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Gender and Corruption in Botswana: Perceptions, Participation and Considerations for Anti-Corruption Policy

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ABSTRACT

Several studies have argued that corruption has a greater impact on women than men and that increasing women's representation in key decision-making positions has a positive effect in reducing corruption. However, limited scholarly and policy attention has been devoted to understanding the link between gender and corruption in Botswana. This paper explores the gendered differences of perceived and actual participation in bureaucratic corruption in Botswana. By examining Afrobarometer data and undertaking a documentary analysis, the study finds that while levels of perceived corruption by men and women in public institutions were high, participation in bureaucratic corruption (bribery) was considerably lower. Contrary to the notion that corruption has a greater impact on women than men, this study finds that higher levels of participation across all public service categories were reported by unemployed men, in particular, having to give a gift or a favour to avoid problems with the police. Notwithstanding the scant availability of data, the documentary analysis revealed that non-monetary forms of corruption such as sextortion (sexual extortion) have been experienced by female students and undocumented female migrants in Botswana. Nevertheless, this form of corruption has received little policy attention, despite its potential to undermine gender equality efforts. Additionally, the study finds little correlation between higher levels of women's representation in key decision-making positions (i.e., parliament and cabinet) and lower levels of corruption in Botswana. There is a need for both the gender and anti-corruption policy framework to be synthesised in order to specifically reflect on and respond to the perceived gendered dimensions of corruption. The establishment of an independent police authority or commission might not only increase levels of public trust and confidence in the police service, but also strengthen levels of transparency and accountability.

Key words: gender, corruption, participation, perceptions, public policy

1. INTRODUCTION

The threat of corruption and gender inequality on development has continued to receive attention from the international development community, policy-makers, and researchers. In 2001, the World Bank suggested that “greater women’s rights and more equal participation in public life by women and men are associated with cleaner business and government, and better governance. Where the influence of women in public life is greater, the level of corruption is lower” (World Bank, 2001: 12). The central recommendation was the need for governments to increase women’s participation in the labour force and politics. The notion that a greater presence of women in key government decision-making positions would result in lower levels of corruption and stronger governance is not farfetched. Given the behavioural and social differences between men and women, it is plausible that their attitudes towards deviant behaviour such as corruption also differ. This hypothesis has been supported by a number of studies (most notably Dollar, Fisman and Gatti, 2001; and Swamy, Knack, Lee and Azfar, 2001) and challenged by others (e.g. Sung, 2003; and Goetz, 2007).

The Government of Botswana acknowledges that gender equality and development can only be achieved when gender related barriers to sustainable development are identified, prioritised and addressed (Government of Botswana, 2015). Notwithstanding progress that has been made in promoting gender equality, significant challenges continue to hinder state and non-state actors’ efforts. Given the debilitating effect of corruption on political, social and economic development, particularly in developing countries, increasing scholarly attention has focused on the impact of corruption on women’s participation and empowerment. The overarching view is that the gendered impact of corruption can be differentiated. That is, “corruption creates additional obstacles for women to access and use public goods (including basic services)” (Transparency International, 2014: 4). The GIMAC (2018) argues that women often carry the burden and negative impact of corrupt practices more than men. In some instances, culture has been used to justify discrimination against women and girls in Botswana (UNDP, 2012a; KSWs, 2013). Yet, neither Botswana’s National Policy on Gender and Development (2015) nor the draft National Anti-Corruption Policy are designed to be responsive to the gendered dimensions of corruption. While both policies are founded on clear objectives, they remain silent in recognising the linkages that exist between gender and corruption.

Corruption, commonly defined as the “misuse of entrusted power for private gain” (UNDP, 2008) is argued to have a negative impact on women’s empowerment and participation. As such, corruption can disproportionately affect poor women and girls, particularly in their access to essential public services, justice, and security and in their capacity to engage in public decision-making (Hossain, Musembi and Hughes, 2010). Gender, as defined by the World Bank (2001) and World Health Organisation (2011), refers to socially constructed roles and learned behaviours, and expectations associated

with women and men. As with other studies that have attempted to explore the gendered dimensions of corruption, this study is exploratory rather than conclusive. Botswana also presents an interesting case study because on the one hand, it remains a benchmark for countries around the continent due to its status as the least (perceived) corrupt country in Africa as per Transparency International's surveys. Yet, on the other hand, it lags behind in increasing women's representation in key government and political decision-making positions. Evidently, this phenomenon contrasts the World Bank's (2001) recommendation that increasing women's participation in public life reduces levels of corruption. Nevertheless, this study is limited to exploring the gendered impact of corruption by examining the attitudes of ordinary men and women towards corruption, as well as their participation in corrupt activities.

This study aims to explore and understand the gendered differences of perceived and actual participation in bureaucratic corruption in Botswana. Not only does the study of gender and corruption deepen our understanding of the problem of corruption, but it also helps in developing effective and targeted anti-corruption measures. Little research and policy attention has focused on the gendered dimensions and impact of corruption in developing countries. To date, most research on gender and corruption has largely focused on Western democracies. Therefore, a need arises to question the applicability of these findings and explanations for gender differences in developing countries. Moreover, Justesen and Bjørnskov (2014) are of the view that little is known about how corruption affects ordinary citizens and which groups are most likely to bear the social and economic costs of corruption. The study uses the most recent round of the Afrobarometer survey data (2017) to address the following research questions: do men and women perceive and experience bureaucratic corruption differently in Botswana? What policy measures can be taken to respond to gender based corruption?

The paper is organised as follows: Section 2 presents a review of the literature on gender and corruption, while section 3 discusses the methodology. Section 4 presents the gendered differences on perceptions of and participation in corruption, followed by a discussion of the policy implications in section 5. Section 6 provides the concluding remarks.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW ON GENDER AND CORRUPTION

Works by Dollar et al. (2001) and Swamy et al. (2001) are credited with laying the groundwork for the gender-corruption debate. Agerberg (2014) is of the view that both studies present an interesting link between gender and corruption, indicating that greater participation of women in economic and political life is associated with lower levels of corruption. This argument is based on the fact that several studies have found women to be more trust-worthy and less involved in bribery than men. Swamy et al. (2001) present three key findings: (a) in hypothetical situations, women are less likely to condone corruption, (b) women managers are less involved in bribery, and (c) countries

which have greater representation of women in government or in market work have lower levels of corruption.

