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**Ghana Integrity Initiative (GI)**  
Local Chapter of Transparency International



# GENDER PERSPECTIVE ON CORRUPTION:

## A FOCUS ON WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION

# GHANA INTEGRITY INITIATIVE (GII)

(Local Chapter of Transparency International)



## WOMEN'S PERSPECTIVE ON CORRUPTION:

A FOCUS ON WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN  
THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION

Established in 1999, Ghana Integrity Initiative (GII) is a non-partisan, non-profit civil organisation focused on addressing corruption. GII is the local Chapter of Transparency International (TI), the global, non-governmental, non-profit civil society organisation leading the fight against corruption through more than 90 chapters and over 30 individual members worldwide with its International Secretariat in Berlin, Germany.

The vision of GII is *“a corruption-free society where all people and institutions act accountably, transparently and with integrity”*.

The mission of GII is *“to fight corruption and promote good governance in the daily lives of people and institutions by forging strong, trusting and effective partnership with government, business and civil society and engagement with the people”*.

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Every effort has been made to verify the accuracy of the information contained in this report. All information was believed to be correct as of November, 2014. Nevertheless, Ghana Integrity Initiative cannot accept responsibility for the consequences of its use for other purposes or in other contexts.

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## TABLE OF CONTENT

List of Table and Figures	iv
List of Acronyms	v
Acknowledgment	vi
Preface	vii
Executive Summary	ix
Introduction	1
The Differentiated Nature of Corruption	2
Purpose of the Study	3
Methodology	5
Sampling Approach	6
Demographic Findings	7
Main Findings of the Study	10
Predisposition to Corruption based on Gender	10
Personal Perception and Experience with Corruption	15
Consequences of Corruption in the Life of Women in Ghana	22
Engagement of Women in the Fight against Corruption	23
Conclusions	28
Recommendations	29
References	30

## LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

<b>LIST OF TABLES</b>	<b>PAGE</b>
Table 1. Regional Distribution of Respondents by gender	7
Table 2. District Distribution of Respondents by Gender	8
Table 3. The Distribution by Age Group	9
Table 4. The link between corruption and the gender of a person in Ghana	11
Table 5. Most difficult gender to corrupt	12
Table 6. Have you ever offered a bribe to someone?	14
Table 7. Reasons for offering bribe	15
Table 8. The sector that demands bribe	16
Table 9. The number of women who have been asked to give a bribe	17
Table 10. Alternative to paying bribes	19
Table 11. Effects of corruption on women who have experienced it	19
Table 12. Opinions on the link between more women in positions of responsibility and less corruption	22
Table 13. Willingness to be an anti-corruption campaigner	23
Table 14. What women need to fight against corruption	24
<b>LIST OF FIGURES</b>	
Figure 1. Sample by Marital Status	8
Figure 2. Opinions of Corruption	10

## TABLE OF ACRONYMS

CCTV	-	Closed-Circuit Television
CHRAJ	-	Commission for Human Rights and Administrative Justice
COBMETs	-	Community-based Monitoring Teams
CSOs	-	Civil Society Organisations
GACC	-	Ghana Anti-Corruption Coalition
GCB	-	Global Corruption Barometer
GIFNETs	-	Governance Issues Forum Networks
GII	-	Ghana Integrity Initiative
LEARN	-	Local Employment and Resource Mobilisation
MDGs	-	Millennium Development Goals
NGOs	-	Non Governmental Organisations
PV	-	Participatory Videoing
SACs	-	Social Auditing Clubs
TI-S	-	Transparency International Secretariat
TI-SL	-	Transparency International Sierra Leone
UNDP	-	United Nations Development Programme
UNIFEM	-	United Nations Development Fund for Women

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Final thanks go to the GII Team, which put together this report, for their role and overall support in making this all important report a reality.

**Vitus Adaboo Azeem**

Executive Director - GII

## PREFACE

The impact of corruption is borne by both men and women yet it is generally believed that impact is greater on women than men. This is because women's relative lack of political and economic leverage reduces their ability to demand accountability or to highlight their specific experiences of and concerns about corruption. In poor and less developed countries, particularly in Africa, women are among the poorest and marginalized in society. By implication, women tend to be the most affected by corruption. Corruption, therefore, impacts negatively on women's participation and empowerment. However, facing corruption in their everyday lives gives women the experience and know how to deal with corruption. Hence, understanding corruption from women's perspective and highlighting the strategies is important in the fight against corruption.

Though efforts are being made by the government of Ghana to arrest corruption, these efforts do not reach the institutions most relevant to women. However, to reduce corruption's impact on women it is important to understand and document the experiences of women on corruption.

Given the lack of information related to corruption and women in Ghana, the Ghana Integrity Initiative (GII) undertook a study in 12 communities across six districts spanning three regions of Ghana. The study highlighted women's perceptions and life experiences with corruption.

This publication reveals the rich experience to both anti-corruption and gender equality and women's empowerment discourses in an innovative way.

The recommendations therein inform policymakers to promote gendered dimensions to the fight against corruption. Women's perception of corruption goes beyond the widely accepted definition of corruption and describes specific misuses of power, including sexual exploitation of women by men. Women also believe in organizing for empowerment to fight corruption through actions such as awareness raising and capacity building initiatives, stronger laws against corruption, and increasing women's presence in government.

It is the hope that this study provides an important knowledge on the implications and possible solutions to corruption from the perspective of women. It is also hoped that this publication will encourage other women in other communities to voice their perspective on issues surrounding corruption.

**Vitus Adaboo Azeem**  
Executive Director – GII

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Corruption has been high on the global governance reform agenda for decades because it constrains development, causes and exacerbates conflict and is one of the biggest obstacles to achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Although it affects all social classes and groups, women (and poor women in particular) are among the most affected.

The objective of this study is to build evidence and knowledge around the effect of corruption on women and the role women play or could play in the fight against corruption. The research was conducted alongside advocacy and education initiatives to promote good governance in Ghanaian society. The research is expected to provide empirical data to help GII strategize on how to encourage more women to fight corruption in their communities. Findings from the survey, therefore, will be used as a basis for the creation of public awareness, public education and to advocate appropriate legal and policy reforms for curbing corruption. This study, which GII undertook in collaboration with Transparency International Secretariat and Transparency International Sierra Leone (TI-SL), is a follow-up to previous gender-mainstreamed programmes GII has undertaken as part of its anti-corruption interventions and activities. For example, in 2012-2013, GII undertook a training workshop for 30 women in the Akatsi North and South districts in the Volta region of Ghana aimed at strengthening their capacity to campaign against corruption.

