

Regional Initiative

Transparency and Accountability
in Local Governments (TRALOG)



*Empowered lives.
Resilient nations.*



GENDER AND CORRUPTION IN LATIN AMERICA: IS THERE A LINK?

Working Document



*Empowered lives.
Resilient nations.*

Regional Centre for Latin America and the Caribbean, Panama

Regional Bureau for Latin America and the Caribbean (RBLAC)

Democratic Governance Practice Area & Gender Practice Area

**GENDER AND CORRUPTION IN LATIN AMERICA:
IS THERE A LINK?**

Working Document

UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME- UNDP

UNDP REGIONAL BUREAU FOR LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN DEL PNUD – NEW YORK

Jessica Faieta

Director

UNDP REGIONAL CENTRE-PANAMA

Freddy Justiniano

DIRECTOR a.i

Carmen de la Cruz

TEAM LEADER GENDER CLUSTER

Gerardo Berthin

GOVERNANCE AND DECENTRALIZATION POLICY ADVISOR

Neus Bernabeú

SPECIALIST GENDER CLUSTER

AUTHORS AND COLLABORATORS

Delia Ferreira, Gerardo Berthin, Neus Bernabeu, Sandra Liborio, Mario Andres Velasco Rodriguez y Veronica Cid

Original version in Spanish

English translation by Tess Marie de los Ríos

COVER: Public domain image

JULY 2014

The views expressed in this publication are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent those of the United Nations or the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

Content

Forward	
Acknowledgement	
Introduction	9
Starting points	11
Definition of basic terms in the relationship between gender and corruption	
Different approaches to the relationship between gender and corruption	
Information: the Great Challenge	
Gender and corruption as a phenomenon of exchange	17
Petty and Grand Corruption	
Stakeholders	
Victims	
Currencies of exchange	
Gender and corruption as a public concern	26
Constitution of the Problem	
a) Complaints and Demands	
b) Visibility and Mobilization	
c) Stabilization	
Institutional responses	
Next Steps- Moving Forward	34
Suggestions for Continued Research	
Suggestions for Public Policies on Anti-corruption	
Bibliography	37
Annex	40

Index of Figures and Tables

Table 1: IPC 2013

Table 2: IPU- August 2013. Percentage of women legislators in Single or Lower Houses

Table 3: Sectors Most Affected by Corruption

Table 4: Is corruption a serious problem in the public sector in your country?

Figure 1: People who faced the courts for corruption offenses

Forward

Corruption delays efforts in the countries and in citizens to achieve higher levels of human development and to reduce inequalities, including gender. In a global study undertaken in 2012 by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) found that corruption has a negative impact in the empowerment and participation. In her traditional role as home caretakers and caregivers, women experience corruption in their daily lives when they register their kids in school, when they participate in welfare and subsidy programs, when they file complaints on abuses, and when they participate in electoral processes.

The analysis of the connection between gender and corruption is still very incipient in our region, and this is why from UNDP's Regional Centre of the Regional Bureau for Latin America and the Caribbean, through its democratic governance and gender areas, has promoted the development of this working document on corruption and gender. This effort had the support of the UNDP Global Anti-Corruption Program of the Bureau for Development Policy and country offices in Chile, Colombia and El Salvador, where the three cases studies were undertaken.

The objective of this working document is to review the existing production on the topic, how some ideas and myths were approached in current studies and to question with new evidence some premises that have been installed in the collective perception. One example: women by nature are less corruptible than men, and thus when they are more women in decision making positions there is less corruption. These types of essentialist approaches are reflected in in some policy response in the region with strategies to increase women in institutions. Although beneficial in the short-term in terms of parity and democracy, long-term it could have counterproductive effects if expectative is raise to end corruption with women (and "their incorruptible nature)" without focusing on those factors that promote corruption and trigger it.

The document addresses other issues, such as the differentiated perception of corruption: women tend to perceive higher levels of corruption than men. It also probes into the role of women and men as actors and victims of small and grand corruption and how this can be influenced by gender patterns.

But it also points that issues like extortion and sexual exploitation, particularly affecting women, are not included in the international legislation such as the United Nations Convention against Corruption, or in the regional legislation such as the Inter-American Convention against Corruption. A pending issues to review these action frameworks.

In the final section, the working document highlights some areas that will require the attention of policy makers to generate preventive anticorruption policies and the same time diminish the gender bias. As such, there are suggestions to enhance information systems and capacity building and training; to improve bureaucratic mechanisms, that are free and excluded from threats; establish effective controls against petty corruption focusing on those sectors in which women are more expose; and improve the analysis and monitoring systems for anticorruption policy with gender components.

In summary, this exploratory study has allowed us to know the state of the discussion and the analysis of the issue, to test a methodology in three country studies that now we want to improve, expand and deepen to develop a regional research to answer more questions to be able to carve a working agenda with research, public policy and regional and global dimensions. We hope it will serve as a starting point to begin a dialogue on the links between corruption and gender with our partners and allies.

Jessica Faieta
Deputy Assistant Administrator
and Director Regional Bureau for Latin America and the Caribbean

Acknowledgements

This document is the result of collaboration between the Global Anti-corruption Initiative (GAIN), the regional Initiative Transparency and Accountability in Local Governments (TRAALOG) of the UNDP Latin America and Caribbean Regional Centre, and three UNDP Country Offices in Latin America (Chile, Colombia and El Salvador). This document has been elaborated collaboratively by the Democratic Governance and Gender teams of the Regional Center for Latin America and the Caribbean.

A special recognition and thanks to Delia Ferreira, the regional research coordinator, and main author of the document. Gerardo Berthin and Neus Bernabeú complemented with inputs and in the final edition of the document. Sandra E. Liborio (El Salvador), Mario Andrés Velasco Rodríguez (Colombia), and Verónica Cid (Chile) were the researchers for the country case studies.

A special thanks for their support to Jose Ricardo Puyana and Amalia Alarcón (UNDP-Colombia), Marcela Ríos and Elizabeth Guerrero (UNDP-Chile) and Laura Rivera and Xenia Diaz (UNDP-El Salvador). The document has benefited from comments and suggestions from Ana Patricia Polo, Adriana Ballestin, Laura Rivera, Elizabeth Guerrero, José Puyana, Marcela Ríos, and Xenia Diaz. A special thanks to Adriana Ballestin, the Democratic Governance Specialist in the Latin America and the Caribbean Regional Centre who was responsible for the design and assembly of the document.

Also thanks to Anga Timilsina, Programme Manager of UNDP's Global Anti-corruption Initiative (GAIN); Aida Arutyunova and Diana Torres from DGG/BDP/UNDP.

Last but not least, a heartfelt appreciation goes to Freddy Justiniano, Director, a.i. of the UNDP Regional Service Centre for Latin America and the Caribbean.

Introduction

As part of a continuing effort to understand and analyze various manifestations of the corruption phenomenon and its impact on democratic governance, this study addresses gender issues and corruption in Latin America. This work anchors itself on two recent UNDP studies that address the topic. First, the study of *Corruption, Accountability and Gender: Understanding the Connection* published in 2010 in conjunction with UNIFEM; and second, the study *Seeing Beyond the State: Grassroots Women's Perspectives on Corruption and Anti-Corruption*, published in 2012 jointly with the Huairou Commission. These and other studies are beginning to analyze perceptions and the different impact of corruption on the lives of women and men. That is, how much is the phenomenon of corruption affected by gender?

Within the framework of the new Strategic Plan (2014-2017) and the new Regional Programme for Latin America and the Caribbean (2014-2017), the UNDP is actively promoting gender equality and women's empowerment through a two pronged strategy: mainstreaming gender into programs, into projects being implemented and into general activities and the development of specific initiatives aimed at accelerating progress in gender equality. Gender and corruption is linked to the topic of Inclusive and Effective Governance and Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment and more specifically to the outcome Citizens expectations for voice, effective development, the rule of law and accountability are met by stronger systems of democratic governance.

Few indexes and other measurements of corruption currently in use provide information and analysis disaggregated by sex. The exercise of analyzing disaggregated data could, on the one hand, generate inputs for the design of public policies and on the other hand, it can help identify areas where further effort is needed to disaggregate and analyze data. This exploratory work aims to show the need to continue deepening the knowledge of the relationship between corruption and gender.

This Working Paper wants to contribute to lay the foundation for dialogue and analysis on gender and corruption in Latin America. To that end, it defines a conceptual framework, and develops an analysis methodology based on three case studies: Chile, Colombia and El Salvador. Rather than being prescriptive, this effort is exploratory as it aims to shed light on a subject that is still very new. The working document focuses on the findings in the three case studies, without evaluating or assessing the experiences, and highlights what is missing or what could not be found.

The study is divided into four parts. The first part offers a conceptual overview of the issue, both in regard to the relationship between gender and corruption as well as the different approaches to the relationship. In this initial section, an approach is also proposed to address the issue of corruption from a gender perspective and includes an analysis of corruption as a social phenomenon and the processes that lead to the consolidation of corruption as a public issue.

The second section highlights gender and corruption as a phenomenon of exchange and the focus is on analyzing petty and grand corruption, the stakeholders, the victims and the currencies of exchange. The

third section highlights gender and corruption as a public issue, emphasizing areas such as complaints and demands, and institutional responses among others.

The fourth and final section focuses on next steps. That is, an agenda for future work to continue unraveling the complex issue of corruption and gender. Unfortunately, the three case studies did not provide sufficient inputs to produce conclusions. However, the three cases offered clues that can serve as starting points to continue more in-depth analysis in the future. This effort to better understand the relationship between gender and corruption in Latin America shows that there is still much to be researched not only theoretically, but in terms of concrete social and political practices.

Starting Points

Basic definitions in the relationship between gender and corruption

To avoid generalizations that can blur the main objective of this working paper, it is important to clarify from the beginning how the key terms of gender and corruption will be used.

Various definitions of corruption exist; some are focused on public service, others have a market approach, and others emphasize morals, ethics and/or the public good.¹ For Rose-Ackerman, for example, corruption is “the misuse of public power for private gain.”² Klitgaard defines it as “the misuse of a public service position for personal gain. The public service position is a position of trust, where one receives authority in order to act on behalf of an institution, be it private, public, or non-profit. Corruption means charging an illicit price for a service or using the power of a public or private position to further illicit purposes.”³ For Friedrich, corruption is a behavior deviant of the norm or the perceived norm as a prevalent in a given context, a behavior that is motivated by a purpose to gain individually at the expense of a broader public interest. Corruption exists when “a holder of power who has been entrusted to do a set of tasks...is enticed by monetary rewards or other...to take actions that benefit those that provide the reward and thereby harming the institution or organization.”⁴

In an attempt to cover all angles, Nino defines corruption as “the behavior of those who perform a social function that requires specific active or passive obligations to meet certain ends. To that end, they were designated in that social function, but do not fulfill their obligations and/or in way that the goals are not met and/or fulfilled because they want to obtain a certain individual benefit or an individual benefit for a third party, as well as because a third party leads one to, or aids one in benefiting from such violation.”⁵

The United Nations’ manual on anti-corruption measures – following the criteria adopted by the Convention of the United Nations against Corruption (UNCAC) –instead of defining corruption, leans towards the enumeration of specific behaviors which could be considered corrupt.⁶ The UNCAC⁷ covers these in Chapter III and includes bribery or embezzlement (applied to national and foreign officials and

¹In this regard see: HEIDENHEIMER, A. et Al (eds): *Political Corruption. A Handbook*, Transaction Publishers, 5th ed., New Jersey, 1999, *Part I, Terms, Concepts and Definitions: An Introduction*, pp 3-14; one can also see: MALEN SEÑA, J.: *La corrupción. Aspectos éticos, económicos, políticos y jurídicos*, Gedisa, Barcelona, 2002, especially chapter. 1, pp. 21-38.

