

https://dspace.org/

Women and Corruption: understanding women's perceptions of links between gender and corruption in South Africa

Motala, Sabeehah

2022
https://hdl.handle.net/10539/35570

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

Dissertation: Master of Arts Sociology

WOMEN AND CORRUPTION: UNDERSTANDING WOMEN'S PERCEPTIONS OF LINKS BETWEEN GENDER AND CORRUPTION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Word count: 24447

Sabeehah Motala – 1392208 – March 2022

ABSTRACT

The interaction between gender and corruption is a relatively unstudied area in South Africa, even though it is becoming more prominent in global anti-corruption work. As a starting point to research in this area, this dissertation explores women's understanding of corruption and how they perceive it in relation to gender. It investigates how women define corruption; whether women view gender as correlating to levels of corruption; and whether women think that gender influences experiences of corruption in South Africa. Twelve women from various backgrounds were interviewed in order to answer these questions. The main conclusions drawn by this research are a proposed definition of corruption broad enough to acknowledge its interaction with other social processes to allow better study of it from a gendered perspective; that women in South Africa generally understand corruption as an immoral act with power as a central tenet determining how one participates in corruption, rather than being a man or a woman; that women perceive that gender constructions in the form of roles and dynamics play a part in how women experience corruption in South Africa; and ultimately a proposed intersectional theory of corruption.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Thank you to my supervisor, Professor Lorena Núñez Carrasco, for her indispensable guidance and academic wisdom in developing my research. Sincere gratitude to my parents for their support, as well as to my husband for keeping me motivated. Thank you, also, to my friends and colleagues who gave me inspiration and valuable advice. Without all of you, this would not have been possible.

University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

School of Social Sciences

SENATE PLAGIARISM POLICY

Declaration by Students

I, Sabeehah Motala, (Student number: 1392208) am a student registered for Master of Arts Sociology in the year 2022. I hereby declare the following:

- I am aware that plagiarism (the use of someone else's work without their permission and/or without acknowledging the original source) is wrong.
- I confirm that ALL the work submitted for assessment for the above course is my own unaided work except where I have explicitly indicated otherwise.
- I have followed the required conventions in referencing the thoughts and ideas of others.
- I understand that the University of the Witwatersrand may take disciplinary action against me if there is a belief that this is not my own unaided work or that I have failed to acknowledge the source of the ideas or words in my writing.



Signature: Date: 14/3/2022

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract 1

Acknowledgments 2

List of Tables and Figures 6

1 Introduction and Context 7

1.1 Research Problem 7

2 Literature review 9

2.1 Corruption 9

2.2 Corruption in South Africa 11

2.3 Are Women More or Less Corrupt Than Men? 12

2.3.1 Empirical analyses 12

2.3.2 Analyses based on women in leadership 12

2.4 Effects of Corruption 13

2.4.1 Direct 14

2.4.2 Indirect 15

2.5 Major Themes Influencing the Interaction Between Gender and Corruption 16

2.5.1 Power dynamics 16

2.5.2 Social customs 17

2.6 Theoretical Lens – A Feminist Viewpoint 17

2.6.1 Defining 'woman' 17

2.6.2 Patriarchy 18

2.6.3 Intersectionality 19

2.6.4 Social reproduction theory 19

2.6.5 Women and sexual favours ..... **Error! Bookmark not defined.**

3 Methodology 20

3.1 Coding and Analysis 22

3.2 Limitations 22

3.3 Ethical Considerations 23

3.3.1 Anonymity and confidentiality 23

3.3.2 Psychological effects 23

3.3.3 Criminal activity 23

4 Findings 25

4.1 Analysis of Participants 25

4.2 Definition of Corruption 26

4.3 Are Women More or Less Corrupt Than Men? 29

4.4 Direct Effects of Corruption 30
4.5 Indirect Effects of Corruption 33
4.5.1 Emotional or mental health effects of corruption 33
4.5.2 Financial effects of corruption 35
4.5.3 Corruption's effects on access to services or resources 36
4.6 Corruption and Gender Equality 37
4.7 Influencing Themes 39
4.7.1 Imbalance of power 39
4.7.2 Social customs 40
4.8 Feminist Concepts 40
4.8.1 Patriarchy and corruption 40
4.8.2 Intersectionality of participants' identities 41
5 Analysis 42
5.1 Women's Understanding of Corruption 42
5.2 The Link Between Gender and Prevalence of Corruption 44
5.3 The link between gender and experiences of corruption 45
5.3.1 Direct effects 46
5.3.2 Indirect or secondary effects 47
5.4 Corruption and Gender Equality 48
5.5 Feminist Analysis 49
6 Conclusion 51
6.1 Women's Understanding of Corruption in South Africa 51
6.2 A Definition of Corruption 51
6.3 A Feminist Theory of Corruption 52
6.4 An Intersectional Theory of Corruption? 53
6.5 The Way Forward 53
7 References 54
8 Annexures 62
8.1 List of Codes 62
8.2 Interview Questions 63

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Figure 1: Description of participants 26
Figure 6: Participants' views on whether corruption must involve money. 26
Figure 7: Participants' views on a culture of corruption in South Africa. 28
Figure 8: Participant's views on which gender is more likely to ask for a bribe. 30
Figure 9: Participants' views on which gender is more likely to be a victim of corruption..... 31
Figure 10: Participant's views on whether they are more likely to be victims, as women. 31
Figure 11: Participant's views on the emotional/mental effects of corruption on the genders. 33
Figure 12: Participants' views on whether women and men are affected differently financially by corruption. 35
Figure 13: Participants' views on how corruption affects access to services and resources. 36
Figure 14: Participants' views on whether corruption influences gender equality. 38
Figure 15: Visualisation of the components of corruption..... 52

1 INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXT

It is no secret that corruption is endemic in South Africa (Govender, 2018). Corruption has long plagued South Africa's public and private sectors, with South Africa scoring just 44 out of 100 points in the Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI) (Transparency International, 2019a). Corruption Watch, a non-governmental organisation working to combat corruption in the country (Corruption watch, n.d.), has recently noted instances of corruption that seem to be gendered in nature, in that the effects on women are specific to their gender, in particular, the extortion of sex or favours of a sexual nature in exchange for access to basic needs or services (Motala, 2019). Studies have been conducted on women and corruption in other parts of the world, finding that women experience corruption differently to men (Transparency International, 2019b), that women are more likely to experience 'sextortion', and also that women think that politicians abuse their positions of power (Transparency International, 2019c). Research on women's perceptions of corruption, or any link between gender and corruption, has yet to be explored in South Africa.

In South Africa, women are still viewed form the patriarchal standpoint, that women continue to have fewer positions of power and less influence in society, arguably still viewed as inferior to men (Bower, 2014). The government's intentions towards promoting gender equality have been demonstrated through the adoption of international legislation, the drafting of national laws on gender equality, commitment to projects aiming for gender equality, and the promotion of women in leadership. Despite this, patriarchy and unequal power dynamics between men and women continue to exist in South African society (Plaaitjies Van Huffel, 2011). This research project rests on the assumption that patriarchy is the social norm in South Africa and argues that corruption is a system of power functioning in tandem with patriarchy. It seeks to investigate whether women perceive such an interconnectedness, and what their perceptions are of the interaction between gender and corruption.

1.1 RESEARCH PROBLEM

This research aims at exploring the relationship between two systems of power that operate in South Africa. Corruption is the central system of power to be examined by this project. It is investigated in relation to patriarchy and how women might perceive and understand this interaction between systems of power. Though gender dynamics were the primary focus, investigating intersections of economic class or race were not precluded, as this research was conducted through an intersectional approach to women and corruption.

This project explores whether an intersection between patriarchy and corruption (and other systems of power) in South Africa exists and affects the understanding that women have of corruption and how it might manifest, and what links there may be between gender and corruption. The study seeks to compare views and perceptions of corruption that are held by women in South Africa, to examine whether they correlate with findings in the literature on links between gender and corruption. This, for the purpose of beginning to understand the relationship between gender and corruption in the South African context. This was answered through a main research question and several sub-questions. The main research question is: *How do women understand and view the relationship between gender and corruption in South Africa?*

In order to answer this broad question, the following sub-questions were answered:

- How do women define corruption and what acts do women understand as being corrupt?
- Do women perceive a link between gender and prevalence of corruption in South Africa?

- Do women perceive a link between gender and how corruption might be experienced?
- Do women perceive corruption as a barrier to gender equality?

These questions were answered by first examining the existing literature on corruption and gender. This assisted in establishing a theoretical foundation for this study, by clarifying the definition of corruption aligned to the purpose of the research. Then interviews were conducted with twelve women participants, which investigated their views on corruption according to the sub-questions. The data was analysed in relation to the literature, to produce findings on gender and corruption in South Africa.