However, other scholars (Goetz, 2007; Alatas et al., 2009; Alhassan-Alolo, 2007) provide an alternative view. For instance, Goetz (2007) argues that while corruption can be experienced differently by women and men, it is also important to consider the gendered nature of access to politics and public life shapes opportunities for corruption, particularly as corruption occurs in male patronage networks. Alatas et al. (2009) use economic experiments based on data collected in Australia (Melbourne), India (Delhi), Indonesia (Jakarta) and Singapore to show that while women in Australia are less tolerant of corruption than men in Australia, no significant gender differences are seen in India, Indonesia and Singapore. Their conclusion is that gender differences reported in previous studies may not be as universal as stated, and may be more culture specific. Using a panel data analysis of U.S. states over time, Cheung and Hernandez-Julian (2006) assert that requiring women to participate in government would not lead to a decrease in corruption.

In her study titled *Gender and corruption: testing the new consensus*, Alhassan-Alolo (2007) draws the following conclusions based on findings in Ghana: (a) women may not prove less corrupt in the public sector if corrupt opportunities and networks are not restrained, and (b) the gender system that is used to justify women's proclivity to less corrupt behaviour and subsequent integration into the public sector, could itself be the source of corruption as women attempt to fulfil their gender roles. Similarly, Peiffer and Rose (2014) used 2006 Afrobarometer data to analyse the effect of gender in bribe paying and found that (a) women were 0.80 times as likely as men to pay a bribe, (b) the extent to which women are included or excluded varies significantly from service to service, (c) dealing with the police and with permits appears to be a role more often taken by African men, (d) women are significantly less likely to pay a bribe than men for a permit and to the police, (e) however, there is no significant difference between men and women in paying bribes for the caring services of education and health, for which women are involved insofar as they are traditionally more responsible for looking after children as well as themselves.

Studying a wide variety of economic decision-making experiments designed to simulate corrupt transactions involving acts of bribery between a firm and a government official, Chaudhuri (2012) concludes that women behave in a more pro-social and less corrupt manner than men or that there are no significant gender differences. No study found men to be less corrupt. However, a field experiment conducted in Canada (Montreal) and Burkina Faso (Ouagadougou) found that gender had no significant effect on the decision to accept a bribe (Armantier and Boly, 2008). Arguing from an institutional perspective, Sung (2003) contends that anti-corruption effects of women in government are spurious. Instead, he proposes an alternative 'fairer system' model, which recognises that liberal democratic institutions and spirit increase female participation in government and restrain systemic corruption, but the latter two are not causally related.

Evidently, no clear consensus has been reached regarding the link between corruption and gender. Agerberg (2014) is of the view that different hypotheses concerning the gender-corruption debate can be divided into three categories: the *liberal democracy perspective*, the *gender differences perspective* and the *opportunities perspective*. The first perspective holds that there is no causal relationship between gender and corruption. Rather, it is modern liberal democratic institutions that cause both high participation in politics among women and lower corruption. Proponents of the gender differences perspective argue that gender and corruption are related, in that women, in general, tend to be less corrupt than men. This might be due to men taking more risks than women, and/or due to women's roles as caregivers. Advocates of this perspective argue that a higher share of women in economic life and/or in politics tends to decrease overall corruption in society (Agerberg, 2014). The opportunities perspective holds that women are in fact not less corrupt than men, but that there are gender differences in opportunities for corrupt behaviour. Given the 'right' circumstances, women will show the same propensity as men to engage in corrupt behaviour (Agerberg, 2014).

Another critical perspective to the discourse on gender and corruption is the gendered impact of corruption. This perspective argues that although men and women are subjected to the same forms of corruption, there are differential impacts of corruption on the well-being and human capabilities of women and men (Hossain et al., 2010). This is because corruption creates additional obstacles for women to access and use public goods (including basic services) as well as to participate in their country's political processes. For instance, as the primary caretakers in families, women have a higher likelihood of experiencing corruption, whether enrolling their children in school, seeking medical treatment or interacting with public officials to access government programmes (Transparency International, 2014). In an attempt to understand the controversy surrounding the gender-corruption debate, Blanes et al. (2016) conducted a database analysis of over 200 articles to critically examine the founding arguments, as well as investigate alternative explanations, and misconceptions on gender and corruption. The authors conclude that research on gender and corruption often falsely address gender and reinforce stereotypes, rather than promote women.

A comprehensive study conducted across three regions (Africa, Latin America and South Asia) by the UNDP (2012b) found that: (a) the non-delivery of public services was seen by grassroots women as a cause, consequence and intrinsic component of corrupt practices, (b) grassroots women's experience of corruption is concentrated in the realm of public sector service delivery, (c) women reported being subjected to corruption when seeking employment and running businesses in both the formal and informal sectors, and (d) the police force in particular was consistently named by grassroots women as the most corrupt government agency. Table 1 summarises key findings from a number of experimental studies as discussed above.

Table 1: Summary of Research on Gender Differences in Corrupt Behaviour

Attitude towards corruption	Accepting bribes	Offering bribes
Survey responses suggest a lower tolerance of women towards corrupt behaviours	With some exceptions that seem to respond to contextual factors, there is no significant difference between men and women	Men are more likely to offer bribes
However, it seems that this is true only in democracies, but not in autocracies and environments where corruption is endemic and widely tolerated	Women behave more opportunistically: they may accept the bribe, but don't reciprocate with a corrupt favour	The value of bribes offered by men tends to be higher
	Women are less likely to accept bribes than men when there is a perceived risk of sanctions	Both men and women offer higher bribes to men than to women

Source: Boehm (2015)

The literature review revealed two case studies linking corruption and gender in Botswana's education sector. A 2001 study titled *Children in school: a safe place?* by Stefania Rossetti found that sexual extortion (sextortion) was present in some schools in the North-West District of Botswana. In the survey completed by 560 students, 67% of the girls reported being subjected to, among other things, unsolicited touching, patting or pinching and pressure for dates. A quarter indicated being subjected to such harassment on a regular basis. Twenty percent reported that they had been asked by teachers to engage in sexual relations, with approximately half (or 10% of the study population) of them accepting, mainly because they feared lower grades if they refused. Eleven percent of the students said they wanted to quit school as a result of teachers asking for sexual favours. Similar concerns were raised by Selepe et al. (2017). Their study's respondents asserted that "it is commonplace in tertiary institutions for female students to exchange sex with male instructors for higher grades" (Selepe et al., 2017: 173). According to the IAWJ (2012: 9) what distinguishes sextortion from other types of sexually abusive conduct is that it has both a sexual component and a corruption component. Conduct that does not include both components is not sextortion.