A number of studies have been conducted to establish a relationship between women's perceptions and experiences with corruption and the fact that they are women. The general conclusion is that “women are more vulnerable to corruption than men” while others have concluded that women are more trustworthy and less prone to corruption than men. However, whether the findings from these studies apply to Ghana is the question because a similar research has not been carried out in Ghana. Hence, the need for an empirical evidence on the impact of corruption on women and the role of women in the fighting against corruption in Ghana.

This study utilizes a methodological approach designed specifically to capture women's voices and experiences of corruption and anti-corruption. Surveys were administered and participants engaged in focus group discussions in order to share their experiences with each other and refine their responses. Data was elicited from

women mainly, although a small number of men were included in the sample to serve as a control. The sample comprised a total of 618 respondents made up of 497 women and 121 men.

Data was collected by grassroots organizations like the Social Auditing Clubs (SACs), the Community-based Monitoring Teams (COBMETs) and the Governance Issues Forum Networks (GIFNETS), whom GII had previously worked with, and were known to already be familiar with the concept of corruption. This approach was utilized to help strengthen grassroots community members' primary research skills while also creating a data bank that can be drawn on for future campaigns and activism.

The research findings identified several key issues. First, there is a common assumption among both males and females that women are less corruptible than men and a perception that there would be less corruption if more women were given positions of influence and leadership in public life. The study found that there is no significant difference between how men and women understand corruption and the acts they identify as constituting corrupt behaviour. Women are less likely to offer bribes than men. It also showed that women suffer sexual extortion in lieu of bribes. Although both men and women offer bribes to cut through red tape or quicken services, women are more likely to do so to get ahead in life, for example, to get a job, promotion or good grades in school. The majority of women respondents asked for structures to be put in place to facilitate activism, provide more legal education and better reporting mechanisms.

These key findings provide some relevant, useful insight into the role of gender in relation to experiences of and attitudes towards corruption in Ghana.

The report recommended that more sensitization and empowerment of women, stronger laws against corruption, greater protection for those who report these acts and increasing the presence of women in government are necessary in the fight against corruption.

## INTRODUCTION

Ghana Integrity Initiative (GII) is the local chapter of Transparency International (TI), a global civil society organisation leading the fight against corruption. TI's mission is to end the devastating impact of corruption on men, women and children around the world and to create change towards a world free of corruption. GII's vision is that of a corruption-free Ghana, where people and institutions act accountably, transparently, and with integrity.

Transparency International (TI) has 16 National Chapters, 5 National Chapters in Formation and 6 National Contacts working hand in hand with the Africa and the Middle-East Department. The department was created as a regional platform to exchange ideas and information, to bring together tools and resources being produced by individual countries, to organize regional workshops and seminars to facilitate the common goal of fighting corruption. For this purpose GII with support from Transparency International – Africa Department undertook this study on women's participation in the fight against corruption.

Corruption is a major impediment to development and the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Corruption exacerbates poverty and inequality, undermines human development and stability, encourages and sustains conflict, violates human rights, and erodes the democratic functioning of countries (UNPD, 2008). Women are particularly affected by corruption due to, among other things, their role as the primary caretaker of the family, the fact that they earn lower incomes and have less control over personal resources than men, and ongoing anti-female biases in public spaces (TI, 2010).

There are differing definitions for the term 'gender' and GII recognises that gender is not synonymous with the word 'woman' but refers to social factors that determine what it means to be a woman or man as different from biological sex. Gender is thus understood in this study as signifying the socially constructed roles, behaviours, activities, and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for men and women (Eagley, 2013).

Regardless of the growing research on the links between gender and corruption by organisations and individuals worldwide including Africa (UNDP & UNIFEM, 2010; Goetz, 2003; UNDP, 2008; TI, 2010 and Seligson, 2006), and the fact that a gender

perspective have become a key aspect in the fight against corruption, the study on the links between gender and corruption in Ghana is highly unexplored. This research therefore contributes to the growing research on gender and corruption by providing empirical evidence in the case of Ghana. However, in seeking to understand the links between gender and corruption this study chooses to focus specifically on women, in order to best understand how corruption impacts them and how to more effectively target and engage women in the anti-corruption struggle. Having undertaken a number of programmes on corruption and gender in the past GII was indeed in the right position to carry out this research.

## THE DIFFERENTIATED NATURE OF CORRUPTION

Corruption can be generally defined as the “abuse of entrusted power for private gain”<sup>1</sup>, or “dishonest or fraudulent conduct by those in power, typically involving bribery”<sup>2</sup>. Corruption has been high on the global governance reform agenda for decades because it constrains development, causes and exacerbates conflict and is one of the biggest obstacles to achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Studies have shown that while all of society suffers from corruption's weakening of the efficiency, effectiveness and probity of the public sector, corruption has well-known differential impacts on social groups, especially the poor. Corruption reduces resources for poverty reduction and development and deprives poor people of advancement opportunities (Hossain et. al., 2010). In economically-deprived and less developed countries such as can be found in Africa, women are among the poorest and most marginalized in society. By implication, women tend to be the most affected by corruption. It has been suggested that women's relative lack of political and economic leverage reduces their ability to demand accountability or to highlight their specific experiences of and concerns about corruption (UNDP and UNIFEM, 2010).

Debates on gender and corruption globally have focused on gender-specific causes of corruption, and whether there is a relationship between gender equality in public or political life and the levels of corruption in a given society (Eppänen and Virtanen, 2008; Branisa and Ziegler, 2011; Esarey and Chirillo, 2012; The Royal Danish Embassy, 2009). Studies have also tried to settle the contentious question as to whether women are less corruptible than men, and whether the promotion of women in public life can be an effective anti-corruption strategy (Goetz, 2004; Eppänen and

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<sup>1</sup>Transparency International, FAQs on Corruption, [http://www.transparency.org/whoware/organisation/faqs\\_on\\_corruption/2/](http://www.transparency.org/whoware/organisation/faqs_on_corruption/2/) [accessed 09/09/14]

<sup>2</sup>Oxford Dictionaries

Virtanen, 2008; Branisa and Ziegler, 2011; Esarey and Chirillo, 2012; The Royal Danish Embassy, 2009). Other types of research have looked at the impact of corruption on women as a group (UNDP, 2012; DiMauro, 2014; Transparency International, 2010). In general the body of work on the subject has found systematic differences in behavioral characteristics across gender. The basic hypothesis proposed by much of this literature is that men are more corrupt than women, that the impact of corruption on women is higher, and that women have a role to play in the fight against corruption (Transparency International, 2010). Some of these findings have been demonstrated in a wide range of institutional contexts, through both experimental and survey-based studies. For example, women are more likely to exhibit 'helping' behavior; to vote based on social issues; to score more highly on 'integrity tests'; to take stronger stances on ethical behavior; and to behave more generously when faced with economic decisions (Eckel and Grossman, 1998).