Corruption is a criminal offence in South Africa (Prevention and Combating of Corrupt Activities Act, 2004). Despite being widely acknowledged as highly prevalent in South Africa as presented in Chapter 2.2, and many participants viewed it as a norm in the country, it is a complicated area to research. There are ethical challenges to questioning people about their experiences with corruption, such as potentially exposing criminal activity by participants, or triggering psychological or legal consequences. Without research, it is challenging to draw links between concepts such as corruption and gender, when these concepts have rarely been discussed together, in South Africa. However, these challenges make it even more important for research on gender and corruption to be done. This study hopes to begin opening conversations about connections between these concepts, by exploring how women view or perceive corruption, as a precursor to future research that might explore how women experience corruption. It hopes to begin discussions about the intersectionality of corruption, and how it might have gendered impacts or how corruption might operate in a gendered way. Such research can contribute to better policy development, targeted solutions architecture, improved awareness among vulnerable groups that may encounter gendered forms of corruption. Ultimately, the aim of this research is to contribute to more informed and effective combating of corruption in South Africa.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 CORRUPTION

Corruption is a dynamic term that may be defined differently depending on context, for example, the TI definition, "the abuse of entrusted power for private gain" (Transparency International, n.d., para. 1), is a working definition enabling the work of the anti-corruption organisation. It is therefore necessary to establish a definition that will enable the intentions of this research.

Corruption is often defined from an economist perspective, as a tool for maximising resources in accordance with supply and demand, in relation to scarcity. This model sees corruption as business, involving a calculation of risk, weighing the value of the goods with the risk of being caught (Hatti et al., 2010). But this perspective may not recognise the negative consequences of corruption and the effects on the broader economic or political system (Hodgkinson, 1997). It is a definition that is not human-centred, and further fails to include a gendered perspective.

A 'formal' definition of corruption comes from law, policies and codes of conduct (Gorta, 2013). A definition of corruption combining both the legal and moral conceives of corruption as a moral matter facilitated by a breakdown in rules or political processes (Hodgkinson, 1997). Arguably, South Africa's legislated definition of corruption does this. The offence of corruption incorporates a variety of possible elements, including dishonesty, misuse, abuse of position, violation of trust or rules, and gratification (Prevention and Combating of Corrupt Activities Act, 2004). This definition includes both breaching of rules, as well as moral factors such as trust and dishonesty. It may be useful in assisting with identifying how corruption manifests. However, the South African legal definition, when examined closely, places both parties to a corrupt act on equal footing, by criminalising persons who both offer and accept or agree to corrupt acts (Prevention and Combating of Corrupt Activities Act, 2004). This does not acknowledge the possibility of an imbalance of power between parties, which may result in one side being compelled to participate.

Corruption, for the purposes of this research, should be defined through a combination of perspectives - a public-interest perspective, a view of corruption as a social process emphasizing the importance of relationships, as a systemic occurrence, and in relation to power. It is important to understand that "…corruption is *both* a normative concept and a set of practices with effects that can hurt people" (Harrison, 2007, p. 676). This formulation recognises many elements to corruption, which will enable a definition broad enough to examine the issues relevant to this study, including the public versus private interests, power dynamics and corruption as culture.

A public-interest perspective defines corruption as behaviour which prioritises a private interest over the public interest (Bautista, 1983). Alatas elaborates, saying that it is the "subordination of public interests to private aims involving a violation of the norms of duty and welfare, accompanied by secrecy, betrayal, deception and callous disregards for any consequence suffered by the public" (1980, p. 12). Nye is also a key theorist in relation to a public interest definition of corruption, defining it as "behaviour which deviates from the normal duties of a public role because of private regarding (family, close private clique), pecuniary or status gains; or violates rules against the exercise of certain types of private-regarding influence" (Nye, 1967, p. 419). This definition incorporates the normative definition and recognises the moral aspect of corruption. It further includes that corruption has a negative effect on the public. The value of this definition is that it combines the normative or formal definition with consideration of the public versus the private, acknowledging that it has a negative effect on public interests, and that the public is therefore an indirect victim of corruption.

Corruption is also defined as a social process, as transactions which occur because of social interaction. Understanding how different people view corruption can help figure out who the victims really are and how it hurts them (Harrison, 2007). Because the accusation of corruption has heavy social consequences, it may be more important who defines corruption, rather than what the term means (de Graaf et al., 2010). Warburton further contends that in order to understand corruption as a social process, it is necessary to also understand the individuals who participate in that system (2013). The parties to an act of corruption may affect its definition, based on access to power. One party may convince the other that what they are doing is not necessarily corrupt, because of power or influence they may hold. Defining corruption with a focus on relationships allows us to determine what acts are corruption, and to distinguish corruption where there is an imbalance of social power dynamics, depending on who is involved, that might coerce one party into participating.

A further way of defining corruption also recognises that at some point corruption becomes 'culture', meaning that there are certain expectations on how people should behave (Hatti et al., 2010). Though corruption is a manifestation of distrust of those in power, the parties involved in a corrupt transaction must have a semblance of trust between them, as well as a channel of secret communication, creating a network (Warburton, 2013). Dobos explains 'networking' as the act of social interaction for the purposes of obtaining a benefit (2017). Distinguishing this as "utilitarian" (Mélé, 2009, p. 491), Dobos argues that networking can be objected to as a form of corruption. Favouritism based on a family or friendship connection, or on likeability is "contrary to the principle of meritocracy… Networking is an attempt to cultivate and benefit from" this likeability (2017, p. 468). Thus, networking circumvents meritocracy and is an injustice (Dobos, 2017). This is significant in relation to women, in terms of overlapping expectations on women's behaviour. The existence of a 'culture' or 'network' implies that corruption can become systematic. This is important to note because if the system is geared against women, excluding them from these networks and expecting certain cultural behaviours of them, the effects of the system may always be worse off for them.

Corruption can further be defined in relation to power. Corruption requires an intention to act on one's interests over the interests of others, and this intention requires power (Warburton, 2013). This distinction is significant to the research question – which party, in corrupt acts involving women, holds the power, and does this have an impact on how women view and experience corruption? Warburton contends "that both parties to corrupt transactions are resource holders and power seekers" (2013, p. 221). However, definitions that place both parties involved in the corruption on equal footing should be challenged. Hatti et al. argue that "Because it takes two to tango, the person in collusion with the thief expects some reward, again material or immaterial, in exchange for cooperation" (2010, p. 221). This conception of corruption assumes equal standing between parties. In contrast, Hui states that corruption is "simultaneously extortive and voluntary: voluntary in the sense that the giver has the power not to demand services, extortive in the sense that the taker has the power to withhold services" (Hui, 1975, p. 474). Whilst Hui has recognised a power imbalance, in that one party has the power to withhold, this argument still places power to withdraw a demand on the other party. Some groups of society may be in a lesser position to exchange resources, and may be seeking access to essential, life-giving public services or human rights – including women. There may also be real situations where people are coerced into participating in corruption.

Finally, corruption can be defined as a feature of a prevailing system. Warburton acknowledges this theory, saying that the usual way of looking at corruption is to understand the institutions and systems that allow for it to happen (2013). If we accept that patriarchy is part of this system, then corruption would be worse for women – especially because corruption exacerbates social inequality (Clammer, 2012).

2.2 Corruption in South Africa

There is a general consensus and great criticism of the endemic nature of corruption in South Africa in the literature. In terms of quantitative analyses of South Africa's levels of corruption, the anti-corruption advocacy organisation TI and its local chapter, Corruption Watch, provide useful data. Corruption Watch, which encourages the public to report corruption directly to them, in 2020 received 4,780 reports of corruption from around the country. Since the organisation's inception in 2012, they have received a total of 32,976 reports (Corruption Watch, 2020). Whilst these reports have not all necessarily been verified as corrupt acts, the numbers are certainly indicators of the public's experiences and sentiments. Reports range from allegations of maladministration and fraud, to bribery and employment corruption, across sectors such as the police, local government and healthcare (Corruption Watch, 2020). In its annually published CPI, TI uses information gathered from experts to determine a corruption score and ranking for countries. South Africa score 44 out of a possible 100, in terms of the perception of its public sector corruption levels (Transparency International, 2021b). On an international level, South Africa ranks 70 out of 180 countries that participated in the study (Transparency International, 2021a). South Africa's score and ranking have steadily declined over the past twenty years (Salahuddin et al., 2020).

Many authors agree that corruption is endemic (see Budhram & Geldenhuys, 2018; Hlongwane, 2018; John, 2021; Safara & O Odeku, 2021; Salahuddin et al., 2020; Sebake, 2020; Soma-Pillay, 2014). Corruption in South Africa is characterised by high profile corruption scandals, widespread local government corruption and high levels of irregular expenditure amounting to billions of Rands, along with private sector corruption including price fixing and irregular tendering, among other practices (Budhram & Geldenhuys, 2018). Though corruption in South Africa is at the fore recently, during the term of office of former President Jacob Zuma, along with the 'Zondo Commission' of Inquiry into State Capture, it is acknowledged that corruption has long existed (Sebake, 2020). Despite national legislation against corruption and obligations in international laws it continues to grow rapidly (Safara & O Odeku, 2021).