In sum, the discourse on gender and corruption has centred on two key questions. Firstly, are women less corrupt than men? Secondly, does corruption have a disproportional impact on gender? The theoretical review established that most studies have attempted to address the first question, while very few studies have focused on examining the gendered impact of corruption. Therefore, the reviewed literature has not sufficiently answered the question: does corruption have a disproportional impact on men and women? Analysing men and women's perceptions and experiences of corruption is not only essential to understanding and furthering the conversation on gender and corruption, but also vital to the development of adequate policy responses.

3. METHODOLOGY

Disaggregated data on gender and corruption in developing countries is scant (Nawaz, 2009; Nwafor, 2019). However, the Afrobarometer Survey provides comprehensive and comparable data across a number of indicators. Botswana's 2017 Afrobarometer data was collected from a nationally representative, random, stratified probability sample of 1200 adult Batswana from 22 June to 4 July 2017 (Afrobarometer, 2017). Half of the respondents were men and half were women. To determine whether there are gender differences with respect to perceived and actual experiences of corruption in Botswana, the framework of analysis focuses on the following factors: i) Perceived corruption in public, private and non-governmental sectors; ii) Levels of trust in state institutions; and iii) How often, if ever, have respondents had to pay bribes to access the following basic services in the last 12 months: education, government document, healthcare, police assistance, and avoid problem with police. Data were analysed using the Afrobarometer Online Data Analysis (ODA) tool using cross tabulations. The ODA tool provides comparative statistical data from all of Afrobarometer's survey rounds and also collects a large set of socio-demographic indicators such as age, gender, education level, employment status, and region.

The Afrobarometer is instrumental in gauging individual level perceptions of corruption and participation in corrupt acts by asking respondents specifically about their views and attitudes towards corruption, and their direct experiences with bureaucratic or petty corruption (bribery). With the exception of hospitals and/or clinics and schools, the aforementioned services are monopolised by the state. Peiffer and Rose (2018) differentiate between choice and state monopolised services by arguing that "unlike choice services, by definition services that are a state monopoly do not give people the opportunity to exit from what may be a corrupt institution." In Botswana, the majority of hospitals and clinics, and schools are state-owned. Furthermore, state-owned services are highly subsidised and remain an attractive option for the vast majority of citizens that cannot afford private health care and school services. Therefore, individual contact levels with public institutions are likely to be higher than those with private service providers. By analysing how men and women interact with these public services can we advance our understanding of the gender-corruption association in Botswana.

In addition to the analysis of Afrobarometer data, document analysis was undertaken. This included a review of both the National Policy on Gender and Development, and the draft National Anti-Corruption Policy. Oversight institution (i.e., DCEC) annual reports, Botswana's 2014 Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) Country Report, and other relevant reports were also assessed. The review of documentation provided background information regarding the policy and social context of gender and corruption in Botswana. Bowen (2009) adds that documents provide supplementary research data, as information and insights derived from documents can be valuable additions to a knowledge base.

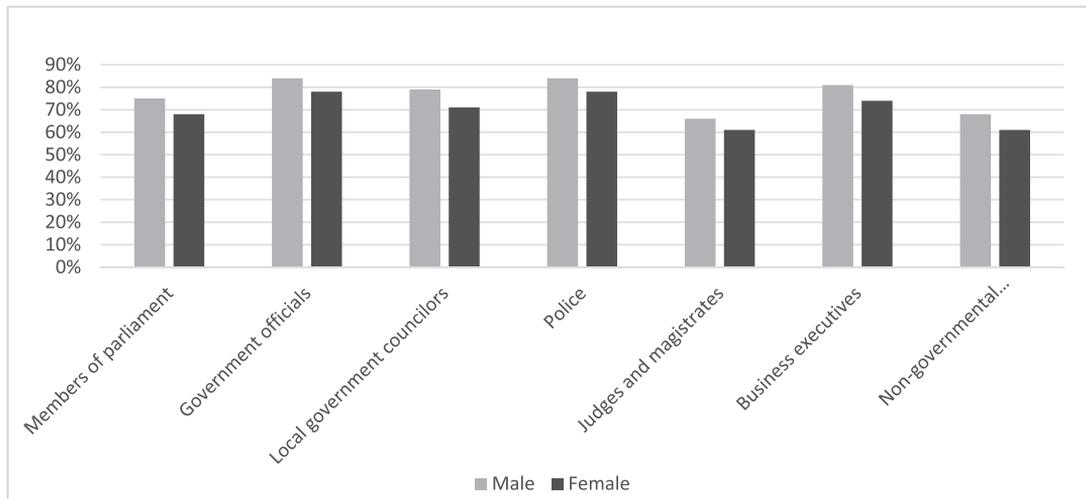
4. GENDER PERSPECTIVES ON CORRUPTION IN BOTSWANA

Morris (2008: 394) argues that despite the rather extensive methodological debate and the customary acknowledgement that perception is not the same as actual behaviour, few, have sought to examine the relationship linking participation and perceptions of corruption. In this section, we first consider the gendered perceptions of corruption in Botswana, followed by an analysis and discussion of the gendered participation levels in corrupt activities. Corruption by its nature is difficult to measure, hence, the common approach used by most studies and indices (e.g., Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index) is to examine perceptions of corruption.