Also UNIFEM (2008/2009) research report found that “women are more vulnerable to the impact of corruption than men,” particularly in accessing public services because they hold primary responsibility for child care, they have greater needs for accessing, for example, health services and consequently are often subjected to sexual extortion in lieu of bribes.

In another study by the World Bank conducted in 150 countries in Europe, Africa and Asia it was concluded that women are more trustworthy and less prone to corruption, a finding that was later corroborated by additional research from the World Bank. The study established a link between higher representation of women in government and lower levels of corruption (Dollar, et.al. 1999).

The question is whether the results of such studies are applicable to Ghana. A serious interrogation into the impact of corruption on women and the role of women in the fight against corruption in Ghana is long overdue and of great relevance to the Ghana Integrity Initiative (GII), since no significant equivalent research has been carried out in this area.

## **PURPOSE OF THE STUDY**

In the recent past, GII has carried out some work with women as part of its anti-corruption programmes and activities. In 2012/2013, for example, GII undertook a training workshop for 30 women in the Akatsi North and South districts in the Volta region of Ghana aimed at strengthening their capacity to campaign against corruption. The participants were very enthusiastic to learn and very passionate about using the

Participatory Videoing (PV) tool to help fight corruption in their communities. They came up with the slogan, “Women in Action against Corruption” and pledged to attract more women's groups into their fold in an attempt to fight corruption. The project, which was very successful, was supported by the Transparency International Secretariat (TI-S) Africa Department under the 'Peoples Engagement' component of their programmes.

This study, which GII undertook in collaboration with Transparency International Secretariat and Transparency International Sierra Leone (TI-SL), is a follow-up to such programmes. The research is expected to provide empirical data to help GII strategise on how to support more women fight corruption in their communities. The general objective of the study is to build evidence and knowledge around the effect of corruption on women, the role women play or could play in the fight against corruption and generally promote good governance in Ghana. Findings from the survey, therefore, will be used as a basis for the creation of public awareness, public education and to advocate appropriate legal and policy reforms for curbing corruption. Specifically, the survey seeks to:

- Find out if there is a predisposition to corruption based on gender and with particular reference to women, in Ghana;
- Solicit women's personal perception of, and/or experiences with corruption;
- Explore the consequences of corruption in the lives of women in Ghana;
- Find out whether women can contribute to the fight against corruption and in what ways;
- Identify the best strategies for engaging women in the fight against corruption.

## METHODOLOGY

GII put in a proposal for this study alongside Transparency International-Sierra Leone (TI-SL) to the Africa Department of the Transparency International Secretariat (TI-S). On approval, draft instruments were developed by both GII and TI-SL in consultation with TI-S. The two drafts were merged and adopted for the survey. The survey was conducted in selected districts in Ghana during the month of April, 2014. The survey instrument is attached as an appendix.

Data was elicited from women mainly, although a small number of men were included in the sample to serve as a point of comparison. Field research took the form of focus group discussions and face-to-face interviews. Some of the focus group discussions required the use of translators - for non-English speakers. In these cases, GII staff worked with the local research teams to eliminate any differences in understanding of the questions. The focus group discussions and the interview categories included customized questions relating to the participants' experiences with corruption and corruption reporting mechanisms, as well as the differences faced by men and women in reporting corruption. The survey also looked at the Global Corruption Barometer (GCB) (2013), which has gender disaggregated data to help contextualise and compare information emerging from the survey on how men and women view corruption and are impacted by corruption.

GII's partners in conducting the survey in the study districts were members of the Social Auditing Clubs (SACs), the Community-based Monitoring Teams (COBMETs) and the Governance Issues Forum Networks (GIFNETS), whom GII had previously worked with, and were known to already be familiar with the concept of corruption.

GII had facilitated the assembling and training of the SACs and COBMET community volunteers in 2009-2013 to respectively monitor ongoing projects and service delivery in the communities (SACs), and education resource flows (COBMETs). The establishment of the GIFNETs was facilitated by the Institute of Democratic Governance (IDEG), a partner of GII in the implementation of a joint Local Employment and Resource Mobilisation (LEARN) project. The selection of the sample districts was, therefore, reliant on the presence of these partners. GII management staff was responsible for training the research assistants on the survey instrument and in interviewing skills, as well as supervising them in the field work.

Also GII staff carried out the data entry, cleaning and analysis, and writing of the report. A consultant was hired to review the final report.

The methodology was aimed at ensuring that relevant and accurate information was gathered to facilitate GII's work with women and corruption and to serve as a guide on the way forward.

## **SAMPLING APPROACH**

The study used a purposive sampling approach as it sought to elicit the views and experiences of women on issues associated with corruption. The sample comprised a total of 600 respondents made up of 500 women and 100 men selected from both rural and urban communities in six (6) districts within three administrative regions of Ghana. In the six districts, two (2) communities each were used for the survey. One hundred respondents were surveyed from each of the six districts. The 100 men served as the control group for the survey to compare their views and experiences of corruption with women and to see which gender category may be more likely to become effective anti-corruption crusaders. In the end, the final number of respondents came to 618 due to the eagerness of additional people to be interviewed.

Focus group discussions were conducted in three of the selected district (Akatsi North, Akatsi South and Tain) for the purpose of triangulation. Again, information from the GCB (2013) was also used to support the outcome of this study.

Respondent households were randomly selected from every fifth (5<sup>th</sup>) household in the selected communities and at the household level, respondents were arbitrarily selected based on their availability.

The selected districts were the Akatsi North and South Districts of the Volta Region, Savelugu/Nanton District in the Northern Region, Tain District in the Brong Ahafo Region, Dunkwa-On-Offin District in the Central Region and Sekondi Takoradi Metropolitan Assembly in the Western Region.

## DEMOGRAPHIC FINDINGS

The following section of the report presents and discusses the findings from the survey starting with evidence of the demographic composition of the sample. It worth noting that as the study targeted women, the majority of the respondents were women (497), constituting 80.4%, compared with 19.6% (121) men. With regards to employment the majority of the female respondents (223), 36.1% of the respondents, were self-employed while 121 of them worked in the public sector. Seventy-eight (78) of the female respondents were unemployed and 54 worked in the private sector. There were 49 and 27 students and housewives/housemaids, respectively, with 10 working in religious organizations. The less significant numbers worked as farmers (7), and in the media (10), while three were retired from active service.