There is also an understanding, among writers, that corruption affects the South African state's ability to deliver services and thereby, its ability to realise human rights for its people. Sebake writes that "it stifles resources to provide potable water, fix road infrastructure, build schools and health facilities for the citizens. Therefore, corruption violates human rights apart from it being a criminal offense" (2020, p. 169). Resources are diverted from the economy, impeding service delivery of human rights (John, 2021; Safara & O Odeku, 2021; Sebake, 2020). As a result of corruption, South Africa suffers political, social and economic costs, and decreased trust in government by the people (Soma-Pillay, 2014).

An interesting argument made by John (2021) is that corruption operates with "a level of invisibility regarding the perpetrators, victims and survivors. This invisibility stems from pretense [sic] and socio-political distancing which creates a false sense of a victim-less crime" (2021, para. 10). This idea is important, in relation to unpacking the link perceived by women between their gender and corruption, especially as questions are asked in this study around likelihood for women to be victims of corruption. This is an idea that is tested by the findings of the research.

Finally, corruption in South Africa is facilitated by various factors. These include networks of amoral actors including politicians and private businesses (Sebake, 2020). Political connections also create a context of immunity for participants to corrupt acts, and legal institutions and mechanisms are undermined, unable to apply consequences (John, 2021). The non-partisan "rules of bureaucracy are often devalued to suit the purposes of self-enrichment" (Gouws, 2021, p. 26). Finally, whistle-blowers

enjoy minimal protection and support (John, 2021), making it a poor environment within which to disclose knowledge of corruption.

2.3 Are Women More or Less Corrupt Than Men?

The bulk of available research on the subject of women and corruption seems to question the likelihood of women being less corrupt than men (see, among others, Afridi et al., 2017; Paweenawat, 2018; Sung, 2003; Swamy et al., 2001). These researchers examine the topic from different points of view – whether women are more or less likely to participate in corruption and whether women leaders are more or less corrupt than men. Discussions around evaluating the ethics and morality of women, in comparison to men, will be useful in questioning women's perceptions of corruption in South Africa.

2.3.1 Empirical analyses

Various studies have analysed data to test whether women are more or less corrupt than men. The majority of studies find that women are less likely to participate in or condone corruption (Swamy et al., 2001). Swamy et al. used data sets, such as the World Values Survey, surveys of business owners in Georgia and data from Transparency International, concluding that increased participation of women in business and public office correlates with less corruption (2001). One such study, which used a laboratory experiment to examine female's versus male's interactions with opportunities for bribes, found that women were less likely to take those opportunities than men (Rivas, 2013). Another study, based on data collected through the World Values Survey and European Values Survey, from eight countries in Western Europe, found that women were more averse to corruption and tax evasion than men (Torgler & Valev, 2010). A further survey, based on the case study of the 'gift giving' practice in Central Asia, found that women are more likely to criticise and less likely to participate in corruption than men (Corcoran-Nantes, 2017).

2.3.2 Analyses based on women in leadership

Many researchers have examined the link between having women in positions of leadership and levels of corruption in their countries or companies. Most studies draw a correlation between having women in leadership and less corruption (see Breen et al., 2017; Paweenawat, 2018). A study on whether women in business leads to more corruption, using data from the World Bank, found that female-owned businesses showed a lower level of bribery, and a reduced perception of corruption (Breen et al., 2017). A study of Asian countries found a negative relationship between the number of women in parliament and corruption (Paweenawat, 2018). Swamy et al found that women in leadership bribe less and that there are lower levels of corruption in countries with better female representation (2001). Theoretically, women's maternalistic tendencies such as empathy, and focus on community and care rather than individualistic greed, should result in less corruption (Sung, 2006).

In contrast, a study into the inclusion of women in traditional leadership in India produced findings that did not necessarily support the relationship between women and less corruption (Afridi et al., 2017). It researched corruption during the tenure of women elected to lead village councils, based on quotas. Women performed worse in terms of corruption levels during their first year, due to the lack of political and administrative experience which left them open to exploitation. They further had to play catch-up to men in terms of authority, and thereafter did not perform better or worse than men (Afridi et al., 2017). Furthermore, a study into the involvement of women in politics in Nigeria found that having more women in government has not reduced corruption levels (Okonkwo, 2016). These conclusions suggest that there may be other factors influencing corruption levels.

For example, Stockemer and Sundström hypothesise that 'old boys' networks (networks of men who have long been acquaintances and therefore built up trust) facilitate decision-making behind closed

doors, including corrupt activity; women are conventionally excluded from such networks as outsiders or possible whistle-blowers (2019). Men interact in beneficial and supportive networks that exclude women, developed through traditions and culture and promote male dominance (Gouws, 2021). They find that "in democracies, corruption is not gender-neutral. Rather, it hurts so-called out-groups, such as women, and benefits in-groups, such as men" (Stockemer & Sundström, 2019, p. 98). Similarly, Howson states that "gender mediates access to opportunities for corrupt accumulation" (2012, p. 423) which may explain why corruption is perceived to be less under the leadership of women. It is only because corruption networks are dominated by male patronage, that exclude women, that it is perceived that women are less corrupt (Goetz, 2007).

Crucially, many of the studies into the correlation between women in leadership and corruption levels have largely ignored structural factors such as better implementation of democracy and its principles (Sung, 2006). One study found that in countries where women's freedom to participate in public life is limited, corruption was higher (Ziegler, 2011). Sung, a critical author on this, posits that the entire system at play must be considered (2003) because democratic institutions promote good governance and gender equality (2006). Strong media freedom and rule of law are more likely to prevent corruption than having women in leadership (Sung, 2006). Thus, "the statistical association between gender and corruption may be coincidental and not causal" (Sung, 2003, p. 704). Finally, studies which have linked women in leadership with less corruption have failed to consider other factors, including culture (Debski & Jetter, 2015).

The empirical studies on whether there is a connection between gender and levels of corruption vary in their findings. While some have examined data sets which demonstrate women as the less corrupt gender, others consider factors other than gender as more important to levels of corruption. There is a gap in the literature for qualitative research that encompasses a more holistic approach towards levels of corruption.

2.3.3 How do women perceive corruption?

An important study by Bauhr and Charron investigates the argument that men and women are likely to perceive corruption differently, that "women are more likely than men to perceive that corruption is driven by need and that men are more likely to perceive that corruption is driven by greed" (2020, p. 93). The study used responses form the Quality of Government Institut'es Eurioean Quality of Government Index, which surveyed a total of 77,966 residents of European Union nation, looking in particular at responses relating to reasons for corruption. Ultimately, Bauhr and Charron find the hypothesis to be true. They explain this through gendered theories around care work, and the implication that women are more often socialised into roles of caregiving which might make them access public services more often, thereby affected by related corruption (Bauhr & Charron, 2020).

2.4 Effects of Corruption

Knowledge of the literature on the effects of corruption will create a foundation for asking women on their perceptions of corruption – how it manifests, but also whether they perceive a difference as a result of gender, or whether they perceive corruption as a barrier for women in accessing equality or economic development. The literature on the effects of corruption on women can be divided under two sub-headings, namely, the direct effects of corruption on women and the indirect effects of corruption on women. By distinguishing between these two forms of effects, it can reasonably be assumed that women suffer differently to men (Boehm & Sierra, 2015).

2.4.1 Direct

2.4.1.1 Accessing services

In determining who is more directly affected, two questions must be answered: Who is more exposed to corruption, and what traits of each gender increase vulnerability to corruption (Boehm & Sierra, 2015)? The first question can be answered by statistics, by looking at which social activities are typically 'male' or 'female'. For example, pregnancy and responsibility for the health of family-members may mean that women access healthcare more (Boehm & Sierra, 2015), which makes them more vulnerable to corruption when accessing a healthcare service that may be compromised. Women, as family caregivers, may have to pay bribes to access public services such as health and education (Mohan, 2020). The 2019 TI Zimbabwe survey conducted in Zimbabwe on gender and corruption, found that a key reason women paid bribes was to access public services. TI Zimbabwe noted that this kind of corruption, in the delivery of services, affects women more for various reasons. Traditional gender roles place women more often in need of accessing services, and with less control over household income. Women thus find it harder to access alternatives (such as private healthcare), and women may not have money to pay bribes which leaves them vulnerable to being asked for sexual favours instead (Transparency International Zimbabwe, 2019). Mohan agrees with this, saying that poorer women either are forced to provide sexual favours or rely on a male patron to help them access basic services (2020).

Furthermore, where there are more men in public service positions, patriarchal influence may cause them to deliberately frustrate processes for women. Women pay also have fewer resources to access justice when asked to participate in corruption. All of these factors leave women more exposed to corruption (Transparency International Zimbabwe, 2019). The effect of this corruption is that women cannot access basic services to service needs such as education, healthcare and safety.