² ROSE-ACKERMAN, S.: *La corrupción y los gobiernos. Causas, consecuencias y reforma*, (trad. A. Colodrón Gómez), Ed. Siglo XXI, Madrid, 2001, p. 125.

³ KLITGAARD, R. et Al: *Corrupt Cities. A Practical Guide to Cure and Prevention*, World Bank Institute, Washington, 2000, p. 2

⁴ FRIEDRICH, C.: “*Corruption Concepts in Historical Perspective*”, en HEIDENHEIMER, A. et Al (eds): *Political Corruption. A Handbook*, Transaction Publishers, 5th ed., New Jersey, 1999, p.15.

⁵ NINO, C.: *Un país al margen de la ley*, Emecé, Buenos Aires, 1992, p. 112.

⁶ UN: *Handbook on Practical Anti-Corruption Measures for Prosecutors and Investigators*, Viena, 2004, Chapter 2: “*Corruption Defined*”, pp. 23-30.

⁷http://www.unodc.org/documents/treaties/UNCAC/Publications/Convention/04-56163_S.pdf

the private sector), misappropriation and embezzlement of public funds, embezzlement or misuse of resources by a public official, trading in influence, abuse of functions, illicit enrichment, and laundering and money laundering (these always in relation to an act of abuse of entrusted power for personal gain).

The Inter-American Convention against Corruption (ICAC)⁸ on the other hand, has a less detailed, but useful, definition in Articles VI to XI including bribery or bribes, embezzlement, abuse of power, transnational bribery, illicit enrichment and misappropriation of public funds.

Throughout this study, the synthetic definition of corruption used by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) is used: **“Corruption is the misuse of entrusted power for private gain.”**⁹ Accordingly, to define wrongful acts or offenses that criminalize corrupt behavior, the categorization adopted by specific international conventions and treaties will be used.

A common problem in the sparse literature that exists on gender and corruption is the identification of any type of illegal offense—particularly those affecting women, as if it were a corruption case.¹⁰ This work aims to highlight the relationship between corruption and gender, not the relationship corruption and women. The key question is whether or not corruption and transparency are influenced or determined by gender. In this sense, gender is understood as a set of social attributes, relationships and opportunities associated with being male or female. Gender is a social construction that is essentially historical and is modified depending on the cultural context of each society in each era. Gender is related to the relationships of power between men and women and “determines what is expected, allowed, and valued in a woman or man in a given context.”¹¹

Different approaches to the relationship between gender and corruption

The first studies on gender and corruption emphasized psychological or even moral conditions and characteristics that differentiated men and women. This suggested that women were more honest and less tolerant of corruption than men and that the increased presence of women in government and in economic activity would yield lower levels of corruption.¹²

This essentialist interpretation was based on crisscrossing information on the perception of corruption in the countries and statistics of participation by women, especially in parliamentary seats and in senior

⁸ <http://www.oas.org/juridico/spanish/tratados/b-58.html>

⁹ UNDP - UNIFEM: *“Corruption, Accountability and Gender: Understanding the Connections”*, Primers in Gender and Democratic Governance, # 5, New York, 2010, p. 3, y PNUD: *Programas Anti-Corrupción en América Latina y el Caribe*, Centro Regional para América Latina y el Caribe, Panamá, 2012.

¹⁰ See, for example, THITEUX-ALTSCHUL, M. (edit) : *Género y Corrupción. Las mujeres en la democracia participativa*, Libros del Zorzal, Buenos Aires, 2010, *Prólogo*, p. 12-13 y EKEANYANWU, L.: *“Nexo entre Género y Corrupción. ¿Mito o Realidad?”*, in the same volume, chapter VIII, especially p. 160.

¹¹ <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/conceptsanddefinitions>

¹² WORLD BANK: *“Engendering Development. Through Gender Equality in Rights, Resources and Voice”*, Oxford Univ. Press, Washington, 2011.

http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2001/03/01/000094946_01020805393496/Rendered/PDF/multi_page.pdf

positions in the government bureaucracy.¹³ The problem with this approach was the lack of control of other variables that could actually be determining not only the lower perception of corruption, but also the increased presence of women in government. Other variables involved could be effective enforcement of the rule of law, the recognition of civil and political rights and the degree of inclusion guaranteed by the democratic system.¹⁴

Although, in recent years, social psychology studies have shown that honesty and integrity are not inherent conditions of males or females, it is interesting that some governments today continue to adopt public policies based on the assumption that women are naturally less likely to act corruptly than men. For example, the decision by the State of Mexico's authorities to create women-only teams of traffic police authorized to impose fines for violations, specifically citing the greater honesty of women, as a way to prevent and avoid corruption.¹⁵

Both El Salvador and Colombia have examples along these lines. In El Salvador, for example, women were assigned to the traffic police ranks of the three main metropolitan city areas (San Salvador, San Miguel and Santa Ana). The Chief Inspector of the Traffic Division of National Civil Police said stressed that family and moral values of the women agents would contribute to the reduction of cases of corruption within the Traffic Police. "A woman," he said, "has more values because who ever does this thing (corruption) goes to jail or will die."¹⁶ In the case of Colombia, the case study mentions an incident in the Municipality of Valledupar where the Mayor reported that his cabinet is comprised of 70% women, and furthermore, he has placed them in charge of services exposed to corruption as a way of increasing transparency in management and as a check on corruption. According to statements by the Mayor, "women are less venal, more responsible, and not involved in disorders of revelry and have a great deal of administrative and organizational skill."¹⁷ Chile's case study has no recorded examples of such policies.

Although the correlation may be valid: more women in politics/less corruption, the analysis of existing and current data in Latin America does not demonstrate a causal relationship.

Tables 1 and 2, respectively, reflect – on the left – the ranking of Latin American countries according to the data from the Corruption Perceptions Index of *Transparency International* in 2013.¹⁸ This index ranks countries on a scale of 100 (not corrupt) to 0 (highly corrupt). As is evident, most countries in the region fall in the lower third of the scale. In the table on the right, the same countries are sorted according to the percentage of women in the lower house of Congress or national unicameral legislative bodies,

¹³ DOLLAR, D. et Al.: "Are Women really the Fairer Sex? Corruption and Women in Government", World Bank Development Research Group, Washington, 1999. See also SWANY. A .et Al: "Gender and Corruption", 2000, en http://web.williams.edu/Economics/wp/Swamy_gender.pdf

¹⁴ SUNG, H.: "Fairer Sex or Fairer System?" *Gender and Corruption Revisited*", The University of North Carolina Press, **Social Forces**, Dec -2003, 82(2), pp. 703-723.

¹⁵ see <http://www.npr.org/2013/09/28/226903227/mexican-state-s-anti-corruption-plan-hire-women-traffic-cops>, and http://www.periodicoafondo.com/main/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2429:solo-mujeres-policia-podran-aplicar-infracciones-de-transito-en-ecatepec&catid=2:ecatepec

¹⁶ <http://elmundo.com/sv/mujeres-policias-controlan-el-trafico-en-grandes-ciudades>

¹⁷ VELASCO RODRIGUEZ, M.: -*Estudio de caso - Colombia. Informe Final*, p. 17. Declaraciones del Alcalde en http://www.eltiempo.com/politica/ARTICULO-WEB-NEW_NOTA_INTERIOR-13264133.html

¹⁸ <http://www.transparency.org/cpi2013>

updated until August 1, 2013.¹⁹ Countries that are located at the top of the table are the countries with the highest percentage of female legislators in the lower house of Congress or national unicameral legislative bodies.

By comparing the two tables, no direct correlation is noted. At first glance, the order of the countries is different. The two countries perceived as being the least corrupt in the region (Uruguay and Chile) have low percentage of women in their congresses. Conversely, Nicaragua, since the 2012 reform,²⁰ has had a high percentage of female legislators but is considered among one of the most corrupt countries in the region. Argentina and Mexico also have a high percentage of women in their respective congresses and are seen as having high levels of corruption. The case of Costa Rica is distinct: they have a corruption perception index of 54 out of 100 and a high percentage of women in the National Assembly as well as until recently a female president.²¹ The fact that Argentina and Brazil have women presidents does not seem to influence the level of perceived corruption. This data is illustrative, but serves to clarify the correlation. That is, is as much as there could be correlation, there is no direct causal link between the two variables, or there is an unambiguous correlation.

Table 1: IPC 2013 100- No corrupt 0-Very corrupt		Table 2: IPU- August 2013 Percentage of women legislators Single or Lower Houses	
Country	Score	Country	% Women Legislators- Lower House
Chile	72	Cuba	48,9
Uruguay	72	Nicaragua	40,2
Costa Rica	54	Ecuador	38,7
Cuba	48	Costa Rica	38,6
Brasil	43	Argentina	37,4
El Salvador	38	Mexico	36,8
Panama	38	El Salvador	26,2
Peru	38	Bolivia	25,4
Colombia	36	Peru	21,5
Argentina	35	Dominican Republic	20,8
Mexico	34	Honduras	19,5
Bolivia	34	Paraguay	17,5
Guatemala	33	Venezuela	17
Dominican Republic	32	Chile	14,2
Ecuador	32	Guatemala	13,3
Nicaragua	29	Colombia	12,1
Honduras	28	Uruguay	12,1

¹⁹<http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/arc/world010813.htm>

²⁰ Law 790, adopted in May 2012, modified the Electoral Law 331 and incorporated -in article 82- the parity criterion (50% male and 50% female) and alteration in the candidate lists. The application of the new standard in the 2012 elections determined the high percentage of women in the National Assembly for the period considered in the table.

²¹Laura Chinchilla was the President of Costa Rica until May 8 2014.

The response to a survey on the perception of corruption could substantially differ from the specific attitude of a person against an incident of corruption. To experimentally verify whether or not a person's gender determines his or her degree of integrity and tolerance to corruption, Alatas conducted an experiment with university students of both genders in several countries (Australia, India, Indonesia and Singapore). The experiment consisted of a simulation of situations in which the participants were subjected to various conflicts or ethical dilemmas. The results showed that there was not a significant correlation between the gender of the participants and their ethical behavior.²² On the contrary, the conclusion pointed to the attitude of the people, whether they were men or women, to the opportunity for corruption.²³

If the initial premise is that women are less tolerant of corruption and less likely to engage in corrupt deals, the increased presence of women in public service and public policy decisions should be promoted as part of anti-corruption efforts. However, if, -as Alatas argues- the attitude of people towards the opportunity of corruption is the determinant factor and not whether they are men or women, then the anti-corruption measures must go beyond just increasing the number of women who are public officials and decision-makers.²⁴ Obviously, one must remember that the increased participation of women in politics is not just an instrumental issue, but also a fundamental principle that creates quality in democratic governance, with full inclusion and recognition of the rights of all the population.²⁵

A recent study identifies risk as one of the factors that may explain a different attitude of men and women facing corruption. In a democratic context characterized by pluralism of opinions, rule of law and effective justice and transparency risks and costs for involving oneself in corrupt deals increases significantly compared to more authoritarian contexts characterized by discretion, impunity and the opacity of decision making processes. According to Esarey and Chirillo, the risks of being caught and punished impact differently, legally and socially, men and women, "and women feel more pressure to accommodate to current anti-corruption normative frameworks."²⁶ Consequently in democratic contexts where the risks of engaging in corruption are high, both men's and women's behavior would tend to favor towards more intolerance to corruption and less likely to engage in corruption. In contrast, in contexts where the risk is low or zero – or where it is even more risky to tackle corruption than to bow to it –incentives tend to favor more tolerance towards corruption, and there is more probability to engage in corruption.