In the regional distribution of the sample, shown in Table 1 below, the majority 33.3% (206) of the respondents came from the Volta region where two districts were sampled, with the rest of the breakdown being Northern (16.2%), Brong Ahafo (17.8%), Central (16.5%) and Western (16.2%).

**Table 1: Regional Distribution of Respondents by gender**

Region	Female	Male	Total	Percentage
Volta	167	39	206	33.3
Northern	80	20	100	16.2
Brong Ahafo	88	22	110	17.8
Central	85	17	102	16.5
Western	79	21	100	16.2
Total	499	119	618	100

Table 2 represents the district distribution of respondents, which indicates that the largest distribution of the respondents 110 (or 17.8%) came from the Tain District.

**Table 2: District Distribution of Respondents by gender**

District	Female	Male	Total	Percentage
Akatsi South	90	15	105	17.0
Akatsi North	77	24	101	16.3
Savelugu	80	20	100	16.2
Tain	88	22	110	17.8
Dunkwa-on-Offin	85	17	102	16.5
Takoradi	79	21	100	16.2
Total	499	119	618	100.0

With regards to marital status, the majority of respondents (360), or 57%, were married, and 175 were single with the divorced, separated and widowed being 27, 27 and 29, respectively, as illustrated in figure 1.

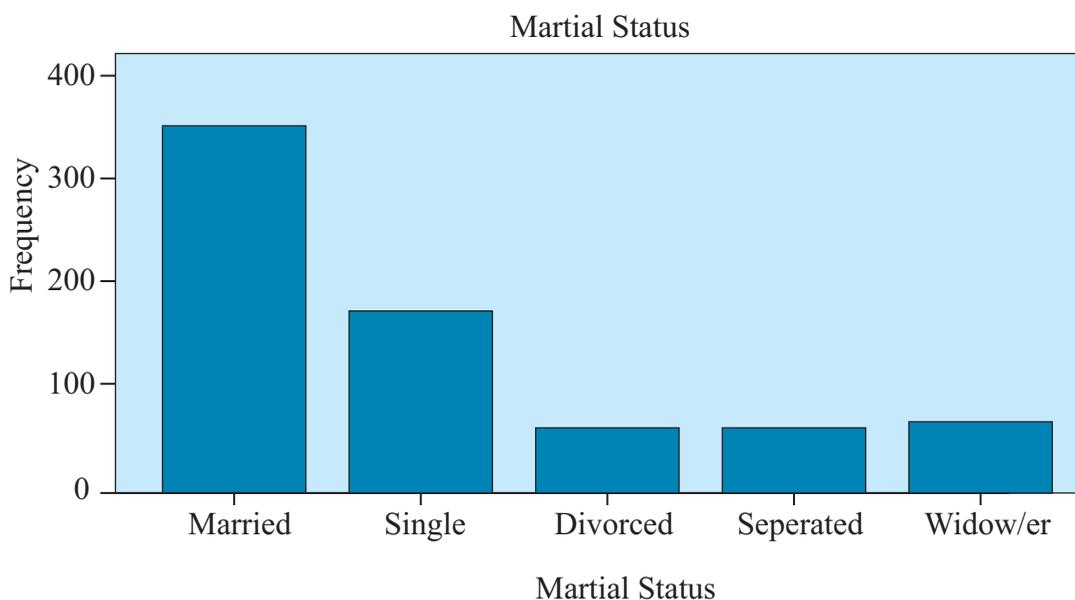


Figure 1: Sample by Marital Status

In Table 3 below, the ages of the respondents ranged from 18 – 67, showing a good spread of the various age groups. The youngest group of 18 - 25 constituted the highest number of respondents, 212, followed by the 26 – 35s, numbering 155 or 25.2%. The number of respondents reduced as the age range increased. There were three missing values where three of the respondents did not indicate their age group.

**Table 3: The Distribution by Age Group**

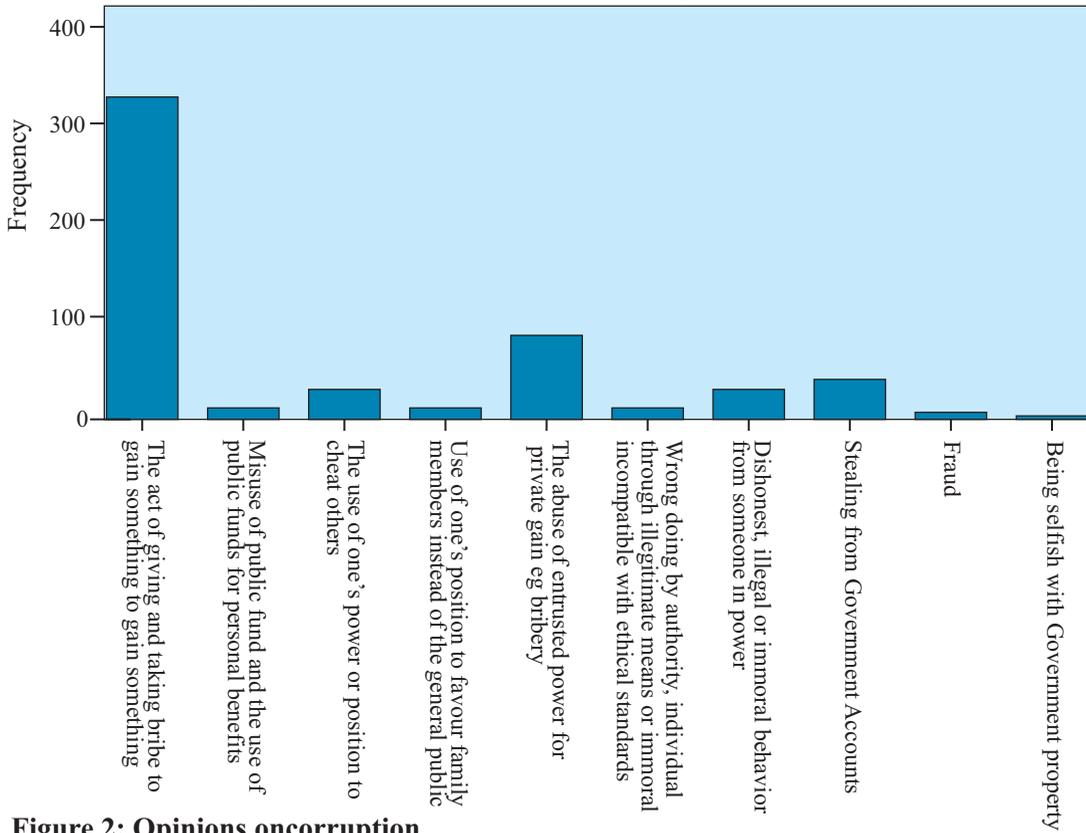
Age range	Female	Male	Total	Percentage
18 - 25	170	42	212	34.5
26 - 35	122	33	155	25.2
36 - 45	90	16	106	17.2
46 - 55	68	13	81	13.2
55 - 65	30	6	36	5.9
65+	17	8	25	4.1
Total	499	119	618	100