2.4.1.2 Sextortion

Many authors argue for the extortion of sex or sexual favours, known as 'sextortion', to be taken seriously as a form of gendered corruption (Gitlin, 2015; International Association of Women Judges, n.d.; Transparency International, 2010). TI Zimbabwe's 2019 survey conducted in Zimbabwe found that 57% of women have had sexual favours demanded of them, in exchange for a range of activities including jobs, healthcare and school placements for their children (International Association of Women Judges, n.d.; Transparency International Zimbabwe, 2019). This form of corruption directly affects women.

A study conducted by TI in 2020 examined various legal frameworks from across the world, to assess whether they adequately dealt with the issue of sextortion (Feigenblatt, 2020). The report found that sextortion occurs in many sectors from policing and business, to housing and education. They also found that it is often unreported, as victims find it difficult to provide evidence of coercion or face social stigma. To exacerbate matters, no legal system that they examined adequately provides protection for victims of sextortion, especially where they are considered to have willingly participated in corruption. They further argued that there are mental, emotional and financial effects of sextortion including losing jobs, or not being able to access social services that might provide assistance. Moreover, the TI report suggests that there is a gap between gender-based violence (GBV) laws and anti-corruption laws that may make the reporting and prosecuting of sextortion extremely difficult (Feigenblatt, 2020).

Importantly, the TI report identifies that certain elements and conditions must be present for something to be considered sextortion. There must be sexual activity and an act of corruption, and there must be an "abuse of power", an exchange, and an "imbalance of power between the

perpetrator and the victim/survivor" that creates the condition for coercion (Feigenblatt, 2020, p. 8). This is key to understanding sextortion as a form of corruption, in relation to power and as an act that has a victim, as proposed of corruption earlier in this section.

Lastly, the TI report identifies links between sextortion and gender. The report discusses sextortion as existing at a nexus between sexual violence and corruption, and as such, victims tend to use GBV reporting mechanisms to report it (Feigenblatt, 2020). The report also speaks of sextortion as affecting women more in relation to gender roles, which:

> "…continue to assign women unpaid family responsibilities and men tasks outside the home, which means their exposure to public-sector institutions and the corruption within them is different… For example, women tend to be more frequent users of health services than men, both during their reproductive years and while their children go up" (Feigenblatt, 2020, p. 19).

The report says that poor women in particular are likelier to be asked for bribes to access services, and their relatively lower literacy levels to men means they lack knowledge of their rights, which means they are more vulnerable to being extorted or denied access to services. Women are also more vulnerable where they have less access to legal resources, and the report states that reporting mechanisms are not always sensitive to gender-related issues (Feigenblatt, 2020). This information on sextortion is useful in understanding how it operates in the space of intersecting systems of power, such as class and gender.

2.4.2 Indirect

2.4.2.1 Access to justice

One of the indirect effects of corruption on women is that it affects access to justice for victims. Sextortion is rarely reported and when it is, it may not be taken seriously by authorities, and police are feared to also be corrupt (International Association of Women Judges, n.d.). The TI Zimbabwe survey found that 86% of the women surveyed said that a bribe was needed for law enforcement to assist. Perpetrators are not arrested or pay bribes to avoid prosecution (Transparency International Zimbabwe, 2019). Corrupt police services contribute to continued violence against women (Boehm & Sierra, 2015). Furthermore, Gitlin states that sextortion has social consequences:

> "This corrupt sexual exploitation often has a far greater adverse effect on victims than monetary corruption, not only because of the act itself – which can be extremely violent and is always a violation of personal dignity and human rights – but also because of the possibility of disease, pregnancy, and, all too frequently, social ostracization, victim blaming, and loss of prospects in the marriage market." (2015, para. 2)

2.4.2.2 The impact on development

Women and girls represent a higher proportion of those in poverty, and are therefore more exposed to the harsh effects of corruption (Transparency International, 2010). Corruption undermines economic development, which is worse for the poor who are more dependent on public services (Boehm & Sierra, 2015). Corruption reduces the amount of funding available for development programmes, and the fact that women make up the majority of poor people, means that this affects women disproportionately (Merkle, 2019).

Women are more excluded from accessing services, and therefore are less likely to be able to develop (Transparency International, 2010). TI Zimbabwe in its study of Zimbabwean women found a variety of indirect gendered effects of corruption across sectors, where lack of finances required for bribes excludes women from obtaining mining or trading licenses, patriarchal norms prevent women from

economic development, and women are often extorted for sex (Transparency International Zimbabwe, 2019). Women have lower socio-economic status to men, meaning they have less income and rights over property, so the cost of corruption is worse on women, "…the indirect effect of corruption tends to reverse the benefits of globalisation" (Dutta, 2018, p. 338). Corruption results in the exclusion of women from avenues for economic development.

2.4.2.3 Political effects

Existing patriarchal structures exclude women from participating in politics and policy decisions, and prevent women from accessing justice and accountability. Women are underrepresented as voters worldwide and as candidates for elections. Women are less likely to be allowed into the networks of patronage and favour, and therefore have a disadvantage in elections (Mohan, 2020).

Political and administrative corruption may discriminate against women by allocating fewer resources to women's causes (Boehm & Sierra, 2015). Gouws argues that "Feminist institutions are very vulnerable to repurposing because they are institutionalized through the good will of male-dominated governments" (2021, p. 39). Corruption allows those with power to influence policy decisions, and because more men are in these positions of power, women-related policies may get less attention (Mohan, 2020). There is also less funding for promotion of gender equality (Merkle, 2019). Feminist institutions are side-lined if they operate within the formal state, and a shadow state operating on corruption exists undermining the formal state (Gouws, 2021). Finally, abuses may be possible because of social inequalities and embedded patriarchal attitudes, when women may be less aware of their rights, and less able to ask for accountability (Transparency International, 2010).

2.5 Major Themes Influencing the Interaction Between Gender and Corruption

2.5.1 Power dynamics

Understanding the link between women and corruption necessitates an understanding of women's access to power. Sung states, "Any meaningful discussion of gender and corruption must begin with the issue of power" (2006, p. 136). Women have always been subject to a gendered distribution of power, from within the household to national leadership (Sung, 2006). Corruption exacerbates the unequal power dynamics between men and women – corruption reduces women's access to resources and information, and reinforces social, cultural and political inequality (Transparency International Zimbabwe, 2019).

As there are more men in power, from government to business and even in households, women are at a disadvantage, and in addition cultural and social aspects shape what women's power looks like in relation to property rights and gender roles etc. (Sung, 2006). Corruption is possible because control over resources provides motivation and opportunity. Therefore, whether or not men or women are in power, the opportunity and motivation for corruption should theoretically remain the same (Sung, 2006).

Accordingly, women's lesser position of power and the social expectations upon them means that they behave differently to men (Krylova, 2016). Richardson et al explain that because women are in a weaker position of power in society, women are more likely to engage in corruption when facing an immediate threat to their well-being or development, whereas men are more likely to use bribes to access a benefit (2018). They cite a study conducted in Ghana which showed that men were more likely to pay bribes to expedite beneficial transactions, whilst women bribed to prevent being evicted from their homes (Richardson et al., 2018). Gouws argues that where first ladies of African countries have been able to promote self-interest at the expense of the state, it is "because of their proximity

to power" through their leader husbands (2021, p. 27). This is useful in explaining, further, how access to participating in corruption is enabled, for women, through their access to male power.

A discussion of power in relation to gender must include consideration of patriarchy. This will be examined in section 2.6.2.

2.5.2 Social customs

Another important theme is that social norms are key to how corruption affects women. This can be in three ways. Firstly, social norms may determine what role a woman plays in society, reducing her access to resources, which can lead to women feeling more pressured to pay bribes, and even face sextortion and violence (Zúñiga, 2018)

Secondly, women are excluded from the networks of trust that are required for corruption to flourish (Corcoran-Nantes, 2017). Women are excluded because of culture or socialisation, which determines what place in society women hold (Richardson et al., 2018). Access to corruption networks depends on labour participation, society's views on women accumulating wealth, and access to political connections which tends to favour men, and is thus gendered (Howson, 2012). Women are viewed negatively because they differ from the male norm/elite who are in charge. Those in charge are more likely to recruit people who are like themselves. This phenomenon is called "homosocial capital" (Bjarnegard, 2013, p. 28), where social capital built through relationships is more likely to accrue among people of the same gender, and that this capital is of more value when it accrues between men. This network of homosocial capital manifests with women as outsiders who are not trusted (Stockemer & Sundström, 2019).

Thirdly, cultural aspects of corruption, such as 'gift-giving' which is a normal practice in certain countries, may explain that there might be no difference between men and women in terms of how corrupt they are. Through this gift giving relationship, "…women are able to gain advantage, access to sponsorship, increased status and influence, and privileged access to services most needed by their families" (Corcoran-Nantes, 2017, p. 24). This challenges the notion that women are less corrupt than men.