The question of the degree of risk in a democratic context is interesting in the case of Latin America where democratic governance has different levels of development, with progress and setbacks. One

²² ALATAS, V. et al.: *"Gender and Corruption: Insights from an Experimental Analysis"*, University of Melbourne, Department of Economics, Research Paper # 974, Melbourne, 2006.

²³ Another study based on experimentation that also found no significant gender bias in corruption can be seen in: FRANK, B. et Al.: *"Gender and Corruption. Lessons from Laboratory Corruption Experiments"* en *European Journal of Development Research* (2011) 23, pp. 59-71.

²⁴ ALATAS, V.: cit, p. 14.

²⁵ BAREIRO, L. y TORRES, I.: (Ed.): *Igualdad para una democracia incluyente*, IIDH-USAID-ASDI, San José de Costa Rica, 2009.

²⁶ ESAREY, J. y CHIRILLO, G.: *"Fairer sex or purity myth? Corruption, Gender and Institutional Context"*, Rice University, 2013, p. 2.

must keep in mind that the risk for corrupt behavior increases to the extent that the rule of law and the norms are enforced; where there is independence and checks of power, and where controls – formal and informal – are effective in preventing impunity.

In reference to the relationship between the perception of the wrongfulness of corruption and the risk of being discovered, a survey of constitutional culture applied in Argentina did not reflect very different results in terms of gender. Respondents were asked to what extent they agreed with the following statement: “Violating the law is not so bad, it is bad if they discover you.” The results showed that 13% of men and 11% of women noted that they “agree and strongly agree,” while 84% of men and 88% of women said they “disagree and strongly disagree.”²⁷

It is also possible, as Goetz argues,²⁸ that the supposed or mythical greater honesty and integrity of women in public service in some contexts is due to the lack of opportunities for women, because they have not yet integrated into networks of real and effective power, even though they are present in politics and bureaucracy. What if a critical mass of women occupied the networks of power and the political and administrative leadership or businesses? One possible answer is that the change of leadership would bring with it a less corrupt practice. But it is also possible that women entering these networks - that is to have the opportunity of corruption and the protection or impunity of the network - the number of women and men involved in corrupt deals would be similar. In any case, there is still a great deal to further research, but through this initial analysis a number of elements that require further research can be highlighted.

It seems clear that especially in public policy, governance and institutional design it is necessary to review the assumptions and myths in an attempt to detect, through case studies and data, the areas in which corruption and the fight against corruption have effects and lead to different attitudes by gender. In addition to analyzing corruption as a social and political phenomenon, it is necessary to verify whether gender influences the configuration factor of corruption as a public policy in a given country. It is important to consider whether in specific cases, such as in the three countries analyzed for this study, there is a gender difference when it comes to denouncing actual concrete corruption and when it comes to proposing solutions when real ethical policy dilemmas are faced.

This will develop more efficient anti-corruption policies and, when necessary, diversify these policies to focus on gender.

²⁷ HERNANDEZ, A. et Al.: *Encuesta de Cultura Constitucional. Argentina: una sociedad anómica*, UNAM-AADC-IDEA, México 2005.

²⁸ GOETZ, A. M.: “*Political Cleaner: How Women are the New Anti-Corruption Force. Does the Evidence Wash?*”, U4 Paper, 2003 <http://www.u4.no/recommended-reading/political-cleaners-how-women-are-the-new-anti-corruption-force-does-the-evidence-wash/>, p. 16-17.

Information: the Great Challenge

One of the most notorious deficits in the analyses of the relationship between gender and corruption is the absence of concrete data to support working hypotheses and their feasibility to be solid starting points for public policy. To move forward in this direction, this working paper as a starting point aimed to gather specific data on some of the different angles of the relationship between gender and corruption in three Latin American countries (Chile, Colombia and El Salvador).²⁹

The three cases were aimed at obtaining hard data and other information or evidence to unravel whether the country had a gender bias in corruption from two perspectives. On the one hand, **corruption as a social phenomenon** was analyzed from a gender perspective, in particular issues related to stakeholders, currencies of exchange and corruption victims. Later the processes leading to the consolidation of **corruption as a public issue** were analyzed. From this perspective, it was possible to see whether or not there was a gender differentiation regarding the incorporation of the problem on the agenda, the complaints, the investigation and the institutional response to corruption.

The same data was not always found in the three countries and many times, while data was found, the statistical systems, the base methodology or the timelines did not coincide. This hampered the ability to compare across countries. This is a generalized problem that affects national statistics on gender issues,³⁰ and this first attempt to link corruption and gender confirmed the same challenge.

The easiest data to compare comes from aggregated opinion studies such as the LAPOP survey, or the studies done by Transparency International (both the Corruption Perceptions Index and the Global Corruption Barometer), which provide comparable information across a number of countries. The lack of information for Latin America is in itself a significant finding in the initial research effort of this working document.³¹

Gender and corruption as a phenomenon of exchange

Petty and Grand Corruption

In addressing the issue of corruption as a social phenomenon it is important to distinguish what in the literature is identified as “grand corruption” and “petty corruption” or “retail corruption.”³² The actors, the currencies of exchange and the victims are not the same depending on the type of corruption.

²⁹ Research in Chile was conducted by Sociologist Veronica CID BOTTESELLE; Colombia’s case study was conducted by Political Scientist Mario VELASCO RODRÍGUEZ and the El Salvador case study was analyzed by Sandra LIBORIO.

³⁰ Gender studies have paid special attention to the issue of statistics. In the following link contains, for example, very interesting contributions received from skilled professionals during the International Workshop on Gender Responsive Statistics, held in Mexico in 2001.

http://www.inegi.org.mx/est/contenidos/espanol/sistemas/genero/taller_genero/default.asp?s=est&c=14468

³¹ The list of questions used in the case studies can be found in Appendix I.

³² UN: *Handbook on Practical Anti-Corruption Measures for Prosecutors and Investigators*, Vienna, 2004, p. 23.

Grand corruption occurs within the higher ranks of public policy and where political and policy decision-making takes place. Without prejudice to identifying specific victims, the phenomenon of grand corruption affects society collectively, impeding greater development opportunities, embezzling public funds and weakening confidence in institutions.

Petty corruption, or “retail” corruption, occurs in personal relationships between individuals and the state apparatus. It is mostly located in the lower levels of public administration, and involves those which interact on a daily basis with the general population on public service issues. The actors in these exchanges have no power to set or change public policy, but they are able to make discretionary decisions affecting specific individuals in their daily lives. This type of corruption is a central sphere of action with regard to the provision of public services and access to rights by the population.

Not only do the involved actors and victims of corruption change, but rather, the two forms of corruption are also differentiated by the type of currency, both in terms of the amounts involved and the nature of that currency. In the case of grand corruption, generally the currency is a significant amount of money. Yet in the case of petty corruption, not only money is used as currency, but also personal services, and in some cases, sexual favors.

Although the two circuits of corruption may seem absolutely unconnected, it is necessary to recognize that in some conceptual frameworks petty corruption is only one link, maybe the initial one, in a structural scheme of corruption reaching to the highest levels. An example of this may be the case of security forces receiving bribes to carry out the obligations arising from their role as service providers for public safety, or to protect offenders who breach their duties. These bribes, or kickbacks, can be isolated incidents aimed at increasing the income of a police or customs officer. But they can also be the collection mechanism for higher levels of the hierarchy which in turn must pay their superiors to maintain the position.

Unlike the rejection that grand corruption produces, petty corruption generates, in some societies, a habituation effect in the population which, in many cases, justifies the corrupt actions on the meager wages they receive or it is downplayed as a crime compared to grand corruption, or even considered necessary to expedite process. This habituation that “normalizes” petty corruption has a rougher effect on the values, principles and practices on which democracy is built and consolidated.

In the following sections, the main characteristics of these two types of corruption are analyzed from a gender perspective in order to uncover whether this factor affects the configuration and effects of the phenomenon of exchange.

Actors

In every exchange relationship there are, at least, two main actors. In the case of corruption: the one who requests/receives the payment or bribe and the one who offers/pays the bribe. The actors’ characteristics, motivations and situations of power change in grand and petty corruption.

In grand corruption, at one extreme of the exchange relationship one can find high and senior level public functionaries (presidents, ministers, secretaries, legislators) and the arrangement involves large sums of money or very lucrative business deals for personal gain. These actors, because of their position they hold, have great power to facilitate the adoption of a necessary decision, but it also gives them great power of pressure and retaliation. At the other extreme of the exchange relationship are powerful business groups, often transnational or –at worst– the heads of criminal organizations.

In grand corruption cases, both extremes of the exchange relationship are present, mainly comprised of males. This coincides with the arguments of some authors in the sense that women appear as less corrupt because they are actually not in the circle of corrupt networks where business is conducted.³³

But what happens when women hold positions of power. When women reached that level have they been involved in cases of corruption? The answer is yes. This why when trying to establish a relationship between gender and corruption it is important not only to rely on surveys or simulated experiments but also review the political realities within the countries.³⁴

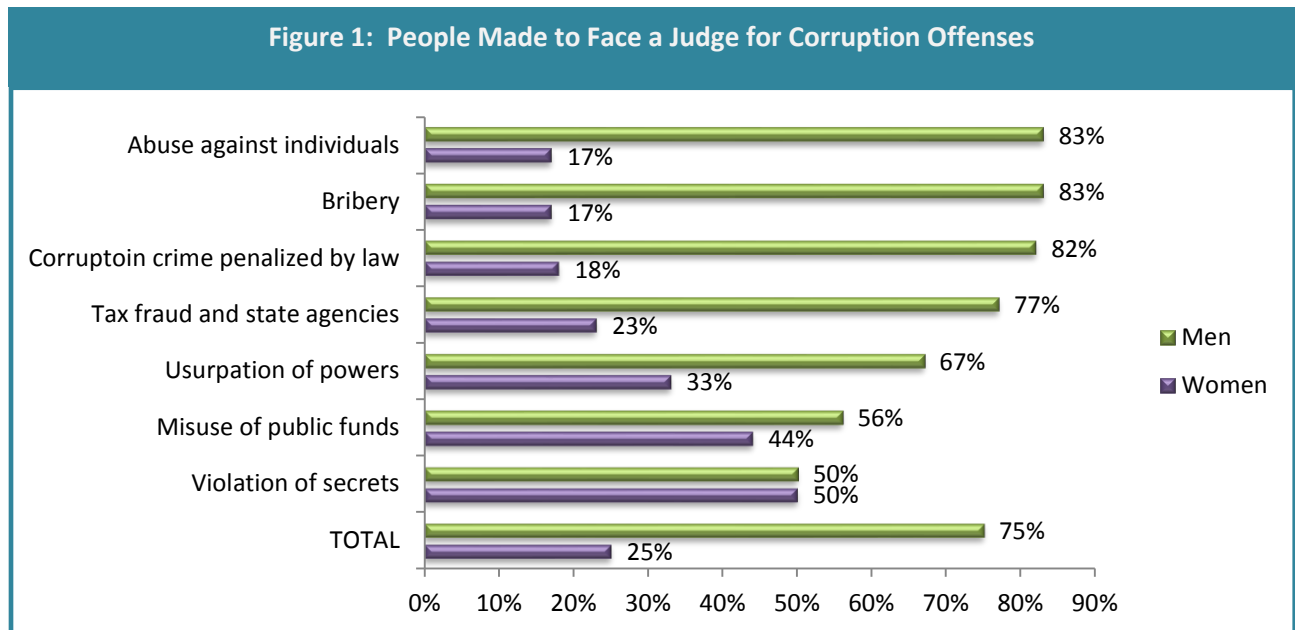
The case study from Chile, for example, offers some interesting data regarding state actors involved in corruption. At the parliamentary level, 37.5% of the 18 female representatives³⁵ in office have been involved in allegations of corruption, according to the Attorney General[s] Office. The Compendium on Gender Statistics from 2010, indicates that of the total number of people made to face a judge for corruption offenses, 75% were male and 25% female. Furthermore, the official statistics provided are broken down by gender for the various types of crimes as seen in Figure 1.³⁶

³³See GOETZ, A.: "Political Cleaners..." cit.

