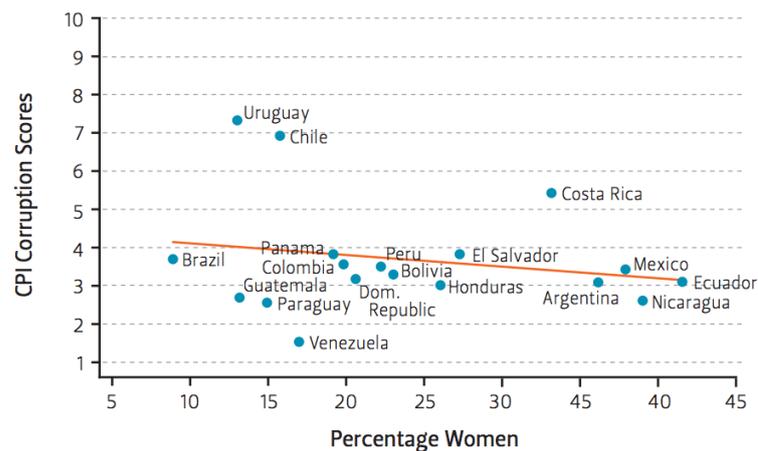
Source: Schwindt-Bayer (2016: 4)

Schwindt-Bayer (2016: 4) notes that the graph above "exhibits a trend of more women in legislatures being associated with more corruption, not less." In a different article, the same author (2010) used the 2006 Americas Barometer survey data to explore the relationship between citizen perceptions of corruption and women's representation in government. The study concluded that there was no relationship with corruption perceptions on three different levels: women's representation in legislatures, the presence of a female president, and the proportion of a presidential cabinet that is

female. In addition, Wängnerud (2012, cited in Schwindt-Bayer) found an association with women in government and corruption among municipal governments in Mexico, debunking the myth entirely.

Farida Jalalzai, interviewed by *The New York Times* (2016), makes an interesting point when discussing the downfall of many female Latin American leaders: it is "as if women leaders are getting all of the backlash for the corruption of men." This can be attributed to the fact that women are judged more harshly when are found guilty of corruption (Esarey and Chirillo, 2013; Esarey, J., Schwindt-Bayer, L., 2016). As previously explored, women are associated with traits like purity and virtuousness, thus there is no place for 'unfeminine' traits like greed or ambition.

To conclude, there is not enough evidence of women being less corrupt than men to back the claimed causality and there is enough evidence of women being corrupt to make the science being used to justify these policies mere correlations and not causations. Indeed, by placing women on an honest and non-corrupt pedestal, when they fail, the backlash against female leaders and representatives sets the gender equality agenda back.

In order to confront this imbalance, research funding should be dedicated to analysing the effects these policies have on women and their careers. The research in question will be invaluable when proposing alternative means to tackle corruption on an institutional level.

6   Conclusion

This toolkit was created in response to the existing literature on gender and corruption. Through its recommendations, the toolkit proposes to switch the focus from the question of what women can do to reduce corruption, to developing a deeper analysis of how corruption, gender and other dimensions intersect in order to create meaningful and effective policy measures. The toolkit recommends the application of a rights-based approach when encouraging women's participation in government, as opposed to the over-simplified and instrumental strategy of infusing institutions with women as a corruption cure-all. This toolkit recommends that researchers and policy makers consider nuanced and inclusive notions of gender and corruption respectively. Furthermore, when studying gender and corruption, the differentiated impacts of corruption on different genders (taking into account intersectionality) must be taken into account.

These recommendations have been devised with the intention of creating a model of gender in corruption, which can inspire action without over-simplifying a complex reality. They are interconnected and thus, should not be understood as stand-alone suggestions. For instance, by using a nuanced understanding of gender, the research on gender and corruption can progress to ask the question of how people of different genders experience the differing levels of vulnerability when they face corruption. Having an inclusive definition of gender helps to pay attention to those forms of corruption which pose a disproportionate harm to those belonging to a particular gender—thus making the need for a broader and inclusive definition of corruption inevitable. In a similar way,

when applying refined notions of gender and corruption to policy formulation, a rights-based approach is key to accommodate the diversity in gender and corruption, while creating sustainable change.

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