2.6 Theoretical Lens – A Feminist Viewpoint

This research requires an understanding of certain feminist theories through which data can be analysed in order to appreciate the particular view of the subjects. Firstly, a particular understanding of 'woman' is necessary, to explain phenomena discovered in the research, and that can also be challenged by findings of the research. Theoretical concepts including patriarchy, intersectionality and social reproduction theory, as well as a discussion of sexuality and power dynamics can assist in understanding the notion of 'women' in relation to the research on corruption.

2.6.1 Defining 'woman'

Butler writes that feminist theory itself necessitates a conception of 'women' as its subject, which "paradoxically undercut[s] feminist goals to extend its claims to "representation"" (1990, p. 7). In this sense, the women participating in the research were selected as they self-identified as women. However, it is still important to define women in a way that correlates with findings identified in the research. Butler further expresses that "…*woman* itself is a term in process, a becoming, a constructing that cannot rightfully be said to originate or end. As an ongoing discursive practice, it is open to intervention and resignification" (1990, p. 45) (emphasis author's own). This recognises that being a woman is subject to change according to discourse that is in vogue, and also according to factors that may intervene and re-signify its definition. This is key, in relation to the cultural ideas about

womanhood expressed by research participants and the external factors which influence their perceptions around what it means to be women interacting with corruption.

Discussions on a defining factor of 'woman' as 'motherhood' are also important for the purposes of this research. Drawing on Freud, Martin explains a historic viewpoint on women and the relationship of women to motherhood:

> "…the woman remains bound to narcissistic desire as a result of the social prohibition on her choice of object… a narcissism which organizes woman's desire in terms of a desire to be loved, to realize herself, rather than to idealize and love the other, the male. Freud condemns this narcissism and self-sufficiency on ethical grounds as selfish and redeemable only in motherhood when the woman can love another which has been part of herself" (1982).

According to Freud's conception, women could only be salvaged from their narcissism by motherhood, as a defining and saviour factor of being a woman. Butler further notes that the maternal nature of women is seen as instinctive, but criticises this, based on a Foucauldian perspective, saying that "the discursive production of the maternal body as prediscursive is a tactic in the self-amplification and concealment of those specific power relations by which the trope of the maternal body is produced" (1990, p. 125). Butler assists in beginning to explain the role of power in constructing what 'woman' means. 'Motherhood' as a key defining factor of being a woman is defined by power structures that benefit from it being defined so, especially by enforcing it as instinctive and preceding discourse, it legitimises a definition of the "female body to be characterized primarily in terms of its reproduction function…as the law of its natural necessity" (Butler, 1990, p. 126). This definition of woman reduces womanhood to simply maternal reproduction instincts. This is an important consideration, to understand the perceptions of study participants as their role in society, which may affect their interaction with corruption. The discursive production of the maternal body also challenges whether women have the potential to participate in corruption of their own volition, that they are rather moved by their maternal commitments. This study explores whether motherhood does indeed dominate how women perceive their understanding of and possible participation in corrupt acts.

2.6.2 Patriarchy

'Woman' has also been defined in relation to 'man', where to be a woman requires submission to the authority of men (Martin, 1982). This idea helps to start understanding how women can be defined as 'other' to men, and as lesser or dominated by men. The concept of 'patriarchy' further explains this, as "a system of social structures, and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women" (Walby, 1989, p. 214). This definition identifies that gender is a social structure where "every individual man is in a dominant position and every individual woman is in a subordinate one" (Walby, 1989, p. 214). Patriarchy is further defined as, "A social system that promotes hierarchies and awards economic, political and social power to one group over others" (Plaaitjies Van Huffel, 2011, p. 260). These definitions acknowledge that there is an imbalance of power between social groups that result in a hierarchy between them, with one wielding power over the other. Crucially, the second definition acknowledges the types of power that are held by the dominant group, describing forms of power that may change hands through corrupt acts. Defining patriarchy is essential, in that basing an analysis of corruption on the idea that South Africa remains a patriarchal society, justifies the need to examine whether this has a bearing on women's views on corruption. Patriarchy, for the purposes of this research, therefore, shall be understood as a system of power where men are dominant over women through social hierarchy as well as oppressive practices.

2.6.3 Intersectionality

A definition of patriarchy that acknowledges the existence of multiple forms of power necessitates a theoretical lens that will allow an examination of where and how these multiple forms intersect and shape the experience of particular subjects, in this case women in South Africa. The theory of 'intersectionality' argues that a "single-axis framework" (Crenshaw, 1989, p. 140) is insufficient to understand the blended experiences of particular subjects based on different characteristics of their identity. Speaking in relation to black women, Crenshaw states that, "Because the intersectional experience is greater than the sum of racism and sexism, any analysis that does not take intersectionality into account cannot sufficiently address the particular manner" in which they are oppressed (Crenshaw, 1989, p. 140). Intersectionality recognises that different factors of one's identity are produced and may be oppressed by different powers that intersect to shape one's entire experience, in a particular context (Puar, 2011). In the more contemporary use of the term, intersectionality has also come to "focus more on the possession of identities" (Lukose, 2018, p. 39) through which women experience the world. Intersectionality will be a useful theoretical viewpoint from which to examine how women perceive corruption as a system of power that intersects with the system of power of patriarchy, and possibly other systems of power in South Africa, or how they perceive their identities as influential in how they experience corruption.

2.6.4 Social reproduction theory

Social reproduction refers to the work that is required to reproduce life (Bhattacharya & Vogel, 2017), to ensure the continuation of the human population and guarantee the continued existence of workers. It "includes how food, clothing and shelter are made available for immediate consumption, how the maintenance and socialization of children is accomplished, how care of the elderly and infirm is provided, and how sexuality is socially constructed" (Brenner & Laslett, 1991, p. 314). Social reproduction is disproportionately the responsibility of women (Jaffe, n.d.). The "life-making activities" (Jaffe, n.d., para. 4) involved in social reproduction may provide an arena of interaction with corruption, and therefore it is important to acknowledge this theoretical foundation as a possible explanation for where this phenomenon is encountered during the research. Social reproduction theory entails that women are more often involved in social and reproductive care, meaning they are more likely to be in contact with services related to that work. As a result, because of corruption infiltrating the spaces where resources necessary for that work are accessed, social reproduction theory can explain whether women may be more at risk of vulnerability to corruption.

2.6.5 Foucault and Sexual Economics Theory

In order to understand how the extortion of sexual favours operates with regards to women, sexuality can be examined as a means of control. Drawing again on Foucauldian theory (Foucault, 1978), there is a relationship between sexuality and power, "that is always produced or constructed within specific historical practices, both discursive and institutional…" (Butler, 1990, p. 132). This starts to unpack how sexuality is not a notion that exists outside of power structures, but rather is determined by power, both in the theoretical sense and institutionalised sense. We can understand this interaction with the guidance of intersectionality theory, as an intersection of particular characteristics or power structures determining how women might perceive corruption. Building on Foucault, Martin further suggests that "feminist theorizing" has developed "an understanding of sex as the structuring and regulating of desire toward socially and politically oppressive ends. Sexual expression (…) has historically often led to increased male access to women's bodies, allowing exploitation not just sexually but economically and politically as well" (1982, p. 11). Sexual freedom interacts with power structures, to produce what Martin (1982) argues to be the increased possibility of sexual exploitation of women. With corruption defined in part as a system of power, interacting with patriarchy, and

sexuality as an avenue for exploitation, these theories together can explain how sextortion may be perceived as affecting women.

A concept that can be used to explain certain phenomena in the exchange of sexual favours in the economic sense is a critical view of Sexual Economics Theory (SET). SET refers to the idea that women's sexual favours have more value than men's. It recognises women's sexual favours as "bartering tools for economic gain", where men see "women as a commodity" (Rudman & Fetterolf, 2014, p. 1438). This concept may be useful in instances where participants might view women as able to make economic use of their sexuality. However, Rudman and Fetterolf take a critical view of this theory, to say that SET "portrays women as low-status commodity holders (sex is a female resource) and men as high-status commodity seekers" (Rudman & Fetterolf, 2014, p. 1439). They state that this theory depicts women as unequal to men, and argue that this sexual exchange is facilitated by conditions of patriarchy and oppression of women (Rudman & Fetterolf, 2014). SET and its criticisms can help understand how women perceive the exchange of sexual favours as a form of corruption, and also assist in explaining a further intersection of a gender-related issue with corruption.

3 METHODOLOGY

In the South African context, this is an area of exploratory research. Therefore, this research project will collect qualitative data only. Qualitative research seeks to understand many realities which rely on meaning and interpretations. It also allows for research to be conducted within a given context and this enables the researcher to be immersed in the subject. Contextual analysis can deepen understanding of phenomena (Badenhorst, 2008). Qualitative research further allows the answering of "micro questions" (Flick, 2018, p. 21), unpacking intricacies that are not visible through empirical quantitative research. The value of qualitative data for this particular research topic is that research will be deeply focused on participants, taking into consideration cultural perceptions and attitudes, as well as socio-economic class, family dynamics and other factors that may affect how women perceive corruption and its effects.