³⁴ For illustration purposes only, we mention a few recent cases. In 2013, in Honduras there was a case of embezzlement/theft of public funds for private purposes in which the main protagonist was the Minister of Public Health and a scheme using spurious resources of the National Program on Dengue which ended in serving for appointments of relatives and payments of travel and hotel for the official and his associates. See the compliant in the media: EL HERALDO, Tegucigalpa-Honduras, 22 de Mayo de 2013 <http://www.elheraldo.hn/Secciones-Principales/Al-Frente/Araujo-Quien-compra-es-la-gerencia-administrativa> and May 28, 2013 <http://www.elheraldo.hn/Secciones-Principales/Al-Frente/Nepotismo-y-viajes-sin-liquidar-en-gestion-Araujo>. In Argentina, in December 2012 the former Minister of Economy of the Nation was sentenced for the crime of concealment of money laundering. She was the first woman to hold the Ministry of Economy position (2005-2007) and she could not explain the origin of funds found in a bag in the private bathroom in her office. The case was even more striking because the Minister, once known in the case, gave countless explanations that were different and contradictory during the investigation and she even tried to hide evidence. The suspect, beyond the crimes for which she was convicted, received these funds as a bribery payment. See more information at this link:<http://www.lanacion.com.ar/1540721-felisa-miceli-condena-caso-bolsa> and on the official website of the Nation's Judiciary Office: Center of Judicial Information <http://www.cij.gov.ar/nota-10676-Dieron-a-conocer-los-fundamentos-de-la-condena-a-la-ex-ministra-Felisa-Miceli.html>. Sometime later, a business woman announced that the mechanism to collect bribes used by some officials in the Province of Santa Cruz was to ask business owners to use the bathroom of her office and there they would leave the cash in a medical kit. http://www.clarin.com/politica/empresaria-Vido-cobraba-Santa-Cruz_0_910109004.html.

³⁵ The participation of women in the Chilean Congress has been relatively low so far. The 2013 elections marked an improvement in the percentage of female legislators passing from 5 to 7 female Senators (13.1% to 18.4%) and from 18 to 20 Representatives (15% to 16.7%). CID BOTTESELLE, V.: *Estudio de caso - Chile. Informe Final*, p. 28

³⁶ CID BOTTESELLE, V.: *Estudio de caso - Chile. Informe Final*, p. 17.



Source: Summary of Gender Statistics 2010. National Statistic Institution

In the three country case studies, taking into account the most notorious cases of corruption and scandals in recent years, greater participation of males than females has been reported. In Chile, the database developed by *Chile Transparente* recorded a total of 30 cases relevant to public corruption; 59 men and 4 women³⁷ were involved in these cases; in Colombia, of 10 documented cases, the main protagonists were mostly men, although in 5 of the 10 cases one woman was involved.³⁸ The same applies in the case of El Salvador where 1192 allegations were received by the Government Ethics Tribunal – since 2007 – of which 72% involved male 28% female officials respectively.³⁹ In seven significant cases analyzed in El Salvador, only four involved women and always there were in much fewer numbers than men.⁴⁰

A less explored aspect is the question of the willingness of businesswomen to pay bribes in cases of grand corruption. The fact that there are few women in positions of power in companies makes it difficult to conclude that women and men have different levels of susceptibility to engage into business in a corrupt way. Although, just for illustrative value, the Chile⁴¹ and Colombia⁴² case studies recognized the participation of businesswomen in some of the most notorious cases of corruption in the decade.

In the petty corruption cases, the actors who request/receive a bribe are usually public officials or lower level employees responsible for providing specific services, the division of property or assuring any

³⁷ CID BOTTESELLE, V.: *Estudio de caso - Chile. Informe Final*, p. 20 y Anexo I.

³⁸ VELASCO RODRIGUEZ, M.: *Estudio de caso - Colombia. Informe preliminar*, p. 10-15.

³⁹ LIBORIO, S.: *Estudio de caso - El Salvador. Informe Final*, p. 14.

⁴⁰ LIBORIO, S.: *Estudio de caso - El Salvador. Informe Final*, p. 19-22.

⁴¹ CID BOTTESELLE, V.: *Estudio de caso - Chile. Informe Final*, p. 19.

⁴² VELASCO RODRIGUEZ, M.: *Estudio de caso - Colombia. Informe Final*, p. 18 y 19.

citizen rights. These officials have no power in decision-making at the macro level, but they do have a margin of discretion that may affect individual cases.

In this regard it is interesting to explore in which areas there are higher perception corruption levels. The Global Corruption Barometer of Transparency International⁴³ analyzes the sectors most affected by perceived corruption in each country. According to available data for Latin America in 2013, there are many countries in which the public sector is seen as one of the most affected. If it were established that petty corruption has a gender bias, the situation in these countries should be carefully considered since public officials play an important role in petty corruption.

Table 3: Sectors most Affected by Corruption			
Country	1 st most Affected Sector	2 nd most Affected Sector	3 rd most Affected Sector
Argentina	Political Parties	Public Officials	Parliament
Bolivia	Police	Political Parties	Courts
Brazil	Political Parties	Parliament	Police
Chile	Political Parties	Parliament	Courts
Colombia	Political Parties	Parliament	Public Officials
El Salvador	Police	Political Parties	Courts
Mexico	Political Parties	Police	Public Officials
Paraguay	Parliament	Police	Political Parties
Peru	Courts	Political Parties	Parliament/ Police
Uruguay	Political Parties	Police	Public Officials
Venezuela	Police	Public Officials	Political Parties

Source: Transparency International - Global Corruption Barometer - 2013

⁴³<http://www.transparency.org/gcb2013>

Two public sectors that are mentioned in the literature as particularly problematic in terms of corruption are: Health and Education. According to the results of the Global Corruption Barometer, the Education sector appears among the top five sectors that are most affected by corruption in Chile and the Health sector appears within the top five in Colombia. Interestingly, in the case of Colombia, in the Health sector, there is no difference in the percentage of men and women who claim they were asked for a bribe in exchange for their services (both were at 4%) and in the Education sector, the difference between men and women is relatively low: 3% for males and 4% for females.⁴⁴

Another significant finding that emerges from the Global Corruption Barometer is that in Latin America and the Caribbean, women identify the Police and the Courts as sectors where they have been most

exposed to requests for bribes in the last year;⁴⁵ two central areas for the defense of women's rights in cases of discrimination, abuse and violence.

Social program is another area that is often cited as having females being more exposed to corruption than males, particularly those programs aimed at women, mothers or female heads of households. However, in order to determine whether the existing corruption in the implementation of the social programs has a gender bias, not only programs that target women should be considered. Instead, the focus should be in all social programs, the degree and type of corruption that occurs and detect –if any– a differential factor in those programs in which women are the main beneficiaries.⁴⁶

In cases of petty corruption, in the other extreme of the exchange relationship, one finds ordinary people who need the services, and the delivery of this services are exposed to corruption as a way of avoiding any penalties or enforcing their rights. These people are in a subordinate position of power versus the public employee or servant, and moreover are more exposed to reprisals if they do not accept the requested payments.

The literature on the relationship between gender and corruption assumes that in cases of petty corruption a gender bias exists in the extreme weak end of the relationship. It is argued that women are more vulnerable to corruption because the poor sectors of the population have the greatest need for public goods and services, and the feminization of poverty phenomenon also intersects when corruption occurs. Another factor that exposes women to corruption in relation to men is that jobs of caring for others are mainly carried out by women.

In this regard, it seems necessary to distinguish between the situation in which exposure to corruption takes place and the condition of the victim of corruption. When exposure to corruption is mentioned, it

⁴⁴ VELASCO RODRIGUEZ, M.: *Estudio de caso - Colombia. Informe Final*, p. 22.

⁴⁵ WICKBERG, S.: "Gender-specific Corruption Risks in the LAC Region", Transparency International Helpdesk, 29-11-13, p. 2.

⁴⁶ For more information see: GRUENBERG, Ch. et Al.: "Análisis preliminar sobre la relación entre el clientelismo, la pobreza y el género", en THITEUX-ALTSCHUL, M. (edit): *Género y Corrupción*, cit, p. 41-59. See also WICKBERG, S.: "Gender-specific Corruption ...", cit.

refers to the actors –in particular of petty corruption as they are more susceptible to being asked for bribes-which does not always coincide with the person who suffers damages –the victim.

The LAPOP for 2010 indicates that in Latin America women are less exposed to corruption. It shows that 21.5% of men surveyed report having received a request for a bribe, while 14% of the women surveyed said the same.⁴⁷ This trend continued in the 2012 study.⁴⁸

The same trend is reflected in Chile’s case study based on the data reported in the Global Corruption Barometer in 2013. Of all male respondents, 22% reported receiving bribe requests against 14% of all female respondents interviewed.⁴⁹ Also in the case of Chile, the results of the “National Survey of Urban Public Safety (ENUSC) 2011 of the National Institute of Statistics, in which 25,933 people in urban Chilean households were interviewed, only 0.4% replied that she/he or any member of the family had been a victim of a crime of corruption, that is to say that 104 households were offered or requested to offer a bribe. The crime of corruption presented the lowest rate of victimization among the crimes measured by the ENUSC, peaking at 1.1% in 2003 and dropping to 0.4% in 2010 and remaining the same in 2011.”⁵⁰

In the case of Colombia, the 2012 LAPOP survey recorded a difference of almost 10 percentage points among men (20.8%) and women (11.5%) having received bribes in one or more occasions in the past 12 months. The difference may be due to the lower participation of women in economic activity, which would present fewer corruption scenarios.⁵¹

The difference is similar in the case of El Salvador. According to the 2012 LAPOP survey, 13.6% of men surveyed had received a bribe or a request for one in the past 12 months, whereas only 9% of women surveyed had received a bribe or a request for one in the past 12 months.⁵²

In Latin America, there are few national studies about the opinions of men and women with respect to corruption. The Corruption Perception Survey carried out by *Proética*⁵³ in Peru is worth noting. This is the eighth edition of a survey in which there is data disaggregated by gender. In 2013,⁵⁴ for example a significant difference was seen in terms of gender when asked, “in the last 12 months have you been asked for or received gifts, gratuities, bribes or kickbacks by or for a government official?” The results

⁴⁷ VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY: “*Political Culture of Democracy 2010. Democratic Consolidation in the Americas in Hard Times. Report on The Americas*”, Nashville, 2010, p. 76-77.