4.1. PERCEPTIONS OF CORRUPTION

Not only does corruption distort the allocation of resources and hamper effective service delivery, it also undermines the legitimacy and credibility of public institutions. Respondents were asked: "How many of the following people do you think are involved in corruption, or haven't you heard enough about them to say?" The findings are presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Perceived corruption in the public, private and NGO sectors



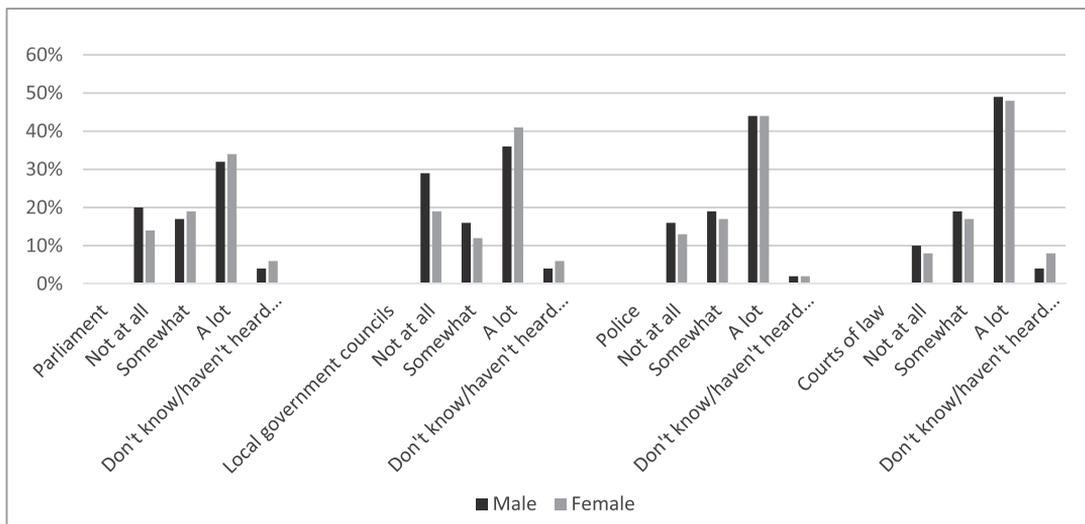
Source: Afrobarometer (2017)

Both male and female respondents perceived higher levels of corruption in the public sector (both central and local government), police services and the private sector. The private sector relies extensively on government for business opportunities through various procurement and tendering opportunities, so there is a stronger likelihood that this public-private nexus would result in higher levels of perceived corruption by both men and women. However, more males than females perceived higher levels of corruption

across all of the examined sectors. Possibly because men enjoy higher contact levels with various public institutions than women, as evidenced by more women reporting ‘not knowing’ or hearing enough about the institution in question.

Some studies (e.g., Kubbe, 2013) have attempted to establish a link between corruption and institutional trust. That is, higher levels of perceived corruption result in lower levels of trust in institutions. To determine male and female respondents’ levels of trust in state and political institutions, participants were asked “How much do you trust each of the following, or haven’t you heard enough about them to say?”. Figure 2 indicates male and female response levels of trust in the following state institutions: parliament, local government councils, police, and courts of law.

Figure 2: Levels of Trust in State Institutions



Source: Afrobarometer (2017)

Although higher levels of perceived corruption were recorded by both men and women, particularly in local government and police services, this did not diminish the levels of trust men and women have in these institutions. Generally, women displayed higher levels of trust across all examined institutions. As noted above, a possible explanation is that fewer women, compared to men, are involved in public life. This implies that women would have a higher propensity to trust public institutions because of their infrequent contact or limited interaction with various public institutions. In another question, respondents were asked ‘How likely is it that you could get someone to take action if you went to your anti-corruption unit or corruption prevention committee to report corrupt behaviour like misuse of funds or requests for bribes by government officers, police, or school or clinic staff?’. More women (65%) than men (62%) believed that it was somewhat or very likely that action would be taken by the anti-corruption institution.

4.2. PARTICIPATION IN CORRUPTION

Morris (2008: 394) notes that “expressions of corruption may incorporate beliefs and attitudes only loosely related to corruption itself. As such, perceptions may reflect different normative standards of individuals. Overall, this places such responses about perception far from efforts to determine the real level of corrupt activity.” Respondents of the 2017 Afrobarometer were asked several questions relating to their direct experience or participation in *quid pro quo* activities. Despite somewhat high levels of perceived corruption by men and women in corruption, Tables 2 to 6 affirm that there is a dissonance between perception and participation. A negative correlation exists between perceived levels of corruption and participation in corrupt activities in Botswana. Peiffer and Rose (2018: 24) state that the “relationship between perceptions and the payment of bribes may be endogenous – those who have paid a bribe for a public service may be more likely to perceive officials as corrupt or reciprocally a perceived high level of corruption in the public sector may encourage people to pay a bribe because it is considered the normal thing to do when dealing with public officials.”

Table 2 indicates that more men than woman had to pay a bribe in order to receive a government document (e.g., birth certificate, driver’s license, passport or permit). However, although more women than men reported having never had to pay a bribe to obtain a government document or permit, it appears that more unemployed women than unemployed men had to pay a bribe.

Table 2: Paid Bribe to Obtain Government Document (Gender and Employment Status)

Category		Employment status			
		No	No, looking	Yes, part time	Yes, full time
Gender of respondent -	Male				
Never		35.5%	29.0%	38.8%	40.5%
Once or twice		1.1%	-	-	2.9%
A few times		-	-	0.8%	-
Often		-	-	-	-
No contact		63.5%	71.0%	60.4%	56.6%
Gender of respondent -	Female				
Never		30.8%	38.3%	43.3%	40.3%
Once or twice		1.2%	0.4%	2.0%	-
A few times		-	0.3%	-	-
Often		-	-	-	-
No contact		68.0%	61.0%	54.7%	59.7%

[Respondents were asked: How often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a government official in order to get the document you needed?]

The issuance of government documents and permits is subjected to internal (bureaucratic) processes that may significantly increase the amount of time it takes before an individual is issued with the document. As such, administrative delays may contribute to incidents of bribery, as individuals seek to circumvent the process. For instance, the DCEC (2015; 2016; 2017) has persistently identified the transport sector as one of the most problematic public services as a result of corruption. Allegations of transport officials and individuals engaging in illicit conduct (e.g., sale and purchase of driver's licenses and roadworthiness permits) are common.