The research was conducted through one-on-one interviews with twelve participants who were women living in South Africa. A combination of methods for qualitative research were used for sampling. Convenience sampling, where participants are sampled through ease of access (Bhardwaj, 2019), was used to source participants who the researcher was able to easily contact and reach out to through social media or personal networks. This approach was followed because of constraints on resources, as the researcher would not have been able to travel to access participants that were not in close proximity, nor would it have been possible to advertise widely for random participants. Time constraints were also an issue, as well as restrictions imposed by the Covid-19 State of Disaster in South Africa (Disaster Management Act, 2002: Amendment of Regulations Issues in Terms of Section 27(2), 2021), which did not encourage meeting in person. Participants therefore needed to have access to a device from which to meet virtually. A purposive approach towards sampling was also used. A purposive approach, in this case, involved sourcing participants who were particularly knowledgeable and able to respond to the topic, because they share a similar characteristic that was a predetermined criterion for the study (Palinkas et al., 2015) - all participants identified as women, able to speak to their perceptions of corruption from that gendered point of view. Finally, a maximum variations approach will be used to include women from a variety of age groups, family dynamics, racial groups and socio-economic groups. Maximum variation can assist in mitigating limitations of purposive sampling based on meeting criteria, as it allows the study to also examine differences between participants (Palinkas et al., 2015). This allowed for research of a diverse sample for the

phenomena under examination (Bless et al., 2013), to determine any links between participants' responses and their respective characteristics.

Interviews were semi-structured and lasted between thirty and forty-five minutes, conducted in English. The structured part of the interviews collected key information following the aims of sub-questions of the research. The literature informed the interview questions, in order to coherently test findings against the information gathered in the literature review. The questions collected information that allowed comparison of participants' perceptions of corruption with what has been found in previous literature. The unstructured part of the interviews facilitated a holistic understanding of the context of participants' lives and their identities. The reason for this is three-fold: Firstly, allowing participants freedom to shape the interview process enabled a comfortable environment for expression of thoughts and ideas. Secondly, allowing a free-flowing narrative helped participants raise issues outside of the assumptions of the researcher. Thirdly, a rounded view of participants which included responses to the structured questions as well as ideas the flowed from the unstructured part of the interviews, allowed the researcher to better understand social and cultural views (Luttrell, 2005). The format of a semi-structured interview also allowed the researcher to ask follow-up questions on pertinent points.

Questions asked during the interview firstly, collected biographical (but not identifiable) information to determine age, race, marital status, education level and financial means, to ensure variety in the data and to be able to draw connections or distinctions between participants' responses and their respective identifying characteristics. Participants were asked about how their lives are structured, in terms of work/family commitments, and about their access to and control over financial resources. The reason for asking about financial resources is to correlate their answers with the assumption that corruption might be financial only (as explored in the literature review).

They were asked what acts interviewees perceive as corrupt, in order to determine not only how well women recognise corrupt acts, but also as to whether there is consensus on what women consider to be corrupt. Participants were also asked what their thoughts were on corruption as 'culture' in South Africa, which helped to understand women's views on endemic corruption, and on whether it is a societal problem.

They were further asked whether they saw a correlation between gender and prevalence of corruption in South Africa, whether they perceived links between their gender identity and how corruption may be experienced, and whether they perceived corruption as a barrier to their development or achieving equality. These responses to those questions allowed the researcher to begin to unpack whether women do perceive a gendered dimension to the perpetration of corruption as well as effects of corruption, and also made it possible to compare answers with theoretical concepts included in the literature review.

Data was analysed in order to identify themes, such as patriarchy, other power dynamics including race, social class, gendered effects of corruption, and social customs. These factors are included in order to take an intersectional approach, as argued in the literature review, to investigate holistically how participants perceive corruption. Findings were also tested against the theories of corruption in the literature review. Findings were also checked against the information around gender and prevalence of corruption in the literature review, and compared with the direct and indirect effects of corruption as found in the literature. Findings were analysed to assess links between perceptions of corruption and access to finances, race, socio-economic class, and gender dynamics identified by participants. Theories of the definition of 'woman', social reproduction theory, sexual economics

theory, patriarchy, and theories of motherhood and sexuality compiled in the literature review, were used to explain responses by participants.

3.1 Coding and Analysis

This research project collected qualitative date from semi-structured interviews. In order to better understand the data, it needed to be coded and analysed. Interviews were transcribed into Microsoft Word by the researcher. The responses to each question were then grouped together in Microsoft Word documents for ease of reading and analysis. Questions that were related or had similar thematic responses were also grouped together (for example, responses to the question requiring participants to define corruption, and to the question asking participants to give examples of acts of corruption, were grouped into one Word document).

The nature of the interview questions was such that they were already based on key themes that are explored in this research. Patterns and themes in the responses were identified in closely reading and comparing participants' responses. Due to the nature of many of the questions that asked about differences between men and women, it was possible to quantify these responses and represent them in graphs. These questions asked whether a particular theme or idea applied to men, women or both genders, and participants gave responses specifically referring to 'men', 'women' or 'both'/'equal'. In these cases, responses were codified by drawing up tables in Microsoft Excel and the data was then displayed in graphs. The quantification of data was only for the purposes of processing it to identify the most recurrent responses, and not to imply that the data is generalisable.

In order to analyse answers according to the characteristics of the participants – in other words, an intersectional analysis – responses were closely read to identify keywords and ideas mentioned by participants. These keywords were inputted into tables in Microsoft Excel, according to the frequency with which they appeared in responses. The data was then sorted in relation to various characteristics, to identify patterns. This was to determine whether characteristics such as race, class, or age had any bearing on how participants responded.

3.2 Limitations

A limitation of the research project is that findings will not be generalisable, as the interview participants will not necessarily reflect South African demographics, and no statistical data will be drawn from the interviews.

Due to the Covid-19 pandemic and related lockdown conditions, interviews took place via the online platform, Zoom. Because of this, the pool of participants was limited to those that had access to internet as well as a device from which to participate in the online interview. Additionally, using online technology meant that in at least three of the interviews, connection was sometimes unstable which did cause disruption to the flow of conversation. The researcher did try to prompt the respective participant to continue with their train of thought, which was cut off, but there were times when it became too forced, and the interview moved on without necessarily capturing a full response to that question.

A further limitation of this research study was that not all participants had a clear understanding of corruption, and not necessarily aware of examples of scenarios which might have assisted in understanding the questions. To mitigate this and provide clarity, the researcher consistently provided participants with a basic definition of corruption, and with the same two examples of incidents of corruption. This helped improve participants' understanding of the questions, and also gave examples

upon which they could base their answers. The example definition and examples of corruption were only provided after the participants were questioned on their definition of corruption. The example definition can be seen in Annexure A. The two examples given were as follows:

- A person is driving and is stopped by Metro police officers, who then ask for a bribe, even if the driver of the vehicle has not done anything wrong. This is an example of corruption which is the soliciting of a bribe in exchange for not getting a fine, or not being arrested. This is a situation where one party might benefit more than the other.
- A person applies for a job, but the recruiting officer asks them for a bribe or sexual favours in order to be employed. This is an example of corruption which is the soliciting of a bribe or sexual favours in exchange for employment. This is a situation where one party benefits less than the other, and where effects of corruption may have detrimental financial or mental health effects.

These examples helped in providing clear possible scenarios of corruption which assisted participants in thinking through their responses. They helped them understand forms of corruption that could take place, as well as how corruption might be beneficial to only one party. In order to avoid influencing answers (particularly as the questions pertained to gender), the researcher did not gender the subjects of the examples, referring to the only gender-less people participating in potentially corrupt acts.

3.3 Ethical Considerations

3.3.1 Anonymity and confidentiality

Though the identity of participants may be known to the researcher, all data used in the final report has been de-identified. Therefore, confidentiality of participants' identifiable information is guaranteed, and participants will retain anonymity from readers of the report. All information collected during interviews has been stored on a password protected personal laptop and a password protected external hard drive, securely kept in the researcher's private residence.

3.3.2 Psychological effects

Before interviews begin, participants were given a document explaining what the interview is about, and the purpose for which the interview is being conducted. The researcher also verbally communicated this information, to ensure that participants understood. Participants were given contact information for psychological support services. Interviews only commenced once participants had confirmed that they understood this information and had signed a consent form. Participants were given the option not to answer questions if they did not feel comfortable. Participants were also given the option to end the interview at any time. During the data collection, none of the participants expressed psychological discomfort.

3.3.3 Criminal activity

Though this research project aims only to examine women's *perceptions* of corruption, there is a possibility that participants may voluntarily discuss any personal experiences they may have had. Though corruption is a crime in South Africa, the aim of this research is not to expose individual crimes of corruption, nor to seek out perpetrators. Arguably, corruption is a part of normal life in South Africa (Govender, 2018) and talking about one's perceptions should not result in major disruption to participants' lives. In addition, the first iteration of the interview questions included scenario-based questions where the participants would be asked whether they recognised particular situations as corruption. This question was removed, as potentially inviting value judgments which might be

considered unethical. It is here emphasised that all participants will be kept anonymous in the writing of the final report, and their information will be kept confidential by the researcher.