⁴⁸ VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY: “*Political Culture of Democracy in The Americas 2012. Towards Equality of Opportunity*”, Nashville, 2013, p. 153.

⁴⁹ CID BOTTESELLE, V.: *Estudio de caso - Chile. Informe Final*, p. 16.

⁵⁰ CID BOTTESELLE, V.: *Estudio de caso - Chile. Informe Final*, p. 24 y 25.

⁵¹ RODRIGUEZ-RAGA, J.C. y SELIGSON, M.: “*Cultura Política de la Democracia en Colombia y las Américas 2012: Hacia la Igualdad de Oportunidades*”, Univ. de los Andes, LAPOP, USAID, 2012, p. 100 y VELASCO RODRIGUEZ, M.: *Estudio de caso - Colombia. Informe Final*, p. 16.

⁵² CORDOBA MACÍAS, R. et Al.: “*Cultura Política de la Democracia en El Salvador y las Américas 2012: Hacia la Igualdad de Oportunidades*”, FUNDAUNGO, LAPOP, USAID, 2013, p. 110 y LIBORIO, S.: *Estudio de caso - El Salvador. Informe Final*, p. 18.

⁵³ <http://www.proetica.org.pe/>

⁵⁴ See results at: <http://www.proetica.org.pe/viii-encuesta-nacional-sobre-percepciones-de-la-corrupcion-en-el-peru-2013/>

show that 10% of respondents said yes, “I was asked and I gave”; this group was comprised of 15% men and only 4% women.

Victims

The few studies that focus on the relationship between gender and corruption assume that gender is a determining factor for those affected, or the victims of corruption, particularly in the case of petty corruption. The reasons given are related, as mentioned above, to the feminization of poverty and the fact that women are usually a majority in poorer areas and on the other hand, the sexual division of labor that focuses the care giving responsibilities mainly on women.⁵⁵

This deserves further reflection. It is one thing if a woman –for taking on positions of care giving– becomes the vulnerable point of contact for the phenomenon of exchange. It is another when she is the victim of corruption for gender based reasons. In many cases, it appears that the victim is not only a woman, but rather the family as a whole unit. The pressure is on the family, or the child cannot go to school, or the elderly cannot receive assistance. In these cases, the gender bias is manifested in terms of the subject who is exposed to corruption and not necessarily the subject who suffers direct damages from corruption.

The inference that because women make up the majority of the poorer population, they are more affected by corruption also deserves further review. Indeed, it is estimated that worldwide, most poor people are women.⁵⁶ It is also a fact that the poorest sectors of society need to make greater and more frequent use of government services. Similarly, it is also a fact that in these levels of bureaucracy there may have been petty corruption practices. But is the character of the victim of petty corruption determined by the condition of poverty or by gender?

There are cases in which gender determines not only the person of contact but also the direct victim. One hypothesis is that of health services—given that women require a greater need of health services, especially in the reproductive years. Another hypothesis relates to situations where the currency of exchange is sexual favors. This is a case in which there is a clear and direct victimization by gender. In the following section, reference is made to the latter hypothesis.

In the case of grand corruption, although the effects on the economy and development of a country are global and, therefore individual victims cannot be specifically identified, it could also be argued that gender is relevant when it comes to victimization on a macro level. That is, since the poor population are the most affected by the lack of development and opportunities and taking into account – as mentioned above—that most of the world’s poor are women.

⁵⁵ UNDP - UNIFEM: *"Corruption, Accountability and Gender..."*, cit. , p. 10-11.

⁵⁶ <http://www.un.org/spanish/conferences/Beijing/fs1.htm>

Currencies of Exchange

One of the areas of the corruption phenomenon where gender differences can be identified is in the currencies of exchange, especially in the case of petty corruption.

Some authors have argued that a gender bias refers to the amount of money that must be paid by way of a bribe or bribery to obtain goods or services. It is not about differentiated “fees” between men and women, but the relative weight that these amounts have in women’s budgets, due to the fact that they are the majority in the poorer populations of the world.⁵⁷ Another argument that is used refers to gender determining access to and independent management of resources –however few they were. Since women have fewer personal resources to manage, they will have a smaller room to maneuver when deciding to pay a bribe and, consequently, many times they will not access the service or goods offered.⁵⁸

In the 2013 edition of the Global Corruption Barometer by Transparency International, on a global level, 28% of men reported they had paid bribes compared to 25% among women.⁵⁹ In the case of Latin America and the Caribbean, 21.5% of male respondents reported paying bribes while and 18.5% of females.⁶⁰

When, instead of money, the currency of exchange is sexual favors, an important gender bias emerges in particular affecting women. Obviously, for socio-cultural and religious reasons it is difficult to detect and quantify the phenomenon due to the additional stigma of sexual abuse within the great secrecy of corrupt deals. However, there are some studies that address this issue.⁶¹

The case of sexual favors as currency in contexts of corruption falls undoubtedly within the broader context of gender violence. It is a form of exercising gender violence. In this sense, it is necessary to identify those cases in which the sexual favor works as currency in a corruption case and those in which it is a separate crime of domestic violence or sexual abuse. The distinction is important in terms of criminal policy and penal legislation.

⁵⁷ CHETWYNG, E. et Al: *“Corruption and Poverty. A review of recent literature”*, Management Systems International, Washington, 2003.

⁵⁸ With relation to access to the Courts service: UNWOMEN: *2011-2012 Progress of the World’s Women: In Pursuit of Justice*, Washington, 2011, p. 54. Also see: CHÉNE, M.: *“Corruption and Gender in Service Delivery: The Unequal Impacts”*, Transparency International, Working Paper #02/2010.

⁵⁹ <http://www.transparency.org/gcb2013>, Reporte, p. 9.

⁶⁰ WICKBERG, S.: *“Gender-specific Corruption ...”*, cit., p. 2.

⁶¹ UNESCO, notes a study conducted by ROSSETTI, S. about sexual abuse at school in Botswana. Approximately 560 students were interviewed, 20% reported that their teachers had asked them for sex. Of this 20%, 42% affirmed that they accepted due to fear of receiving lower grades. See also: UNIFEM-UNDP: *“Corruption, Accountability and Gender: Understanding the Connections”*, cit., p.12.

http://www.unesco.org/education/efa/known_sharing/grassroots_stories/botswana.shtml

The Global Report on the Learn without Fear Plan from 2008, collected information on sexual favors demanded by teachers or students in exchange for class registration or grading in 66 countries.⁶²

In the case of Latin America, the United Nations' Study on Violence against Children found that "girls in the Dominican Republic, Honduras, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua and Panama experience sexual coercion by their teachers, occasionally with threats that their grades would be affected if they did not accept the demands."⁶³

In interviews conducted for the case studies, the issue of sexual favors as currency in corruption cases was mentioned, but in none of the three countries -- Chile, Colombia and El Salvador-- were there records in this regard and the interviewees noted that for cultural reasons these cases were seldom reported. In El Salvador's case study, one of the female respondents mentioned that there are acts or conducts that "for cultural defect" or lack of information, these acts are not considered corruption or mismanagement. She specifically referred to situations that may be faced by women when needing to conduct a bureaucratic process in the public sector...., since it is common to offer "economic privileges" or apparent kindness, which borderlines on sexual harassment, these are not reported and are seen as a normal practice to speed-up processes, in any...office that requires procedures. These acts, in the words of Doris Montenegro of CEMUJER, occur daily that they are overlooked."⁶⁴

The issue of the currency of exchange is an area that should be part of anti-corruption policies. A corrupt exchange does not only occur when money changes hands. It can also involve gifts, travel, club memberships, power and sexual favors. In China, for example, the laws limit the offense of corruption to the receipt of money in exchange for a decision. As such, in recent cases where the currency of exchange was sexual favors, the defendants were not prosecuted criminally for these acts although they were convicted in the same process, for other acts in which the exchange of currency included giving money.⁶⁵

Gender and corruption as a public concern

The construction of the problem

To analyze corruption as a social phenomenon involves reviewing the context, the actors involved, the common features and the differences in the cases, their causes and effects. But what makes a situation become a public problem? How does this process unfold? Who are the protagonists? These are the

⁶² <http://plan-international.org/learnwithoutfear/files/learn-without-fear-global-campaign-report-spanish>, List of countries included pp. 58-60. See also TAYLOR, R. y CONRAD, S.: "Break the Silence", Dakar, Senegal, 2008, y EKEANYANWU, L.: "Nexo entre Género y Corrupción ...", cit. p. 158.

⁶³ UNITED NATIONS - SECRETARY GENERAL: *World Report on Violence Against Children*, 2006, Chapter 4, p. 121 <http://www.unicef.org/violencestudy/reports.html> . See also: JONES, N. et Al.: "Painful Lessons: The Politics of Preventing Sexual Violence and Bullying at Schools", ODI, Working Paper 295, London, 2008, p. 23

⁶⁴ LIBORIO, S.: *Estudio de Caso - El Salvador. Informe Final*, p. 15.

⁶⁵ <http://blog.transparency.org/2013/07/16/sexual-favours-are-not-considered-corruption-in-china/>

questions addressed in this section, paying particular attention to the role of gender in the construction of corruption as a public issue.

As Gusfield points out, not all painful, annoying, complicated or “bad” community situations become issues for the public agenda or are subject to public decision-making. On the other hand, a given situation could receive public attention in a society or in a historical moment, but be excluded as a public problem in other circumstances or places. For a public problem to exist, it is necessary for this determined situation to generate awareness and social concern to provoke action by public officials and political institutions and a reaction or social mobilization. The public problem exists when society realizes that “something must be done.”⁶⁶

Corruption is not a new phenomenon. By contrast, in the history of humanity, cases of corruption have been collected from centuries back.⁶⁷ What has changed is that since the 80s and 90s of the twentieth century, the social phenomenon has taken shape as a public problem, both nationally and internationally.

The construction of the public problem is a result of a process and of linking main actors to the corruption phenomenon, as well as other individual and collective stakeholders.

The main stages of the process to construct a social phenomenon into a public problem are:⁶⁸

- 1) Making a complaint of the problem and demanding a particular solution, which includes an interpretation of the phenomenon itself, the definition of its characteristics and a proposed course of action.
- 2) Making the problem visible and generating awareness to mobilize society. In this stage, the “scandals” play a central role because they contribute to the visibility of the phenomenon.
- 3) Stabilization, which is when the problem has been recognized in the social consciousness and the public agenda, the institutional framework has become clear in what is to be done and when the responsibilities for a solution have become defined.

Does gender have implications in the process?

The first stage when the **complaint** and the **demand** are made involves the actual case and making the case for the incident or occurrence to be a problem. A fundamental aspect of this stage is the degree of tolerance or social acceptance of a situation. The complaint and demand are not common behaviors in

⁶⁶ GUSFIELD, J.: *The Culture of Public Problems: Drinking-Driving and the Symbolic Order*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1984, especially Chapter 1, p. 4. See also LOSEKE, D.: *Thinking about Social Problems: An Introduction to Constructionist Perspectives*, 2a. edic., Transaction Publishers, 2011.