Access to free basic health care is recognised as a fundamental human right, but as Table 3 reveals, slightly more men (3.1%) had to pay a bribe either once or twice, or a few times to receive medical assistance. Unsurprisingly, higher contact levels with public health services (clinics or hospitals) were reported by women, who are said to rely more on this type of service than men.

Table 3: Paid Bribe to Receive Medical Assistance (Gender and Employment Status)

Category		Employment status			
		No	No, looking	Yes, part time	Yes, full time
Gender of respondent -	Male				
Never		73.6%	76.3%	67.5%	68.4%
Once or twice		0.8%	-	-	0.9%
A few times		-	0.6%	-	0.8%
Often		-	-	-	-
No contact		25.6%	23.2%	32.5%	29.9%
Gender of respondent -	Female				
Never		85.5%	81.4%	83.4%	85.9%
Once or twice		0.7%	0.3%	-	1.6%
A few times		-	-	-	-
Often		-	-	-	-
No contact		13.7%	18.3%	16.6%	12.4%

[Respondents were asked: How often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a health worker or clinic or hospital staff in order to get the medical care you needed?]

Despite the fact that more women rely on public health services and thus have higher contact levels, this did not result in higher incidents of bribe paying amongst women. Nevertheless, it appears that more employed men and women reported having to pay a bribe to receive medical assistance. This contradicts Hossain et al. (2010) finding that because poor women are the primary users of basic public services (e.g. health and education), they disproportionately pay for corruption in service delivery. Contextually, it is likely that Botswana's 'zero tolerance' to corruption weakens opportunities for

endemic corruption to occur, particularly for a critical service like health care. The Ministry of Health and Wellness (2013) acknowledges that several corruption risk areas are present in Botswana's health sector. These include health personnel abusing their positions for personal gain, such as soliciting and accepting bribes or gifts from individuals in exchange for favourable treatment, and colluding with contractors to defraud government, amongst others.

Likewise, the Government of Botswana has placed access to basic primary education as an important facet of the country's development. The country's high literacy rates today are a reflection of the efforts of government in providing equal access to education for its citizens. However, as Table 4 indicates, bribery is present in the education system as more women than men reported having to pay a bribe to a teacher or school official either once or twice, or a few times in order to receive a service (e.g., placement of child) from a public school. The majority of the respondents were unemployed females and reported having higher contact levels with public schools.

Table 4: Paid Bribe to Access School Services (Gender and Employment Status)

Category		Employment status			
		No	No, looking	Yes, part time	Yes, full time
Gender of respondent -	Male				
Never		28.1%	34.1%	30.7%	44.2%
Once or twice		-	1.2%	-	0.8%
A few times		-	-	-	-
Often		-	0.2%	-	-
No contact		71.9%	64.4%	69.3%	55.0%
Gender of respondent -	Female				
Never		36.8%	45.1%	53.3%	43.9%
Once or twice		1.4%	0.4%	-	-
A few times		0.7%	-	-	0.4%
Often		-	-	-	-
No contact		61.0%	54.5%	46.7%	55.7%

[Respondents were asked: How often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a teacher or school official in order to get the services you needed from the schools?]

Education is a public good and is considered by most national governments as central to the socio-economic development of a country as demonstrated by significant annual budgetary allocations towards this portfolio. The National Policy on Gender and Development (2015) identifies access to quality education, training and information as an important national development area. However, the DCEC (2015; 2016) notes that

this sector, as with other public services, is not immune to fraudulent activities. As the literature suggests, it is women, rather than men, who play a primary caregiving role. The patriarchal culture found in Botswana is said to assign “different roles to women and men, leading to women being responsible for domestic affairs with limited chances to get access to education, employment and in decision making” (KSWS, 2013: 32). This would likely explain why higher contact levels with public school administrators or teachers were reported by unemployed and part-time working women. This is further supported by the fact that 72% of the unemployed male respondents indicated having no contact with a public school in the last 12 months.

There is little publicly available information on the extent to which corruption affects primary and secondary public schools, but as highlighted earlier, Rossetti (2001) and Selepe et al. (2017) illustrate that sexual forms of corruption are an area of concern in the country’s education sector. The results in Table 5 support existing studies, as well as DCEC reports, which find that the police services remain one of the most vulnerable sectors to corruption. The Botswana Police Service (BPS) has played and continues to play a significant role in maintaining law and order in Botswana. Citizens rely on the police services for a range of administrative, civil and criminal matters on a daily basis.

Table 5: Paid Bribe to Receive Police Assistance

Category		Employment status			
		No,	No, looking	Yes, part time	Yes, full time
Gender of respondent -	Male				
Never		31.0%	30.8%	38.7%	43.2%
Once or twice		1.2%	2.0%	3.9%	3.4%
A few times		-	0.6%	0.8%	1.4%
Often		0.8%	-	-	0.6%
No contact		67.0%	66.7%	56.5%	51.4%
Gender of respondent -	Female				
Never		19.4%	28.1%	35.7%	29.7%
Once or twice		1.8%	0.8%	2.7%	-
A few times		-	0.3%	2.0%	-
Often		-	-	-	-
No contact		78.8%	70.9%	59.5%	70.3%

[Respondents were asked: how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a police officer in order to get the assistance you needed?]

As Table 5 indicates, more men (14.7%) than women (7.6%) reported having to pay a bribe, give a gift or a favour to a police officer before receiving assistance. Approximately 9.3% of the males were either unemployed or working part-time, while all the female

respondents were either unemployed or working part-time. This form of bribery was reported to be prevalent in cities and towns, as opposed to rural and peri/semi-urban areas. As discussed earlier, men perceived higher levels of corruption and lower levels of trust in the police services than women. Perhaps these attitudes are influenced by the fact that they are required, more often than not, to pay a bribe in order to receive police assistance.