## MAIN FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

### PREDISPOSITION TO CORRUPTION BASED ON GENDER

The findings indicate a high level of understanding of the meaning of corruption among both female and male respondents. More than half of the respondents (52.4%) viewed corruption as the act of giving and taking a bribe for gain while about 12% (75) respondents defined corruption as the abuse of entrusted power for private gain. A further 16 (2.6%) of the respondents saw corruption as “the use of one's position to favour family members instead of the general public”, while 15 respondents (2.4%) described it as “the use and/or misuse of public funds for personal benefits”. However, 32 (or 5.2%) and 26 (4.2%) respondents defined corruption in narrow terms, perceiving it as “stealing from government accounts” and “dishonest, illegal or immoral behaviour by someone in power”, respectively. Another 15 (2.4%) saw it as “wrong doing by authority or individual through illegitimate or immoral means incompatible with ethical standards”. About 21 (3.4%) respondents defined corruption as the “use of one's power or position to cheat others”, five respondents linked corruption with fraud, while three respondents described it as “being selfish with government property”. The information in Figure 2 below presents a graphic summary of the responses gathered on this question.

In your opinion, what do you consider to be corruption? Give an example if possible



**Figure 2: Opinions on corruption**

When the respondents were asked to mention what they perceived to be corrupt acts, they listed a range of behaviours that further demonstrates they had a good grasp of the various manifestations of corruption, including the following:

- “Demands for and giving of bribes” (47.2%)
- “Demands for and giving of sexual favours” (5.8%)
- “Unnecessarily long bureaucratic processes” (1.5%)
- “Demands for and giving of other favours” (6.3%)
- “Opacity or lack of transparency” (1.9%)

Indeed almost a third of the respondents (212) identified all the factors mentioned above as acts of corruption.

It is worth mentioning also that there was no significant difference between how men and women understand corruption and the acts they identify as constituting corrupt behaviour.

**Table4: The perceived link between corruption and the gender of a person in Ghana**

		Gender		Total
		Men	Women	
In your opinion, is there a link between corruption and the gender of a person in Ghana	Yes	66	301	367
		55.9%	61.3%	60.3%
	No	44	176	220
		37.3%	35.8%	36.1%
	Don't Know	8	14	22
		6.8%	2.9%	3.6%
	Total	118	491	609
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The majority of both male (66) and female (301) respondents said in Ghana there was a link between corruption and gender, although women were more likely to see the link than men. As indicated in table 4 above, almost 56% of the male respondents and 61.3 % of the female respondents said there was a link, compared with 37.3% of men and almost 36% of women who saw no link between the gender of a person and corruption. This indicates that as elsewhere there are commonly-held assumptions that there is a difference in how women and men experience corruption in Ghana.

The perception of the link between corruption and gender is further revealed in the responses to questions on people's experiences with corruption where a little more than 60% (373 respondents) said that, in their experience of corruption, their gender made a difference compared with 31.4% (194) of respondents who didn't think so. A smaller number of respondents (41) were not sure whether their gender had an effect or not. Again, when asked who was more susceptible to corruption, 259 respondents (41.9%) felt that men were more susceptible to corruption than women while only 74 (12%) felt that women were more susceptible than men. Seventy six (12.3%) of the respondents, however, felt that both men and women were equally susceptible to corruption. Such responses suggest an implicit assumption that the gender of a person makes a difference in how they experience corruption.

**Table 5: Most difficult gender to corrupt**

		Gender		Total
		Men	Women	
In your opinion, who is most difficult to corrupt?( Only one response possible )	Men	30	135	165
		25.4%	27.2%	26.9%
	Women	63	307	370
		53.4%	61.9%	60.3%
	Just as much one as the other	21	47	68
		17.8%	9.5%	11.1%
	Don't Know	4	7	11
		3.4%	1.4%	1.8%
	Total	118	496	614
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

In general both men and women (60.3%) agree that women are not as susceptible to corruption as men, although as shown in table 5 above more women than men perceive themselves as less corruptible. Almost 62% of female respondents (307 women) felt that women were more difficult to corrupt than men, compared with 27.2% (135 females) who felt that it was men who were difficult to corrupt. These results were supported by findings from male respondents (albeit less firmly), indicating that a little more than half of the men surveyed, (64 men or 53.4%) perceived women to be more difficult to corrupt than men. Only 30 (25.4%) of male respondents felt men were more difficult to corrupt than women. On the other hand, 47 (9.5%) and 21 (17.8) of females and males respectively said both women and men are equally difficult to corrupt.

Similarly, the majority of respondents (378), representing 61.2%, felt that a person likely to bribe another person is generally a man while only 45 felt that the person would more likely be a woman. However, 30.4% of the respondents felt it could be either a man or a woman.

On the question of why someone would engage in corruption, 30.7% (190) of the respondents attributed it to selfishness while 29.0% (179) attributed it to greed which is similar, bringing the total to 59.7% of the respondents. Another 22% of the respondents attributed corruption to the desire to have more money for essential items (implicitly blaming poverty) while 14.2% attributed it to the desire to show off their power. Consistent with this, the focus group discussions in all six districts identified similar reasons that would lead an official or agency to become corrupt. They included: lack of confidence, perception of women as helpless and powerless, lack of resources, low education, selfishness, greed and poverty. The responses in these findings are quite similar to that of the 2013 Global Corruption Barometer, which noted some of the reasons Ghanaians pay bribe as: “To speed up processes (45%)”, “It was the only way to obtain a service (30%)”, “As a gift, or to express gratitude (18%)” and “To get a cheaper service (8%)”.

Respondents were asked whether power and money was more of a concern to men or to women. Almost half the respondents (303 respondents or 49.0%) said that power and money were more of a concern for men than for women, while only 49 respondents (7.9%) said they were more of a concern for women. However, 240 (38.8%) respondents said power and money were of concern to both men and women. This suggests some caution in making the link between susceptibility to corruption and concern for power and money because even though the majority of respondents perceive women to be less prone to corruption than men they consider money and power to be important to both women and men.