⁶⁷ See, for example, FERGUSON, N.: *Dinero y Poder. En el Mundo Moderno 1700-2000*, (trad. S. Marí), Taurus-Historia, Madrid, 2001, Chapter VIII. An anecdote about Gladstone and what his interpretation would be in present day is particularly revealing, p. 338.

⁶⁸ PEREYRA, S.: *Política y Transparencia. La Corrupción como Problema Público*, Siglo XXI editores, Buenos Aires, 2013.

contexts where corruption is perceived as normal or traditional and oblivious to the concerns and priorities of the society. Is there a difference in the tolerance of men and women towards corruption?

From 2012 LAPOP data, the case study on Colombia reported that the question of whether or not, given the circumstances, the payment of bribes is justified, 87% of women and 75% of men respectively responded with a no,⁶⁹ which shows a slight degree of difference in tolerance.

Furthermore, the sensitivity to the phenomenon of corruption is an important factor. The 2013 Global Corruption Barometer asked respondents if corruption is a problem in the public sector in their countries. In Latin America, 66.9% of women surveyed said it was a “very serious problem,” compared to 63.4% of male respondents.⁷⁰ As shown in the table below, in relation to the perception of the seriousness of the problem of corruption there are important differences in the results for the three countries that were part of this work.

Table 4: Is corruption a serious problem in the public sector in your country?		
Country	Women %	Men %
Chile	64,5	45,2
Colombia	59,3	64,1
El Salvador	54,4	59,3
Average Latin America	66,9	63,4

Source: Global Corruption Barometer - *Transparency International*- 2013

The degree of social acceptance or tolerance of corruption is the backdrop against which the public problem is constructed and how the complaint and demand would operate.

Some studies conclude that women are less likely to expose corruption of which they are aware –or of which they are victims—due to the unequal distribution of both economic and symbolic resources based on gender consideration. Other authors argue that in many cultures the willingness to file a report and demand a solution holds a gender bias derived from mandates and social models that assign the man a stronger and more proactive role while women are a model of submission, timidity and silence.⁷¹

⁶⁹ VELASCO RODRIGUEZ, M.: *Estudio de caso - Colombia. Informe Final*, p. 23.

⁷⁰ 2013 Global Corruption Barometer data analyzed by Transparency International’s research team.

⁷¹ INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL ON HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY -ICHRP: *Integrating Human Rights in the Anti-Corruption Agenda. Challenges, Possibilities and Opportunities*, Ginebra, 2010, p. 59.

In regard to reporting individual cases in particular of petty corruption, the 2013 Global Corruption Barometer found that there is a universal relationship between complaints and gender. Therefore, in countries such as Nepal and Pakistan, males are more likely to make complaints than women. However, in Colombia, for example, the relationship is reversed: 27% of women reported having made a corruption complaint, versus 16% of men.⁷²

Another interesting point is the willingness to report corruption in general – not in relation to a case where one has been the victim. Globally, 68% of women surveyed were willing to expose corruption, versus 70% of men. Data for Latin America and the Caribbean detected no difference between men and women and the willingness to report and/or file complaints, which for both is 83%.

A significant indicator is the willingness of women to report and/or file a complaint, which grows in proportion to the quality of the rule of law and the observance of freedoms. In analyzing the results of the Corruption Barometer, depending on the classification of countries according to the Freedom Index from Freedom House,⁷³ the willingness of women to report in the “not free” countries is 57%; in the “partly free,” 65% and in the “free” countries the percentage rises to 75% respectively.⁷⁴

In the case of Peru, the Corruption Perception Survey conducted by *Proética* –the 2013 edition⁷⁵- asked on filing complaints to those respondents who were asked either to give or receive a bribe. To the question, “When you were asked to give or gave bribes, did you report it?” the percentage of women (8%) who said they have reported was twice that of men (4%).

Moving from opinion surveys to data on complaints in concrete cases can provide for interesting results. For example, when verifying the rate of complaints received by Transparency International’s ALACs, which are legal advice centers for corruption cases organized by the respective national chapters. Currently there are ALACs in 60 countries. In 2011, an analysis was done by gender of the complainant on a total of 96,606 complaints received in 35 countries. The result was that only 30% of complaints were made by women. This analysis also highlighted important regional differences in the percentage of complaints submitted by women. “In Europe and Central Asia 35%; in Latin America 32% came from women. The percentages were significantly lower in Africa and the Middle East (24%) and in Asia (9%).”⁷⁶ A new analysis was done of 21,206 complaints (January 2013 - June 2013), of which 36% of the complaints came from women.⁷⁷

In Chile and Colombia ALACs do not exist, but there is one operating in El Salvador. As part of the case study, an illustrative analysis was made of the cases received. Between January and September 2013,

⁷² <http://www.transparency.org/gcb2013>. Report, p. 9.

⁷³ <http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/freedom-world-2013>

⁷⁴ 2013 Global Corruption Barometer data analyzed by Transparency International’s research team.

⁷⁵ See results at: <http://www.proetica.org.pe/viii-encuesta-nacional-sobre-percepciones-de-la-corrupcion-en-el-peru-2013/>

⁷⁶ MARIN, M.: “Why do women report corruption less than men?”. The article refers to the experience in the chapters about Zimbabwe and Rwanda where it was possible to notably increase the number or reports given by women. <http://blog.transparency.org/2013/03/08/womens-day-why-do-women-report-corruption-less-than-men/>

⁷⁷ MARIN, M: Infography. http://infogr.am/Baseline_newsletter?src=web

ALAC El Salvador received 13 complaints, 9 made by men and 4 by women. Women were the majority in terms of information requests.⁷⁸

The Government Ethics Tribunal of El Salvador reported that since 2007, they received a total of 1192 complaints of alleged corruption cases. In this case, 67% were made by males and 28% by females, the remainder were institutional complaints.⁷⁹

Given that a complaint is a critical part in the construction of corruption as a public problem and as a pressure leverage to generate both specific and general solutions, it is interesting to learn the reasons that discourage a complaint. Transparency International's Corruption Barometer offers some interesting clues. "I do not know where to report" is the reason that 15% of men and 18% of women interviewed responded; "I am afraid of the consequences," was mentioned by 34% of men and 38% of women respectively; and "It makes no difference" was the response from 51% of men and 44% of women respectively.⁸⁰

In Colombia's case study, impunity was noted by non-governmental actors as one of the factors that discourages reporting corruption cases. Corruption, they argued, "is established culturally as a common practice which leads to impunity because government and/or private agencies are not doing what needs to be done to question and/or eradicate corruption."⁸¹

As for reasons why women do not report corruption, the Chile study suggests that the fear of retaliation and the lack of protection or restraining networks are two of the factors.⁸² Some interviewees in El Salvador noted that women do not report because they are subjected to too much pressure or social punishment if they do.⁸³

In some countries, specific channels for complaints have been created for certain social programs where people can submit complaints of alleged cases and to report irregularities or unlawful acts linked to corruption. For example, in Argentina, the Prosecution Unit set up to investigate Crimes against Social Security and is in charge of crimes related to allocation, distribution and implementation of social programs, recorded between 2002-2007 that women reported 49% of the cases compared to 21% reported by men. The other allegations were collective (12%), institutional (2%) and the remaining could not be identified. The prominence of women's complaints could be related to "over-representation of women in poverty" according to Gruenberg. As for the accused, 40% were male and 34% were female.⁸⁴

In the countries analyzed for this working document, Chile, Colombia and El Salvador, social conditional cash transfer programs aimed at women exist. However, there are not specific official mechanisms with which to file a complaint such as those described above.

⁷⁸ LIBORIO, S.: *Estudio de Caso - El Salvador. Informe Final*, p. 13.

⁷⁹ LIBORIO, S.: *Estudio de Caso - El Salvador. Informe Final*, p. 14.

⁸⁰ 2013 Global Corruption Barometer data analyzed by Transparency International's research team..

⁸¹ VELASCO RODRIGUEZ, M.: *Estudio de caso - Colombia. Informe Final*, p. 15.

⁸² CID BOTTESELLE, V.: *Estudio de Caso - Chile. Informe Final*, p. 15.

⁸³ LIBORIO, S.: *Estudio de Caso - El Salvador. Informe Final*, p. 27.

⁸⁴ GRUENBERG, Ch. et Al.: "Análisis preliminar ...", cit., p. 53-54 y 56.

In cases of grand corruption and allegations of corruption as an institutional problem, in addition to individual complaints, civil society organizations often play an important role. An interesting fact to share is the action completed by denouncing corruption and demand for transparency on behalf of women's organizations.

The Huairou Commission and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) developed an interesting research on the perception and everyday experience of women and corruption at the local level in poor and marginalized communities, both urban and rural.⁸⁵ The majority of cases involved were petty corruption. The research included 473 interviews in 8 countries (Brazil and Nicaragua in Latin America) and generated anti-corruption action initiatives within groups of women from the participating countries which aim to control local budgets, access to services and recognize poor women as key actors in the struggle for transparency.⁸⁶

In Argentina, the Women in Equality Foundation have been active in issues related to corruption and gender.⁸⁷ They have developed an initiative specifically aimed at transparency and the right of law to access of information on behalf of women, as a tool to monitor governance and ensure women's rights. It is the *Network of Women on the Information Edge*, which brings together NGOs with a gender perspective that are focal points for each region of Argentina and, at the same time, bring together other civil society organizations to work together in obtaining access to information from the provincial and municipal governments on gender violence, human trafficking, health safety and urban planning."⁸⁸

Chile's case study reports that requests for access to information in accordance with the Transparency Law for the period 2010 – 2012 have been presented mostly by men (64%), while 36% of the requests were made by women.⁸⁹ Moreover, that women's organizations have not incorporated corruption in their agenda because the gender agenda has other priorities and there is no data to show that the issue is relevant in the country.⁹⁰

Another key actor in the construction phase of a public problem is the media, especially investigative journalism. It would be interesting to investigate in each country whether or not gender is relevant to journalists who write about issues related to corruption. If one checks, for example, the list of winners for the award of investigative reporting on corruption, which is given by the Institute for Press and Society (IPYS) and Transparency International, or the award for investigative journalism by IPYS, it is apparent that many female journalists have won the awards. However, the majority of the awards are

⁸⁵ HUAIROU COMMISSION - UNDP: *"Seeing beyond the State: Grassroots Women's Perspectives on Corruption and Anti-corruption"*, New York, 2012.

⁸⁶ With respect to, HUAIROU COMMISSION: *"Anti-Corruption: Grassroots voices and Gender Perspectives"*

⁸⁷ With respect to THITEUX-ALTSCHUL, M. (edit): *Género y Corrupción. Las mujeres en la democracia participativa*, cit. <http://www.mujeresenigualdad.org.ar/>

⁸⁸ <http://www.mujeranticorruccion.org.ar/>

⁸⁹ CID BOTTESELLE, V.: *Estudio de Caso - Chile. Informe Final*, p. 27, datos elaborados a partir del Reporte Anual 2010-2011--2012. Comisión Defensora Ciudadana y Transparencia, Disponible en <http://www.cdc.gob.cl/estadisticas/reportes-anales/>

⁹⁰ CID BOTTESELLE, V.: *Estudio de Caso - Chile. Informe Final*, p. 25.

given to male journalists. In Argentina, for example, most journalists investigating corruption cases are men, although some involve female journalists⁹¹ can also be highlighted. The same situation exists in Chile⁹² and Colombia.⁹³

Complaints and demands alone are not sufficient to make corruption a public problem. **Visibility** and **mobilization** are also essential because they allow the public access (a general or specific audience) to information related to the corruption problem and to an open discussion on possible solutions.