By way of example, several challenges were highlighted by the Kagisano Society Women’s Shelter Baseline Assessment Report on Gender Based Violence (GBV) in villages and districts of Botswana (Sebina, Ghanzi, Kasane and Ramotswa) regarding the police service’s ability to address issues of GBV. The NGO notes that “police are slow to react to cases of gender based violence and at times they dismiss them” (KSWS, 2013: 26). The study’s participants, specifically male survivors of GBV, were suspicious about the capacity of the police to resolve their cases. Furthermore, some men were concerned about being ‘re-abused or mocked by the police’ for reporting cases of GBV. It is possible that in some instances, individuals may have to pay a bribe or offer a gift to a police officer in exchange for the officer to prioritise a certain matter. Arguably, police officers wield a certain amount of discretionary power, which might hinder effective and accountable service delivery. This is further illustrated in Table 6. Respondents were asked to indicate how often, if ever, did they have to pay a bribe, give a gift or do a favour for a police officer in order to avoid a problem at checkpoints, during identity checks, or traffic stops, or during an investigation.

Table 6: Paid Bribe to Avoid Problem with Police

Category		Employment status			
		No	No, looking	Yes, part time	Yes, full time
Gender of respondent -	Male				
Never		37.5%	45.2%	48.6%	58.4%
Once or twice		0.8%	3.3%	1.7%	2.5%
A few times		3.9%	-	4.1%	0.8%
Often		0.8%	-	1.8%	0.6%
No contact		57.0%	51.5%	43.9%	37.6%
Gender of respondent -	Female				
Never		34.6%	41.7%	52.6%	52.6%
Once or twice		1.1%	0.3%	2.2%	0.4%
A few times		1.7%	-	-	-
Often		-	-	-	-
No contact		62.6%	58.1%	45.2%	47.0%

[Respondents were asked: how often, if ever, did you have to pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour for a police officer to avoid a problem with the police?]

Approximately 20% of the male respondents reported having to pay a bribe to a police officer in order to avoid a problem. In contrast, 6% of the female respondents indicated paying a bribe. Of the 20% male respondents, 8.8% were unemployed and 7.6% were employed on a part-time basis. On the other hand, of the 6% female respondents, 3.1% were unemployed and 2.2% were employed on a part-time basis. The police are entrusted with the responsibility of safeguarding the integrity of the public service, as well as acting in the best interests of society. However, as Tables 5 and 6 indicate, corruption in the police service was reported by respondents as the most prevalent area of concern in terms of the public service.

Corruption in this sector negatively impacts unemployed men more than any other public service. The DCEC 2015 and 2016 annual reports cite several cases of corruption in the police service, with a majority of these involving male police officers soliciting bribes to destroy dockets, soliciting and accepting bribes from intoxicated drivers, and soliciting money from individuals without laying official charges for the contravention of traffic laws. The monetary value of the transactions ranges between P100 to P3000. Another illustration is provided in a February 2018 article published in *The Botswana Gazette*, which further demonstrates the uneven power relations that exist between public officers and ordinary individuals. The article cites three cases of corruption involving police officers and foreign nationals. In the first two cases, police officers solicited monetary bribes from undocumented male and female immigrants, and in the third case, sexual demands were made on an undocumented female immigrant by male police officers, in exchange for them to overlook her unauthorised residency status in the country.

Kaunda (2008: 127) is of the view that the “working environment, remuneration and conditions of service for public servants are not very attractive. There is a considerable turnover of staff. There has been an exodus of nurses and police officers who left the service because they felt the public service was unrewarding.” Consequently, institutions like the Botswana Police Service have focused on improving their workforce through the continuous provision of staff training and development opportunities, welfare and social support services, as well as recognising and rewarding employees individually and collectively. However, the effectiveness of these strategies in improving reducing maleficent behaviour is questionable.

In contrast to, and affirmation of, some of the findings in the literature on gender and corruption, it appears that more men than women reported having had to pay a bribe in order to receive assistance or access a public service. With the exception of access to public school services, men indicated having to pay a bribe to access each of the examined public services. In some instances, we observe that unemployed men and women are impacted more by incidents of bribery than men and women who work on a full-time basis. This corroborates Justesen and Bjørnskov’s (2014) argument that poor people are more likely to be victims of corrupt behaviour by street-level bureaucrats as the poor often rely heavily on services provided by government. Although the government of Botswana

has made significant progress in reducing poverty levels, women continue to represent a high portion of the nation's poor (CEDAW, 2014). In this study, women reported higher contact levels with public schools, hospitals and clinics. More unemployed women reported having had to pay a bribe to receive a service at a school, but more men reported having to do so before receiving medical assistance or treatment. Higher gender differences were experienced in the police services, with more unemployed men indicating that they had to bribe a police officer to either receive assistance or avoid a problem (e.g., traffic fine). Botswana's levels of actual participation in corrupt activities can be described as what Meng and Friday (2014) term sporadic and/or incidental corruption.

Meng and Friday (2014) differentiate individual-sporadic corruption from systemic corruption because of the variation in the extent to which individuals (victims) are expected to participate in corrupt activities by all agencies or services, or whether they are victimised by selective entities. The fact that most respondents reported 'never' having to pay a bribe to access or receive a service is a positive reflection on the anti-corruption culture that is embedded not only in Botswana's public service, but also in the traditional fibre of society. "It is not yet a way of life" (Sebudubudu, 2003: 126).

Given that corruption poses challenges to achieving gender equality across a spectrum of developmental issues, this paper has attempted to explore the linkages between gender and corruption in Botswana. The National Policy on Gender and Development acknowledges gender mainstreaming across all sectors as important to addressing gender related barriers, but as this section has discussed, there are gender differences in the manner in which men and women experience corruption in Botswana. Little policy and research attention has been given to this cross-cutting and emerging issue, particularly as government and civil society remain concerned about high levels of gender based violence in the country.

Earlier studies by Dollar et al. (2001) and Swamy et al. (2001) argued for increased representation of women in government as an anti-corruption strategy. However, this view may be oversimplified at best or inapplicable to certain developing countries, as demonstrated in Table 7. As noted earlier, the liberal democratic perspective contends that there is no causal relationship between gender and corruption. Rather, it is the presence of modern liberal democratic institutions that contribute to the control of corruption in countries like Botswana. However, "women's participation in political and public life shows stagnated and slow growth, and in other instances a decline" (CEDAW, 2014: 24). Nevertheless, lower participation of women in political and public life does not seem to have affected Botswana's overall levels of governance, as suggested by indices such as the World Governance Index (WGI) and Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG).