## PERSONAL PERCEPTION AND EXPERIENCE WITH CORRUPTION

The survey shows that, consistent with findings in the 2013 Global Corruption Barometer, more than half of all respondents (both males and females) had never offered a bribe compared to 42% who said they had. However, evidence that women and men's personal experiences with corruption differ is indicated in Table 6 above, which shows that a sizeable number (300) of the female respondents (60.7%) said they have never ever offered a bribe to someone, compared with 35.6% (42) of male respondents who said they had never offered a bribe. On the other hand, a majority of the male respondents (60.2%) admitted to having offered a bribe to someone at some point in their life, compared with 37.7% of women respondents who admitted to doing so. Only 3.4% and 1.4% of both male and female respondents, respectively, were not sure if they had ever offered a bribe.

**Table 6: Have you ever offered a bribe to someone**

		Gender		Total
		Men	Women	
Have you ever offered a bribe to someone?	Yes	71	186	257
		60.2%	37.7%	42.0%
	No	42	300	342
		35.6%	60.7%	55.9%
	Not Sure	4	7	11
		3.4%	1.4%	1.8%
	No response	1	1	2
		0.8%	0.2%	0.3%
	Total	118	494	612
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The respondents who had offered a bribe gave various reasons for doing so, including: “To facilitate a process or to get a service quicker than expected” and “To make things easy for me”. Other reasons included “To avoid the repercussion of wrong doing”; “To get a contract”; “To improve my chances of getting future services”; “To get employment”; “To be promoted” and “To get better grades at school or get an education certificate”.

There were gender differentiations in the responses as indicated in Table 7. The findings suggest that while the top reason both men and women offered bribes was to cut through red tape or speed up service, a greater percentage of men (76.7%) than women (69%) gave this as a reason. The literature suggests women are susceptible to corruption largely because they must access services such as health and this finding suggests that to be the case, although it also suggests this to be even more so in the case of men. Men were also more likely to give bribes to “make life easier” (8.2%) than women (3.3%). However, women tended to give bribes in order to get ahead in life, that is, finding a job, getting promotion or better grades in school (15.8%) compared with only a small percentage of men (4.1%) whose motive for bribing was to gain employment. None of the male respondents gave bribes to gain promotion or get better grades.

**Table 7: Reasons for offering bribe**

If yes, which of the following best describes your reason for offering the bribe?	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
To facilitate a process	101	53.2%	45	61.6%
To get the service quicker than expected	30	15.8%	11	15.1%
To avoid there percussion of wrong doing	3	1.6%	2	2.7%
To get a contract	6	3.2%	-	-
Improve my chances of getting future services	7	3.7%	3	4.1%
To make things easy for me	7	3.7%	6	8.2%
To avoid being arrested/to get out of trouble with the law	6	3.2%	3	4.1%
To get employment	18	9.5%	3	4.1%
To be promoted	4	2.1%	-	-
To get better grades at school or get an education certificate	8	4.2%	-	-
Total	190	100.0%	73	100.0%
Missing Cases	309	-	46	-
Total	499	-	119	-

**Table 8: Reasons for offering bribe**

Sector	Female		Male		Total	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Total	% of Total
Government	291	62.9%	85	18.4%	376	81.2%
Private Sector	62	13.4%	13	2.8%	76	16.2%
NGOs / CSOs	6	1.3%	1	0.2%	7	1.6%
Religious Organization	4	0.9%	0	0.0%	4	0.9%
Others	1	0.2%	0	0.0%	1	0.2%
Total	364	78.6%	99	21.4%	463	100%

Findings suggest that both women and men are equally vulnerable to being solicited for bribes. As indicated in Table 9 when the respondents were asked the question “have you or any woman you know ever been asked to give a bribe?” the same number of male respondents 57 (49.1%) answered yes as answered no. The answer from female respondents was also very close with 244 (49.8%) responding yes and 237 (48.4%) responding no.

**Table 9: The number of women who have been asked to give a bribe**

		Gender		Total
		Men	Women	
Have you or any woman you know ever been asked to give a bribe	Yes	57	244	301
		49.1%	49.8%	49.7%
	No	57	237	294
		49.1%	48.4%	48.5%
	Do not know	2	9	11
		1.7%	1.8%	1.8%
Total		116	490	606
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The respondents were also asked if they had ever refused a bribe. A higher number of respondents (52.3%) answered no than yes (43.2%). Some 28 respondents either did not know or refused to answer the question.

When asked why they would refuse to give a bribe, the respondents gave various answers including:

- It is a bad idea (64);
- It is my right not to pay before getting access (25);
- Because it will not promote social and economic development in the country (21);
- I could not meet the demand (20);
- It lowers my dignity (16);
- To help promote anti-corruption behaviours (14);
- Because I did not understand why I should pay that money (8);
- To avoid death (7);

- It is a sin against God and humanity (2).

Not only were many respondents reluctant to give or solicit bribes, a majority indicated they would not abuse authority for private gain if they were in a situation to do so. Asked if they would use their position to extort money or other favours, an overwhelming majority (512 respondents) answered in the negative compared with a small minority (72 respondents) who answered in the affirmative. Only 34 respondents were not sure or refused to respond. The respondents who were willing to abuse their positions said that they would extort money, gifts in kind, sexual favours, free labour and transfer of property.

The survey suggests that differentiated by gender, women in fact tended not to use their power positions for private gain. Findings show that the majority of respondents (415 or 67.2%) reported not knowing a woman who used her position to extort money or favour, compared to 161 (26.1%) respondents who admitted knowing such a woman. Another 21 were not sure and 10 could not remember.

The respondents who acknowledged knowing a woman who used her position to extort money or other favours gave the following reasons for which the woman did so:

- In return for a job;
- In return for a promotion at the work place;
- To process the acquisition of land;
- In return for justice;
- To allow persons to cross the borders;
- To provide services related to education;
- To access services related to health care;
- To provide access to credit;
- To provide a license or permit (e.g. a driver's license);

- To provide permits related to enterprise and housing;
- To provide a birth/death certificate;
- To facilitate access to public distribution of food or other public goods (aid);
- To provide pension and other retirement entitlements;
- To avoid arresting a person or to let them off the hook from the law.