Scandals are essential catalytic factors for social mobilization in this part of the process, because they are the combined result of the complaint, the investigative journalism and social outrage. If the complaint does not generate social outrage or rejection, the scandal would not take place.

An interesting aspect for more in-depth research is the impact of gender in the production of scandals related to corruption, particularly in response to whether the complainer and the suspect are males or females. Moreover, whether there is a gender bias or not in the treatment and coverage of corruption scandals could also be another line of research. In this sense, one of the interviewees in El Salvador said that when a woman is involved in an act of corruption a “maximization of facts” occur, as well as an attack on her because she is a woman.⁹⁴

The scandal highlights a moral or moralizing evaluation in the sense that it reflects what values are prevalent within a society. In terms of corruption, scandals are inversely proportional to the social tolerance, acceptance or indifference to corruption. A greater tolerance would equal a lesser probability of a scandal, in spite of strong and well-founded complaints and evidence.

The stage of **stabilization** of the problem is when the mere complaint and controversy are overcome, and the problem is consolidated and legitimized in the public agenda, on the basis of some evaluative consensus around which, as stated above, the social belief is built on the premise that “something must be done.”

A public problem is stabilized on an agenda when a consensus, even if it is tacit, on the labels, concepts and categories through which the social phenomenon is analyzed, interpreted and confronted as it transforms into a public problem. A problem becomes stabilized when “the existence of the problem is no longer a matter of opinion.”⁹⁵ In this sense, scandals play an important role at this stage as they

⁹¹ Among those that stand out, María Fernanda Villosio who uncovered the scandal of bribes in the Nation’s Senate in 2000; María O’Donell who worked on corruption cases and political financing and Luciana Geuna who investigated corruption in the Kirchner era, particularly in the area of the Courts.

⁹² CID BOTTESELLE, V.: *Estudio de caso - Chile. Informe Final*, p. 21. In Chile the journalist Mónica González, won the World Freedom of Press UNESCO award and Pilar Rodríguez, director of CIPER.

⁹³ VELASCO RODRIGUEZ, M.: *Estudio de caso - Colombia. Informe Final*, p. 21, in Colombia the efforts of María Jimena Duzán are renowned.

⁹⁴ LIBORIO, S.: *Estudio de Caso - El Salvador. Informe Final*, Anexo 2, p. 37-38.

⁹⁵ PEREYRA, S.: *Política y Transparencia* cit., p. 285.

provide proof of the reality of the phenomenon⁹⁶ and transform the issues from abstract to concrete stories that the public understands and relates.

Scientific and legal discourse are both central to the stabilization process of the problem of corruption. The impact of the discourse has to do with the legitimacy and credibility of the persons involved in the process, which may or may not coincide with the actors who brought the complaint and demand. As such, if it were true that people's perceptions of a leader's honesty have a gender bias, women, perceived as more honest, should play a key role. To verify if this is how it plays in reality, specific cases need to be analyzed.

The stabilization of the problem is the moment in which a perspective on corruption is consolidated. As such, it is an excellent opportunity to introduce the gender perspective, not based on assumptions or speculations but rather validated by quantitative and qualitative data.

Institutional Answers

Once a social phenomenon has become a public problem, answers and solutions become a requirement. Corruption is a globally consolidated public problem. Does gender play a role in the responses to corruption? Are proposed solutions different when posed by men versus women, both within governmental and non-governmental sectors?

Beyond the policy of including women in public service as a form of curbing corruption, which was mentioned earlier in this this working document, it would also be of benefit to do more research especially in countries with high corruption: who the legislators are and whether or not they concerned with the problem of corruption in their respective countries, what their proposals are and if there is a gender difference in the solutions they propose. It would be interesting as well, to review anti-corruption agendas of female prime ministers or presidents, as well as mayors and compare them to those of men. The same could be done at election time with male and female candidate proposals and platforms.

In the case of Colombia, the majority of anti-corruption bills presented in the last 4 years have been led by men.⁹⁷ The study from Chile reflects the same trend; most of the bills related to anti-corruption have been presented by men in both Houses of Congress.⁹⁸

One could also research whether or not a gender bias is present in the actions of non-governmental organizations, going beyond the topic of complaints, and instead focusing on public policy proposals against corruption. In this regard, it would be of benefit to review the anti-corruption initiatives of

⁹⁶ PEREYRA, S.: *Política y Transparencia*, cit. p. 120, and especially, Chapter 4, p. 139 y ss.

⁹⁷ VELASCO RODRIGUEZ, M.: *Estudio de caso - Colombia. Informe Final*, p. 29.

⁹⁸ CID BOTTESELLE, V.: *Estudio de caso - Chile. Informe Final*, p. 27 y 28.

organizations that put emphasis on capacity building of women to increase their ability to file complaints and demands.

Next steps – Moving Forward

The idea behind this first study was to explore the topic and begin to research only a few areas and topics. Therefore, it would be hasty to draw any specific conclusions. On the basis of this analysis, and the inputs based on the three case studies, a number of findings are emerging that can serve as launching points for additional studies and actions. Among them, the following are worth highlighting:

1. There is no solid evidence linking the presence of women in leadership and decision-making positions to the degree of corruption in a given country.
2. Broadening women's participation in politics is a matter of rights and quality of democracy and by itself is not an anti-corruption means.
3. A major gap is detected in gender disaggregated data in official statistics, which could help to better understand the link between gender and corruption.
4. In cases of petty corruption, there are areas in of public administration in which corruption can have a gender bias (education, health, police, justice).
5. An important deficit exists in institutions that facilitate citizens in effectively reporting cases of corruption. The effect of this deficit can be exacerbated by factors associated with gender discrimination.

This working document will be useful to begin to question some essentialist myths on the relationship between corruption and gender, as well as identify some new areas of analysis and action. As such, it is an exploratory product that would lead to a second phase and be able to propose a more comprehensive conceptual and methodological framework, and prioritize new research questions. This working document offers already an agenda for future research work and policy actions.

Suggestions for Continued Research

This first exploratory study on the relationship between gender and corruption in Latin America shows that there is a great deal more to be researched, not only theoretically, but in terms of the specific social and public policy practices in each country. What follows is list of several research lines that can be of value to get a more in-depth look at the topic "gender-corruption:"

- **Comparative Regional Studies:** One possible line of work would involve expanded country studies, using the enhanced and validated methodological approach presented in this working document, which will allow for a comparative regional analysis. As such, this will produce inputs to analyze how democratic development and the consolidation of the rule of law in each country influence the relationship between gender and corruption.

- **A Look across Time:** It would also be interesting to see the changes over time in terms of corruption and its relation to gender. Historical research would verify, for example, if the growing participation of women in politics and public policy has promoted any variation in the perception of corruption, transparency policies and/or in incorporating anti-corruption issues on a country's public agenda.
- **Assessments of Anti-corruption programs** It would be interesting to undertake assessments on specific cases of plans or programs which have been developed on the assumption that the presence of women in some areas (traffic police, for example) has lowered the level of corruption. Throughout this working document examples have been mentioned, but no assessment of results or impact was found.
- **Exposure and Victimization:** Another area that requires a deeper study is relative to the difference between exposure and victimization of women and men when dealing with cases of corruption, to better understand the impact of corruption in the lives of people.
- **Sectors:** Another line of research worth exploring is related to various sectors of public administration which are seen as conducive to gender bias in matters of corruption. These include Health, Education, Social Programs, Police and the Justice System.
- **Actors:** Two key actors offer an opportunity seldom explored more in-depth in matters of corruption and gender that merit more research and analysis. The first is the private sector, mainly in terms of understanding how they are an actor of the corruption phenomenon. And the second, the media and their role in the construction of the public problem, paying close attention to media coverage of corruption cases.
- **Political Parties:** Another topic that offers an interesting research topic is corruption in political parties and their relationship to gender. As noted above,⁹⁹ the Global Corruption Barometer identifies political parties as one of the institutions most affected by corruption. Does this perception refer to corruption within the parties or does it point more generally to political leadership of political parties as government or the opposition? If the focus is on political parties, classical categories of corruption must be reevaluated since the phenomenon does not easily fit into the category of grand and petty corruption. This would also have an implication on the analysis of corruption from a gender perspective.
- **The creation of the problem and the responses:** The creation of corruption as a public problem and its relationship to gender is a realm that opens interesting areas of research, particularly in relation to the media, the use of social networks, and the different degrees of involvement in various positions of power, to mention but a few. The information that was gathered in this explorative work is not even the tip of the iceberg.

⁹⁹ Ver punto II, b).

- **Public Policy:** With regards to the impact of gender in the design of public anti-corruption policy, both in normative and regulatory aspects as well as in the implementation process, the anti-corruption agendas and women in the legislative and executive programs in various levels of government (national, provincial and local) could be subjects of research. It would also be interesting, especially in contexts of electoral campaigns, to analyze the different public policy perspectives on anti-corruption of male and female candidates.
- **Women's Organizations:** It would be interesting to research more in-depth the behavior of women's organizations on the issue of corruption. Identifying the factors that determine the agenda of these organizations and why, in some countries with similar conditions, organizations work anti-corruption and in others they do not.
- **Complains:** As for the incidence of gender in the construction of the public problem, an area that merits more in-depth analysis is that of reporting cases of corruption. It is important to determine not only whether there is a gender bias in terms of reporting channels, but also with regard to the treatment of complaints received.

Suggestions for Public Policy on Anti- Corruption

Although it is still very preliminary data, the working document highlighted some areas that require the attention of decision-makers to create public policies that simultaneously prevent corruption and reduce gender bias. In this regard it is important to:

1. Generate information and strengthen capacity building for citizens and especially for women to know their rights and how to exercise them.
2. Create and or strengthen permanent accountability mechanisms and spaces for authorities to account to citizens for their actions and decisions.
3. Facilitate spaces and channels where citizens can file complaints on corruption freely and openly with no risk of retaliation (special lines, *whistleblower* protection) paying close attention to gender bias that may affect one's willingness to file a complaint;
4. Establish effective controls to prevent petty corruption, particularly in the critical areas of service delivery, resource allocation and the exercise of rights with an emphasis on those sectors where women are most vulnerable to corruption;
5. Establish or strengthen statistical systems and analysis tools because without specific and reliable data it is difficult to make an accurate assessment of the situation, to design appropriate policies and to control efficiently policy implementation. As noted, there is a significant deficit in statistical systems in issues related to gender and public policy.
6. Assess public policies once implemented and verify the results periodically. This will show how effective the approach is, especially when designing anti-corruption policies with a gender component.

Bibliography

ALATAS, V. et al.: "*Gender and Corruption: Insights from an Experimental Analysis*", University of Melbourne, Department of Economics, Research Paper # 974, Melbourne, 2006.

ALOISIO, C.: "*¿Son las mujeres un arma eficaz en el combate contra la corrupción? ¿Es deseable que lo sean?*", en THITEUX-ALTSCHUL, M. (edit): ***Género y Corrupción. Las mujeres en la democracia participativa***, Libros del Zorzal, Buenos Aires, 2010.