Table 7: Women's Representation in Government and Corruption

Country	% women in cabinet	% women in parliament	2017 Transparency International CPI Score (Out of 100)	% participation in corruption (2017 Afrobarometer)
Rwanda	47.4	61.3	55	No data available
South Africa	41.7	42.0	43	No data available
Uganda	36.7	34.3	26	12.74
Zambia	33.3	18.0	37	3.87
Seychelles	30.8	21.2	60	No data available
Swaziland	26.3	6.2	39	4.43
Mali	24.2	8.8	31	4.0
Namibia	24.0	41.3	51	2.0
Kenya	22.7	19.4	28	14.35
Malawi	22.2	16.7	31	6.42
Togo	20.0	17.6	32	6.13
Tanzania	20.0	36.4	36	3.49
Lesotho	18.2	25.0	42	No data available
Gabon	17.9	17.1	32	8.7
Ghana	17.4	12.7	40	6.7
Zimbabwe	16.1	32.6	22	5.85
Botswana	15.8	9.5	61	1.5
Benin	14.3	7.2	39	6.23
Nigeria	12.0	5.6	27	12.65

Source: UN Women (2017) and author's reconfiguration

Of the listed countries in Table 7, only Rwanda (55), Seychelles (60), Namibia (51) and Botswana (61) scored over 50% on Transparency International's 2017 CPI, a widely used measure of perceived corruption. Despite Botswana's status as the least corrupt African country, it has achieved this with considerably lower levels of women occupying key decision-making positions in cabinet and parliament. On the contrary, countries with higher female representation in key decision-making positions, like Uganda and Kenya, reported higher participation levels in corrupt activity, at 12.74% and 14.35% respectively. This suggests that while increasing female representation in key decision-making positions is important for strengthening governance and women's empowerment, it remains less likely that it would result in a direct reduction in actual or perceived corruption. Gender mainstreaming has become an important facet of development, particularly in reducing inequalities between men and women. However, as noted by Sim et al. (2017), the argument that integrating women as part of a country's anti-corruption strategy, not only risks endangering the gender equality agenda by reinforcing stereotypes, but may also mask governance challenges.

5. CONSIDERATIONS FOR ANTI-CORRUPTION POLICY

Botswana is yet to adopt a national anti-corruption policy. A draft policy was developed in 2014, but several amendments would have to be made to the draft policy to reflect the evolving anti-corruption landscape in Botswana. However, anti-corruption policies and codes of conduct have been adopted by some government ministries (e.g., Ministries of Health and Wellness, Local Government and Rural Development, and Infrastructure and Housing Development). Given the multi-faceted nature of corruption, and in particular, the impact it has on men and women, it is paramount that policy-makers and anti-corruption agencies adopt anti-corruption strategies that specifically pay attention to the linkages between gender and corruption. This implies that the National Policy on Gender and Development must specifically include corruption as a key priority area and ensure that the Directorate on Corruption and Economic Crime is integrated in the institutional framework of the policy (i.e., National Gender Commission and the Advisory Committee). The unequal social and economic costs imposed by corruption necessitate the inclusion of an institution that can adequately contribute to the implementation efforts of the NPGAD.

The World Bank (2001: 33) notes that “despite the greater prominence of gender issues in the development debate, the importance of bringing a gender perspective to policy analysis and design is still not widely recognised, nor have the lessons for development been fully integrated by policymakers.” In terms of perceived corruption, gaps were reported in how men and women perceive corruption in government (both local and central), police, and the private sector. On average, more men than women perceived higher levels of corruption in each of these institutions. The reverse was true when respondents were asked about levels of trust in state institutions. Women indicated higher levels of trust in institutions like Parliament, Councils, and the Police. Conversely, levels of actual participation in corrupt activities were lower, but contrary to other studies, more men than women indicated having to pay a bribe to access a public service.

Although it may appear that more men are affected by incidents of bribery, several studies and local media reports have found that women are impacted by non-monetary forms of corruption. Perhaps, a limitation of the Afrobarometer survey is the difficulty it poses for the researcher to interpret the specific favours being referred to because corrupt exchanges may take non-monetary forms. Sceptics may argue that “the data is blind with respect to the prevalence of other practices of which women are more likely to be the victims of, such as sexual extortion” (Boehm and Sierra, 2015: 9). It is possible that unemployed men and women who reported having to pay a bribe, give a gift or favour to a public officer were subjected to sexual, as opposed to, traditional forms of corruption. The NPGAD makes reference to the fact that sexual harassment perpetuates discrimination and impedes gender equality efforts, but there is a need to expand the scope of sexual violence to include exploitation and sextortion. Arguably, the implication is that this form of corruption violates human rights and, therefore, requires a significantly different response or sanction.

The UNDP (2012b) recommends that anti-corruption laws such as the Corruption and Economic Crime Act recognise and seek to mitigate physical abuse, sexual exploitation, and other forms of corruption specific to women's experiences. Sim et al. (2017) reiterate this point by suggesting that anti-corruption policies must identify and condemn 'non-traditional' types of corruption that have a greater impact on women, such as sextortion. Hossain et al. (2010:12) add that "despite its disproportionate effect on women, corruption involving sexual exploitation or extortion generally escapes measurement in standard corruption analyses and sexual exploitation or extortion is less likely to be reported than other forms of corruption." In fact, the 2012 Gender Based Violence study found that only one in ten female rape victims had reported the incident to the police. 23% of the women interviewed reported experiencing sexual harassment at work, school, public transport or at a traditional healer. However, they chose not to report these incidents.

Reasons for not reporting abuse are varied (see World Health Organisation, 2004; Seloilwe and Thupayagale-Tshwenegae, 2009; IAWJ, 2012). This coincides with the finding that very few female respondents (27%) of the 2017 Afrobarometer believed that ordinary people could report incidents of corruption without fear, whereas 70% indicated that people risked retaliation if they reported. Slightly more men (30%) believed that ordinary people could report incidents of corruption without fear, while 67% said there was a risk of retaliation.