During the interviews, no criminal wrongdoing by participants were exposed. However, some participants spoke of criminal wrongdoing that has been exposed by the media and law enforcement in South Africa, such as information coming out of the Commission of Inquiry into State Capture (Commission of Inquiry into Allegations of State Capture, n.d.) and allegations of corruption against South Africa's former president, Jacob Zuma (Burke, 2021). Particularly with regards to the question on who participants viewed as corrupt, though most answers were general, some allegations of corruption were made against specific individuals which were not necessarily founded in fact. To mitigate this, the researcher explored why participants held such perceptions, and ensured that participants were aware that the interview was drawing out opinions and not statements of a factual nature.

4 FINDINGS

4.1 ANALYSIS OF PARTICIPANTS

Twelve participants were sourced through convenience sampling, purposive sampling and maximum variation sampling. The participants were varied in terms of age, race, financial means or income and education levels. The table below shows each participant and their characteristics.

Pseudonym	Race	Age Group	Household Income Level[1]	Occupation	Highest Education Level
Ruby	White	18-30	Medium	Employed	University
	Ruby earns her own salary, from which she pays for her own expenses, including a car and medical aid. She lives with her family, including her parents, and her father works and makes the major financial decisions in the household.				
Emily	Other	18-30	Medium	Employed	University
	Emily lives with her family and works in the healthcare sector. She earns her own salary and contributes to the household from it. Her parents make the biggest contributions to household expenditure and her mother makes most of the financial decisions, as her mother knows what is needed for the household.				
Thando	Black	18-30	Medium	Employed	University
	Thando lives with her mother, who is in charge of major financial decisions. They both work and with their salaries run the household and support the household of Thando's grandmother. Thando has a side job as a radio host.				
Aunty Pat	Coloured	50+	Unknown	Homemaker	Certificate/ Diploma
	Aunty Pat describes herself as a homemaker. Her husband works, but they both make financial decisions in the household. They also have children, and Aunty Pat says her husband helps her around the house and with taking care of the kids.				
Wendy	Coloured	50+	High	Employed	University
	Wendy lives with her husband and children. She is an official in the local municipality. Both she and her husband work, contribute to the household, and make financial decisions together.				
Aunty Poppy	Indian	50+	Low	Homemaker	Matric
	Aunty Poppy and her husband are both unemployed, though she describes herself as a housewife. Her youngest daughter is also part of their household. Her other children who live independently contribute to the household and financial decisions are collective. Aunty Poppy has some control over personal finances.				
Bridgette	Black	18-30	Low	Self-Employed	University
	Bridgette lives with her son and male partner. She earns an income through self-employment and makes all the financial decisions in the household.				
Alicia	Coloured	18-30	Unknown	Employed	University
	Alicia is a UX designer. She lives with her family and manages her finances separately from her parents. Her parents make financial decisions for the household.				
Mishka	Indian	18-30	Medium	Employed	University
	Mishka lives on her own and is responsible for her own finances. She works as a project coordinator.				
Thuli	Black	31-49	Medium	Employed	University

[1] According to the Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit income calculator, the average household income in South Africa is R1166/month (SALDRU, n.d.). However, for the purposes of this research, I have compared incomes between participants to place them in brackets.

	Thuli describes herself as the breadwinner in her household, which is made up of seven people. Her siblings' salaries and mother's pension also contribute to the household, but Thuli makes the financial decisions.				
Jessica	White	31-49	High	Employed	University
	Jessica lives on her own and makes financial decisions. She works in the healthcare sector.				
Firoza	Indian	31-49	High	Homemaker	Certificate/ Diploma
	Firoza describes herself as a housewife. She lives with her husband and children. She and her husband both make financial decisions for the household.				

Figure 1: Description of participants

With regard to occupation, it was important to include the occupation of 'Homemaker' because three of the participants responded that that was their occupation. This positionality as a homemaker reflected in some of the participants' responses.

Though the sample is not reflective of South African society at large, there was a concerted effort to maximise variation among participants, so as to have as wide a sample as possible from which to extract data. It also enabled comparison and differentiation, to see if other factors other than womanhood influenced participants' responses, as per an intersectional analysis.

4.2 Definition of Corruption

Participants had varied views on how to define corruption. They were asked to give a definition of corruption in their own words, and were also asked to give examples of corruption, and whether they thought corruption always involved money. The answers to the latter question are represented in Figure 2 below. Almost all participants said that corruption can involve things other than money, such as jobs for friends and family or holidays. Jessica said corruption said that it involves the exchange of something that has some kind of monetary value.

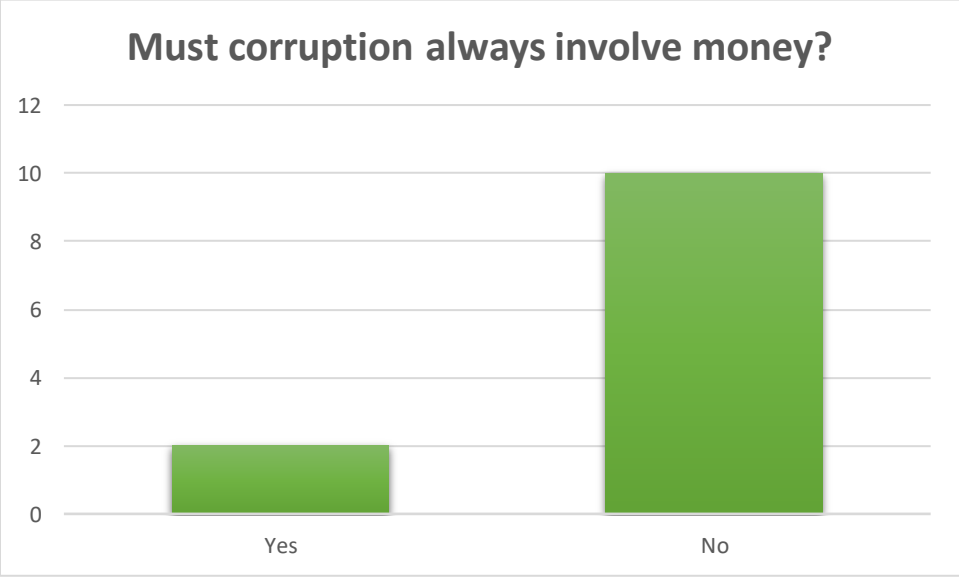

Figure 2: Participants' views on whether corruption must involve money.

All the participants defined corruption in a way that recognised it as morally or ethically wrong or associated it with crime or not following proper rules. Of the participants, two participants referred to corruption as crime. However, it was clear from participants' tones, and the exasperation with

which they spoke of corruption, that all of them recognise it as wrong. In addition, some participants referred to corruption as “stealing”, which is a crime distinct from corruption.

Most of the participants associated corruption with dishonesty, abuse of power, and misuse of resources. Majority of the participants also give examples of corruption that include nepotism in employment and awarding of tenders. In relation to the legal definition of corruption, this shows that women have a good understanding of it, including the moral indicators as well as acts that constitute corrupt activities.

In defining corruption, five participants directly pointed out either that corruption requires some level of selfishness or that corruption involves gaining personal benefits while taking those benefits away from others. When asked about specific ways in which they thought corruption happens, they all gave examples mentioning that someone would benefit either for themselves, or for people they knew. For instance, Alicia said that corruption is when, “…if you’re in a position of power and you’re able to make a difference but choose to benefit off that chair of power, in a sense, and you make decisions that only benefit yourself and the people around you and not… the greater good.” In addition, four participants gave examples of corruption where corruption involved the theft or misuse of government resources that were meant to be used for public good, including parts from police vehicles and money for community development.

When asked what they thought the motivations for corruption were, most participants gave answers that related to the advancement of a private interest, or the interest of family members. Ten participants mentioned at least one of the following as motivating factors: greed, personal advancement, weak morals, entitlement, needing to care for one’s family.

In investigating whether participants see corruption as a social process, it is important to ask the following questions: Do participants see corruption as involving a network of trust? And do participants see corruption as systemic, or as culture? When defining corruption, only Thando referred to corruption as “systematic” Aunty Poppy, stated that corruption happens because the legal system does not provide justice. Three participants – Thando, Alicia and Jessica – identified normalisation of corruption as motivating factors for someone to be corrupt. This refers to normalisation as a result of historic corruption, peer pressure in that it seems everyone is doing it, or lack of accountability in that corruption is feasible because perpetrators do not get caught. However, when specifically asked if corruption is part of South African culture, two-thirds of participants said that it is not (Figure 3), among them some who had identified cultural characteristics of corruption previously.