BARERO, L. y TORRES, I.: (Ed.): *Igualdad para una democracia incluyente*, IIDH-USAID-ASDI, San José de Costa Rica, 2009.

CHÉNE, M.: "*Corruption and Gender in Service Delivery: The Unequal Impacts*", Transparency International, Working Paper #02/2010.

CHETWYNG, E. et Al.: "*Corruption and Poverty. A review of recent literature*", Management Systems International, Washington, 2003.

CORDOBA MACÍAS, R. et Al.: "*Cultura Política de la Democracia en El Salvador y las Américas 2012: Hacia la Igualdad de Oportunidades*", FUNDAUNGO, LAPOP, USAID, 2013.

DOLLAR, D. et Al.: "*Are Women really the Fairer Sex? Corruption and Women in Government*", World Bank Development Research Group, Washington, 1999.

EKEANYANWU, L.: "*Nexo entre Género y Corrupción. ¿Mito o Realidad?*", en THITEUX-ALTSCHUL, M. (edit) : ***Género y Corrupción. Las mujeres en la democracia participativa***, Libros del Zorzal, Buenos Aires, 2010.

ESAREY, J. y CHIRILLO, G.: "*Fairer sex or purity myth? Corruption, Gender and Institutional Context*", Rice University, 2013.

FERGUSON, N.: ***Dinero y Poder. En el Mundo Moderno 1700-2000***, (trad. S. Marí), Taurus-Historia, Madrid, 2001.

FRANK, B. et Al.: "*Gender and Corruption. Lessons from Laboratory Corruption Experiments*" en ***European Journal of Development Research*** (2011) 23, pp. 59-71.

FRIEDRICH, C.: "*Corruption Concepts in Historical Perspective*", en HEIDENHEIMER, A. et Al (eds): ***Political Corruption. A Handbook***, Transaction Publishers, 5th ed., New Jersey, 1999

GOETZ, A. M.: "*Political Cleaner: How Women are the New Anti-Corruption Force. Does the Evidence Wash?*", U4 Paper, 2003 <http://www.u4.no/recommended-reading/political-cleaners-how-women-are-the-new-anti-corruption-force-does-the-evidence-wash/>

GRUENBERG, Ch. et Al.: "Análisis preliminar sobre la relación entre el clientelismo, la pobreza y el género", en THITEUX-ALTSCHUL, M. (edit) : **Género y Corrupción. Las mujeres en la democracia participativa**, Libros del Zorzal, Buenos Aires, 2010.

GUSFIELD, J.: **The Culture of Public Problems: Drinking-Driving and the Symbolic Order**", University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1984.

HUAIROU COMMISSION - UNDP: "Seeing beyond the State: Grassroots Women's Perspectives on Corruption and Anti-corruption", New York, 2012.

HEIDENHEIMER, A. et Al (eds): **Political Corruption. A Handbook**, Transaction Publishers, 5th ed., New Jersey, 1999.

HERNANDEZ, A. et Al.: **Encuesta de Cultura Constitucional. Argentina: una sociedad anómica**, UNAM-AADC-IDEA, México 2005.

INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL ON HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY -ICHRP: **Integrating Human Rights in the Anti-Corruption Agenda. Challenges, Possibilities and Opportunities**, Ginebra, 2010.

JONES, N. et Al.: "Painful Lessons: The Politics of Preventing Sexual Violence and Bullying at Schools", ODI, Working Paper 295, Londres, 2008.

KLITGAARD, R. et Al: **Corrupt Cities. A Practical Guide to Cure and Prevention**, World Bank Institute, Washington, 2000.

LOSEKE, D.: **Thinking about Social Problems: An Introduction to Constructionist Perspectives**, 2a. edic., Transaction Publishers, 2011.

MALEN SEÑA, J.: **La corrupción. Aspectos éticos, económicos, políticos y jurídicos**, Gedisa, Barcelona, 2002.

MARIN, M.: "Why do women report corruption less than men"
<http://blog.transparency.org/2013/03/08/womens-day-why-do-women-report-corruption-less-than-men/>

NINO, C.: **Un país al margen de la ley**, Emecé, Buenos Aires, 1992

PEREYRA, S.: **Política y Transparencia. La Corrupción como Problema Público**, Siglo XXI editores, Buenos Aires, 2013.

RODRIGUEZ-RAGA, J.C. y SELIGSON, M.: "Cultura Política de la Democracia en Colombia y las Américas 2012: Hacia la Igualdad de Oportunidades", Univ. de los Andes, LAPOP, USAID, 2012.

ROSE-ACKERMAN, S.: **La corrupción y los gobiernos. Causas, consecuencias y reforma**, (trad. A. Colodrón Gómez), Ed. Siglo XXI, Madrid, 2001.

SUNG, H.: "Fairer Sex or Fairer System?" *Gender and Corruption Revisited*", The University of North Carolina Press, **Social Forces**, Dec -2003, 82(2).

SWAMY, A. et AL: "Gender and Corruption", 2000, en http://web.williams.edu/Economics/wp/Swamy_gender.pdf

TAYLOR, R. y CONRAD. S.: "Break the Silence", Dakar, Senegal, 2008.

THITEUX-ALTSCHUL, M. (edit): **Género y Corrupción. Las mujeres en la democracia participativa**, Libros del Zorzal, Buenos Aires, 2010.

TRANSPARENCY INTERNATIONAL: Global Corruption Barometer 2013 <http://www.transparency.org/gcb2013>

Corruption Perception Index 2013 <http://cpi.transparency.org/cpi2013/>

UN: **Handbook on Practical Anti-Corruption Measures for Prosecutors and Investigators**, Viena, 2004.

UN - SECRETARÍA GENERAL: **World Report on Violence Against Children**, 2006.

UNDP - UNIFEM: "Corruption, Accountability and Gender: Understanding the Connections", Primers in Gender and Democratic Governance, # 5, New York, 2010.

UNWOMEN: **2011-2012 Progress of the World's Women: In Pursuit of Justice**, Washington, 2011.

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY: "Political Culture of Democracy 2010. Democratic Consolidation in the Americas in Hard Times. Report on The Americas", Nashville, 2010.

"Political Culture of Democracy in The Americas 2012. Towards Equality of Opportunity", Nashville, 2013.

WICKBERG, S.: "Gender-specific Corruption Risks in the LAC Region", Transparency International Helpdesk, 29-11-13.

WORLD BANK: "Engendering Development. Through Gender Equality in Rights, Resources and Voice", Oxford Univ. Press, Washington, 2011.

Annex

A List of Guiding Questions for the Case Studies

The following questions are aimed at sectors identified as relevant in determining whether gender differences exist in corrupt acts.

Some questions aim to obtain data from public records of complaints, project presentations, or other types of interventions, to collect statistics and survey results or other types of research. Answering these questions would involve research in public and private databases. Other questions require the review of media data (for example, when information on the most relevant corruption scandals is requested). Finally, other questions point to collecting information from protagonists, their experiences and impressions for which it will be necessary to conduct interviews with relevant actors (government officials, experts on gender and corruption, journalists, members of civil society organizations working on gender issues and those engaged in the issues of transparency and anti-corruption.)

The idea of incorporating this list of questions is related to the aspiration of setting a baseline of comparable information for Latin America, which, in turn, would allow for comparison across regions around the world where research has been conducted, albeit with a sectorial approach.

Each national study will answer the following questions, without prejudice to incorporate other information relevant to the issue.

- Does gender disaggregated data exist in terms of social programs or public service beneficiaries, for example in health, education grants, housing, social or conditional cash transfer programs or other relevant in-country data?
- Some countries where they offer social subsidies/family plans or conditional cash transfers, offices or phone lines for reporting complaints/allegations have been created. If such exists in a country, is there gender disaggregated data for complainers and defendants? What are they? Complaints referred to corruption or other problems - delays, poor quality of products/services, etc.?
- Does an Anti-Corruption Bureau or an Anti-Corruption Prosecutor exist? Are there records of complaints before the Anti-Corruption Bureau or before the Public/Specialized Prosecution Ministry? Is the data gender disaggregated with respect to the complainers and defendants? If so, what does this data show?
- Is there any regulation that protects “whistleblowers” in corruption cases? If so, are there records or studies on their use where the data is gender disaggregated? What does this data say?
- Does the country have centers for reporting corruption within civil society (along the lines of

Transparency International's ALAC centers) or service centers for victims of corruption? Is this information gender disaggregated by whistleblowers and defendants?

- In any of the above mentioned, have complaints of corruption been linked to the business sector—permits, licenses, import or export permits, service operations, etc. Is the complainers data disaggregated by gender? What is the reported data?
- What kind of resources (economic and symbolic) do, on one side, men have and on the other side, do women have with respect to reporting corruption?
- Is there a difference in terms of the nature of illegal compensation (kickbacks, bribes, facilitation payments, performing favors or services) required for men and women to access a service or obtain a benefit from the State or to simply have the laws recognized and respected?
- Are there any complaints or demand cases –from women or men –reporting sexual favors in exchange for delivery of public services (health, education grants, housing, food baskets) or the guarantee of rights (access to candidacy, access to public employment, access to public credit, etc. for example)?
- Are there complaints or cases recorded demonstrating that economic or financial consideration was illegally required of men and women and whether the amount was different?
- What is the outlook and experience of the various government and non-governmental actors, with respect to the currencies of exchange and the victims in cases of corruption and the possible differences in the element of gender?
- What is the opinion and experience of government and non-government actors on the impact of gender regarding the incorporation of the issue of corruption on the public agenda, in reports, in research and in the institutional and social responses to corruption?
- In the most relevant corruption cases or scandals of the last decade, were there females involved/reported? Who were the main protagonists of the cases—women or men—in the formal complaint (judicial, legislative, administrative) and in the media's version?
- Are there any journalists –investigative or chronicle—especially dedicated to the issue of corruption? If so, among them, is there a notable gender profile?
- Is there gender disaggregated data with respect to tolerance towards corruption and willingness to fight corruption? Have any opinion surveys been conducted and if so, what were the results?
- In opinion surveys, with respect to the reliability and honesty of political leaders, is information

disaggregated by gender?

- Is there data related to the perception of corruption of male and female leaders on national, sub-national, regional and/or local levels? Is this data disaggregated by the gender of respondents?
- Are there any surveys or research with gender disaggregated data about experiences with corruption (petty corruption) experienced by the population (such as Transparency International's Global Corruption Barometer)?
- Are women's organizations incorporating the issue of corruption into their agendas?
- Could it be said that in the sector of organized civil society, participation by women is a majority in the country? In this case, what impact does this have or could this have in promoting transparency and accountability?
- In the last four years, at the national level, how many bills to combat corruption have been presented by male legislators and how many by female legislators?
- Are there experiences of positioning women in specific jobs based on women being "less likely" to be corrupt/corrupted? What results, if any, have been observed? Analyze these experiences.
- General data that should be recorded:
 - Number of women in Parliament
 - Number of female ministers at the national level
 - Number of female governors / officials / mayors
 - Presence of females as heads of anti-corruption entities (anti-corruption offices, anti-corruption prosecutors, ombudsmen or similar position, if it deals with corruption-- civil society reporting centers.)
 - Poverty data disaggregated by gender.



United Nations
Development Programme

Regional Centre for Latin America and the Caribbean, Panama

Regional Bureau for Latin America and the Caribbean (RBLAC)

Democratic Governance Practice Area & Gender Practice Area