To alleviate fears of whistleblowing, the Government of Botswana enacted the Whistleblowing Act in 2016, but it is less clear what efforts have been made to sensitize citizens, and in particular, gender advocacy groups (e.g., Emang Basadi) on its provisions on protected disclosures. Interestingly, Section 8(d) of the Whistleblowing Act empowers the Botswana Police Service to receive disclosures of impropriety, yet the BPS was perceived by both men and women as one of the most corrupt public institutions. Furthermore, more unemployed males reported either having to pay a bribe to receive police assistance or avoid a problem with the police. Therefore, it is important to question whether or not, for instance, a victim of police corruption would be willing to report the offending officer to their employer. Kaufmann et al. (2008) are of the view that an official will be more likely to be reported for abuse if the agency where she/he works has well-defined and effective mechanisms that citizens can 'voice' their suggestions and complaints.

Undoubtedly, the establishment of the Internal Affairs Unit (IAU) in 2009 is commendable. The Unit is tasked with promoting ethical standards for police officers, and investigating allegations of corruption and indiscipline within the Botswana Police Service. However, there have been growing calls about the need for the establishment of an independent police authority or commission (see *Sunday Standard*, 2013 and *Mmegi*, 2016). This is further necessitated by the fact that despite the formation of the IAU, the Ombudsman, for instance, reported receiving more complaints about the police service than any other public institution between 2014 and 2017. It may be that complainants

lack trust and confidence in the IAU to handle certain cases because of a perceived lack of independence. Furthermore, such an independent police authority or commission would be empowered to enforce punitive measures against police officers that violate ethical standards, similar to the Independent Office for Police Conduct in England and Wales, and the Independent Police Investigative Directorate in South Africa.

Numerous civil society organisations (CSOs) representing gender interests exist, but given the capacity challenges facing most NGOs and CSOs in the country, their capacity to strengthen current anti-corruption efforts may be inadequate. Both the draft Anti-Corruption Policy and National Policy on Gender and Development allocate several responsibilities to CSOs, but their ability to perform these responsibilities will require ministerial departments like the Department of Gender Affairs to provide the requisite support, particularly at a grassroots level. The UNDP (2012b) proposes that to ensure that programming and policies are relevant and effective for poor communities and women especially, grassroots women should be involved at all stages of anti-corruption interventions, including design, implementation, and evaluation. The gender-corruption intersection in Botswana suffers from a lack of gender disaggregated data, thus creating gaps in highlighting the gendered impact of corruption in service delivery. However, given the findings of this study, there is a need to ensure the involvement of women at a grassroots level in the design of anti-corruption interventions.

Contrary to other studies that found a correlation between increased female participation in public and political life would result in a decrease in corruption; for this study, we find that higher female representation in key decision-making positions does not necessarily reduce levels of corruption, as illustrated by Botswana's governance indicators on female representation in cabinet and parliament vis-à-vis levels of perceived corruption and individual participation in bureaucratic corruption. Therefore, increasing female representation in key decision-making positions should not be specifically undertaken as an anti-corruption strategy, but rather as a measure of addressing underlying governance issues. As noted by Alatas et al. (2009: 663) "gender differences reported in previous studies may not be as universal as stated, and may be more culture specific." Further research is required to explore and understand these gender differences.

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The discourse on the relationship between gender and corruption has gradually evolved towards an understanding of the gendered impact of corruption. The objective of this study was to contribute to that debate by exploring the relationship between corruption and gender in Botswana. To understand this relationship, the study examined men and women's perceptions of corruption and their participation in bureaucratic corruption (bribery). The findings revealed that more men than women reported higher levels of perceived corruption in the public and private sectors, but more women than men showed higher levels of trust in state and political institutions.

Literature suggests that a possible explanation for this variation is that women's lower contact levels with public service institutions, results in lower levels of perceived corruption in these institutions. The findings of this study support this notion, as shown by reported levels of participation in corruption. More men than women reported having to pay a bribe or give a favour to access at least each of the examined public services, with more male individuals doing so to either avoid a problem with the police or receive police assistance. Women reported higher levels of 'never' having to pay a bribe or give a favour in order to access a public service or receive assistance. A similar finding was reported by Peiffer and Rose (2015) on the role of gender in bribe paying in Africa. However, it remains important that anti-corruption policies are designed to address non-traditional forms of corruption, such as sextortion. Notwithstanding the scant data available, discussions revealed incidents of sextortion in Botswana, and it was found that this form of corruption affects women as opposed to men. Yet, this specific form of corruption has not received adequate policy attention. Thus, institutions and departments such as the Directorate on Corruption and Economic Crime, and Department of Gender Affairs should collect sex disaggregated data on corruption. Effective policy responses rely on the availability of comprehensive and reliable data.

The fact that Botswana's levels of perceived and/or actual corruption can be described as sporadic or incidental, as opposed to systemic, does not mitigate the threat it poses to institutions like the Botswana Police Service and other state agencies. Transparency and accountability in the police services may be enhanced by establishing an independent police authority or commission to ensure that levels of public trust and confidence are not compromised as a result of high levels of perceived and actual participation in illicit behaviour in an integral institution like the BPS.

Botswana is yet to adopt the draft National Anti-Corruption Policy. It is important that potential synergies between this draft policy as well as the National Policy on Gender and Development are interrogated. As such, corruption needs to be acknowledged as a gender equality related barrier, and should be mainstreamed in any systematic analysis seeking to understand and/or measure political and socio-economic gender differences and inequalities. Although important for promoting women's empowerment, strengthening good governance and development efforts, female representation in key decision making positions in government may not necessarily result in a reduction of corruption (either perceived or actual).

Indeed, men and women in Botswana experience corruption differently. Additionally, sextortion, as a specific form of corruption, escapes policy attention. It is also important to understand how economic factors such as unemployment influence the manner in which women and men respond to, and are affected by corruption. Therefore, the design or redesign of new or existing anti-corruption and gender policies should take these gendered differences into consideration. Gender-based policy analysis is critical to assessing and understanding the differential impact of proposed and/or existing policies on women and men. This approach challenges the assumption that men and women are affected by policies in the same way.

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