Following from the above mentioned consequences, that is, 'respondents who acknowledged knowing a woman who used her position to extort money or other favours', Table 10 below asked respondents the question: “What could you have done differently?” Majority of respondents said they would have reported the corrupt act and refused to pay the bribe, while a significant minority said they would either do nothing or look for another school. Slightly more men (68.1%) than women (65.4%) said they would report the corruption. Although almost the same percentage of men and women were likely to find their own solution, more women (13%) than men (9.7%) were likely to do nothing. These findings suggest that Ghanaians have not acquiesced to corruption as a majority are willing to take a stand against giving bribes.

**Table 10: Alternative to paying bribes**

What could you have done differently	Female		Male	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Nothing	63	13.0%	11	9.7%
Report the corruption and not pay the bribe	317	65.4%	77	68.1%
Look for another school	102	21.0%	23	20.4%
Seek Explanation from the Head	1	0.2%	2	1.8%
Other, please state	2	0.4%	0	0
Total	485	100	113	100
Missing Cases	14		6	
Total	499		119	

**Table 11: Effects of corruption on women who have experienced it**

	Frequency	Percentage
She will get the job and she and her family will live well.	135	23.1%
She will be mentally and physically traumatised.	359	61.4%
Her colleagues will not accept her as they know how she got the job.	90	15.4%
She may lose her integrity	1	0.2%
Total	585	100.0%

Respondents identified a number of negative consequences corruption is likely to have on women, particularly when the corrupt act is aimed at securing a job. As indicated in Table 11 below, a majority (61.4%) of respondents identified mental and physical trauma as the foremost impact on women who use corrupt practices to secure jobs. Another 15.4% thought her colleagues will not accept her as they know how she got the job, while 0.2% said she may lose her integrity. However, almost a quarter of the respondents (23.1%) saw the outcome of the corrupt act as positive, indicating that “she will get the job and she and her family will live well.”

Still, despite the survey findings suggesting women were generally less susceptible to corruption than men, anecdotes from the focus group discussions (FGDs) held in Akatsi North and South, Savelugu/Nanton and Tain districts indicate the need for caution in drawing firm conclusions. For example, in the Akatsi North district, one of the respondents reported that:

*“I witnessed a friend who passed an exam and was failed because she refused to pay an amount of money. The lecturer then demanded a relationship in return for a pass and she accepted - the result was changed from an F to an A+”*

This suggests that under relentless pressure, some women do succumb to corruption and that while they may not be willing to pay money, they may trade favours such as sex. Other anecdotes from the FGDs reinforce women's vulnerability as victims of sexual exploitation. The narrative from a FGD respondent in the Tain District recalled a lady who lost her job because she refused to accept the manager's proposal of a relationship. To get back at her, the manager interdicted her for causing financial loss to the bank. Similar experiences of corruption came up during the focus group discussions in all the other districts and the experiences cut across all sectors of the

economy, confirming how widespread the issue of corruption is, especially when men are dealing with women. The evidence highlights an obvious gendered manifestation of corruption where women are victims of corruption on account of being pressured not only to offer monetary bribes but to provide sexual favours in exchange for services, jobs, etc. that they try to access.

## **CONSEQUENCES OF CORRUPTION IN THE LIVES OF WOMEN IN GHANA**

Insights from the international research on gender and corruption strongly indicate women's vulnerability to the impact of corruption, particularly when it comes to access to resources and public service delivery (UNIFEM, 2008). The evidence from this study validates such claims, and point to the fact that women in particular stand to lose where there is corruption. When respondents were asked to choose from a number of options the ways in which corruption impacted women, about one-third (209 respondents) of them identified that “corruption reduces women's access to and control over resources.” Respondents were also aware that “corruption allows men in positions of authority to exploit women” (156 respondents). A significant number of respondents (112) also said “corruption hinders economic and social development,” while 69 said “corruption leads to poor quality services in education and health infrastructure.” Another 46 respondents determined that “corruption leads to a lack of protection for women under the law.”

Focus group participants were equally conscious of the debilitating effects of corruption and although their insights were not exclusively directed at women they too identified such negative consequences of corruption as the fact that it:

- “Retards progress in the community;”
- “Gives men the advantage to exploit women;”
- “Affects the education of children whose parents refuse to pay bribe for their admission;”
- “Stagnates growth or slows the rate of development;”
- “Lowers the employment rate,” and
- “It can bring disgrace to the community.”

In addition respondents identified other impacts of paying a bribe, including the fact that it made one have less money; made one feel powerless and undermined one's trust in the institution/sector to which the bribe was paid.

## ENGAGEMENT OF WOMEN IN THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION

**Table 12: Opinions on the link between more women in positions of responsibility and less corruption**

		Men	Women	Total
		In your opinion, do you agree that if there were more women in positions of responsibility, there would be: (Only one response possible)	More likely less corruption	88
75.2%	83.0%			81.5%
More likely more corruption	7		31	38
	6.0%		6.3%	6.2%
No difference in corruption levels	20		51	71
	17.1%		10.3%	11.6%
Don't know	2		2	4
	1.7%		4.0%	7.0%
Total	117		494	611
	100.0%		100.0%	100.0%

Whether women are more or less corruptible than men remains an unsettled question in anti-corruption scholarship with scholars such as Anne Marie Goetz (2007) challenging such assumptions and arguing that the reasons empirical research finds women less corrupt is simply because they have not had as much opportunity as men. It would appear, however, that a majority of Ghanaians believe the perceived wisdom that women in public life behave more virtuously than men and are less corrupt. Table 12 shows answers from respondents when they were asked what the situation with corruption would be if there were more women in positions of responsibility. A total of 498 respondents (81.5%) felt that there would be more likely less corruption. This perception held true in the case of both male (75.2%) and female (83.0%) respondents. This contrasts with the minority view (38 respondents or 6.2%) that there would be

likely more corruption if women wielded more authority and the view held by 71 respondents (11.6%) that there would be no difference.

**Table 13: Willingness to be an anti-corruption campaigner**

		Are you willing to be part of a movement to campaign against corruption in general			Total
		Yes	No	Unsure	
Gender	Male	102	5	6	113
		90.3%	4.4%	5.3%	100.0%
	Female	446	24	8	478
		93.3%	5.0%	1.7%	100.0%
Total		548	29	14	591
		92.7%	4.9%	2.4%	100.0%

Not surprisingly, a majority of respondents (97.75) affirmed their willingness to be a part of the anti-corruption campaign. Table 13 summarises the responses to the question asking if respondents would be willing to be part of a movement to campaign against corruption. A total of 446 (93.3%) of the female respondents and 102 (90.3%) of the males answered yes, compared with just a total of 29 (4.9%) respondents who said they were not willing to be part of such a campaign. Another 14 respondents (2.4%) were not sure. These findings correlate positively with the 2013 Global Corruption Barometer, which recorded 92% of total respondents willing to help fight corruption. It also reinforces the impression that there is considerable preparedness to curb corruption in Ghana by both women and men.

Specifically, however, female respondents were confident women could be a game changer in the anti-corruption crusade. Asked if, as women, they could make a difference to the fight against corruption an overwhelming majority (84.6%) of females said “yes” while only 5.3% answered “no” and 2.9% said they were unsure.

Probing their readiness to fight corruption further, respondents were asked to select from a menu of options what they thought it would take for a woman to participate in the corruption fight. As can be seen from Table 14 below, the highest number of respondents (267) favoured becoming members of an activist group. There was an

almost equal number of responses (266) indicating that more knowledge about the laws around corruption could encourage women, and significant numbers of respondents (198) who thought easier access to reporting mechanisms would help jolt women into action. Factors such as safety (77 respondents), higher education (72 respondents) and acknowledgement for efforts (71 respondents) were also identified. Considered least important was anonymity (26 respondents) and support of their partners (23 respondents).

**Table 14: What women need to fight against corruption**

	Description	Frequency
1.	Be a member of an activist group	267
2.	More knowledge about the laws around corruption	266
3.	Easier access to reporting mechanisms	198
4.	A safe and protected environment for activism	77
5.	Higher education	72
6.	Acknowledgement of my efforts and participation	71
7.	Anonymity	26
8.	The support and agreement of my partner	23

The top answers in table 14 suggest that if structures are put in place to encourage activist groups, create awareness of legal recourse and easier reporting mechanisms more women would be motivated to actively contribute to promoting a culture of less corruption. For some respondents too, (71 people), recognition for their contribution to the anti-corruption crusade was a motivating factor - a suggestion that perhaps achievements and contributions need to be publicly highlighted.

It would appear also that more awareness needs to be created about the organisations that are already engaged in the anti-corruption struggle because the findings indicate a generally low level of awareness of civil society organisations efforts in fighting corruption. A very large majority of respondents did not know any CSOs working on anti-corruption. Only 26.1% of respondents were familiar with the Ghana Integrity Initiative (GII) for example, although it was by far the most recognised anti-corruption organisation chosen from the list of anti-corruption actors by respondents. Less

recognised were religious organizations, Ghana Anti-Corruption Coalition (GACC) and IMANI. Though not CSOs, the Commission for Human Rights and Administrative Justice (CHRAJ) and the Ghana Police Service were mentioned by 21 and 13 respondents, respectively, as actors in anti-corruption.

Finally, the respondents were asked what recommendations they would suggest to be undertaken by Ghana Integrity Initiative and/or Transparency International to minimize the level of corruption experienced by women. Overwhelmingly, most felt education and sensitisation should be increased. The following were their responses:

- Education and sensitisation (304)
- Give women the power to expose people who are engaged in corruption (30);
- Arrest and punish the people involved in those practices (88);
- Install CCTV cameras in every workplace (13);
- TI should stand firmly and fight against corruption (7);
- Make strong laws against corruption (26);
- Protect the people who report corrupt acts (2);
- Give major support in the fight against corruption (22).

Similarly, the participants in the focus group discussions made a number of recommendations on how anti-corruption CSOs like GII can promote the fight against corruption. These included:

- “Sensitization and public education in all sectors on the negative effects of corruption”
- “Sensitise people to resist and report corrupt people to the law enforcement agencies”
- “Educate women so they can be empowered to stand their ground against corruption”
- “Assist women to come together devoid of party sentiments to form a united force against corruption”

- “Educate men to take proper care of their wives in order to prevent them from engaging in corrupt practices”
- “Investigate people's background before dealing with them”
- “Encourage citizens to insist on their rights”
- “Educate citizens to insist on receipts when they make any payment”
- “Strengthen anti-corruption institutions and/or people to do follow-ups on corruption complaints in order to sanction corrupt people”

## CONCLUSIONS

The general objective of this study was to build evidence and knowledge around the impact of corruption on women in Ghana and the role they play or could play in the fight against corruption. Consequently the study set out to understand the causes and consequences of corruption on women as perceived as well as experienced by women and the small sample of men included in the study. The ultimate goal is to equip GII with more empirical information to enable it to create more effective programming targeted at women as well as advocate on appropriate legal and policy reforms that will reduce corruption and its impacts on women.

The study affirmed the common notion that women were less corrupt than men and the perception that if put in positions of power women would be less corrupt than men. The findings provided some empirical evidence linking gender with corruption by indicating women had a tendency to be less corrupt than men. It also confirmed the notion that women are particularly vulnerable to corruption, highlighting some of the ways in which corruption affects women negatively, for example as victims of sexual exploitation. There are commonalities in the reasons men and women succumb to corruption (e.g. to facilitate processes and services or to avoid repercussions) but also striking differences. Unlike men, women were more likely to succumb to corruption to get jobs, promotion and better grades. This result may be because it is here that women are most vulnerable to being asked to exchange sexual favours in order to get ahead.

The study found that while a majority of women understand the nature of corruption, its harmful effects and are willing to be enlisted in the fight against corruption their resolve to fight corruption needs to be supported in concrete ways. In general and as suggested by the respondents there is still more need for education and sensitization on corruption. Women on the whole said they need organised structures to help channel their anti-corruption activism, more knowledge and education on legal and reporting mechanisms, and better legal protection from the consequences of corruption. It is worth noting that among the observations made by respondents is that the best way to fight corruption is for citizens to reduce the fear of victimisation by coming together as a united force to fight corruption (i.e. working together as a group) and to challenge perpetrators of corruption to do the right thing. Such sentiments reinforce the role of CSOs like GII in the fight against corruption and challenge them to increase their visibility and advocacy among the population.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

A number of recommendations can be adduced from this research.

- There is a need for more awareness creation, sensitization and empowerment of women to demand accountability, transparency and responsiveness from duty bearers.
- Although there is considerable awareness of how women's basic human rights can be infringed by corruption, corrupt officials and service providers, there is still a need to deepen that awareness.
- Education and sensitisation of women is key to giving them the power to expose individuals engaged in corruption.
- Stronger laws against corruption, including greater protections for those who report these acts, need to be instituted.
- NGOs and CSOs involved in anti-corruption initiatives have a major role to play in providing greater support to women through their direct contact in the local communities with which they work.
- Government should also take the initiative to increase the presence of women in government, not only for reasons of gender equality, but also because the study results suggest that as women are less corruptible than men, increased female representation and empowerment in positions of authority could lead to less corruption in society at large.

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