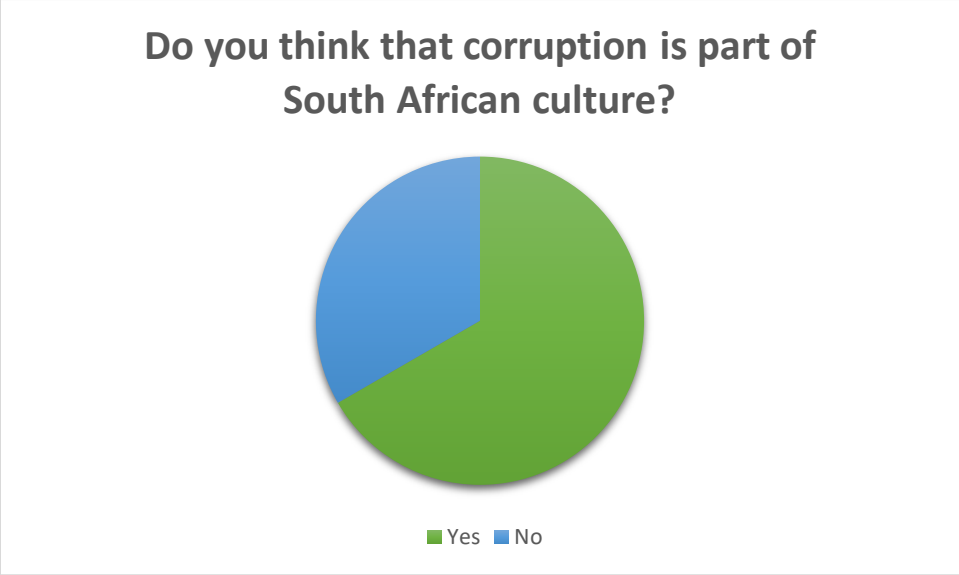

Figure 3: Participants' views on a culture of corruption in South Africa.

Those who responded 'no' to the aforementioned question justified their responses saying that corruption depends on individual morals as opposed to communal culture, that corruption is a solution for those facing inequality, and that corruption is entrenched because it seems difficult to tackle, not because it is culture. Thuli explained that she thought corruption takes the form of whatever culture it finds itself in – in South Africa, culture dictates a duty to care for our families, and corruption is a way to achieve that and so "that's the form or the mould in which our corruption has taken [sic], but it does not mean that it is part of our culture." This was an interesting comment, considering that Thuli is the breadwinner of her household. Even though this answer does not support corruption as culture, it does identify social customs that seem to motivate corruption or explain the form it takes. Despite the majority of participants perceiving corruption to *not* be part of South African culture, there is an understanding of how corruption is influenced by or interacts with social processes, such as the cultural obligation to take care of one's family.

To further explore corruption as a social process, it was necessary to investigate whether women consider power to be a defining feature of corruption, as an influencing factor in relationships that facilitate corrupt acts. Understanding who women think of as corrupt has provided insight as to whether they consider a link between power and corruption. Participants were asked who they thought of, when thinking of those who were 'corrupt'. Three participants specifically named former South African president Jacob Zuma as who they thought of as corrupt. However, almost all the participants made reference to people or groups of people who had access to some form of power, in particular power through leadership, political power, or economic power in the form of wealth. Seven participants mentioned government, two respondents mentioned people who are highly educated, three mentioned leaders or people in leadership, and two participants mentioned the wealthy or rich.

Even though only two of the participants specifically used the word 'power' in their respective definitions of corruption, participants very much connected corruption with power either by naming 'power' as a factor giving rise to the ability to participate in corruption, or by identifying individuals and groups as 'corrupt' who have or represent different forms of power.

To understand whether women view corruption as part of a prevailing system, the responses to several questions must be examined. Firstly, participants' definitions of corruption; secondly, what participants consider to be the motivations for corruption; thirdly, participants' views on corruption

as South African culture; and fourthly, participants' reasoning on whether they think either men or women are more likely to ask them for a bribe or to participate in corruption. When looking at the responses to these questions, it becomes clear that the participants have observed corruption to be part of a prevailing system in a number of ways. Firstly, in terms of how corruption fits into a broader system of rules and procedures, participants stated defined corruption as hindering proper processes, failing to follow rules, and stated that people participate in corruption because there is no accountability, "because of our legal system [where] there is no justice…" (in the words of Aunty Poppy), and because corruption offers a shortcut.

Secondly, participants' view corruption as part of a larger broken system. Some participants expressed that features of the system inherited from apartheid, such as normalisation of corruption under apartheid, or systemic inequality, provided motivating factors for people to participate in corruption. Speaking in relation to the ordinary citizens who participate in corruption, Thuli said that it is because they are "trying to navigate a broken and problematic system."

Thirdly, when responding to whether they thought they were more likely to be asked for a bribe by a man or a woman, at least three participants were able to identify that corruption also operates interconnectedly with the system of patriarchy. Jessica stated that there's "this link between patriarchy and power" which makes it more likely that men will exploit women, and that because of it there are more men in power and therefore more opportunities for men to request bribes.

4.3 Are Women More or Less Corrupt Than Men?

Participants were asked which gender they perceive to have the potential to be corrupt, to which all participants answered that they think both men and women have that potential. To substantiate their responses, half the participants mentioned both power and opportunity as the driving factors, rather than potential to be corrupt as a feature of either gender. They said that where a person has the power to be corrupt or the opportunity to participate in corruption for personal benefit, they would take it. Aunty Pat said that it was not gender-based, but very much dependent on an individual's personal morals and values.

The other half of the participants, however, distinguished the reasons that women would be corrupt, compared to men. Three respondents said that men were driven by power or the status of having access to opportunities for self-enrichment. Those who distinguished women differently, said that women were more empathetic and had consciences that might make them "think twice before committing a corrupt act", as said by Ruby. This, particularly as the gender tasked with caring for others, which might make them more conscious to the consequences of participating in corruption, as stated by Thuli. Thando concurred, saying that women have to think about their children. Other respondents said that women were competing in a "man's world" (Alicia) and therefore would be just as likely to participate in corruption. Two respondents said that women used their femininity to gain favour – Thando and Firoza.

When the question was worded slightly differently, however, views changed. The participants were asked, that if they were to be in a situation where someone was asking them to participate in bribery or an act of corruption, what gender the person asking was more likely to be. This question required participants to place themselves in a situation of potential corruption, where their answer would be connected to their projected personal expectations of such a situation. As is apparent in Figure 4 below, half the participants still believe that either gender is likely to ask them for a bribe or to participate in corruption. The reasons for these views were varied. Participants believing both genders to be capable of asking them for a bribe, said that just as their answer to the previous question on

capability to be corrupt, both men and women are capable if they have the intention. Among those however, some said that men and women would ask for a bribe or participate in corruption for different reasons – men more to access power or status, and women because they were vulnerable or needed to take care of others with whatever additional benefit they might obtain. Emily mentioned that if she were to participate in corruption at the request of a man, he would be more likely to turn her in should something go wrong, whereas women would stick together.

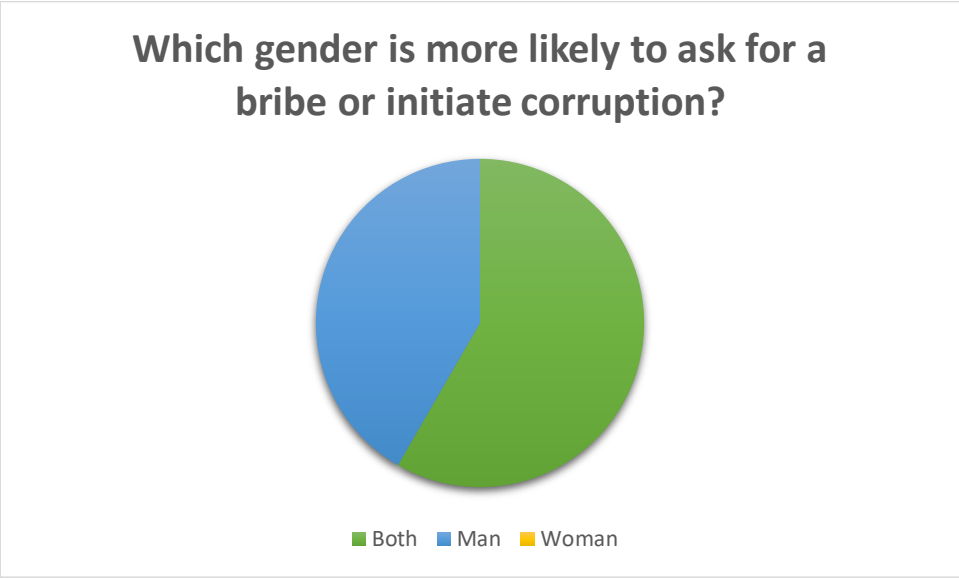

Figure 4: Participant's views on which gender is more likely to ask for a bribe.

However, when placing themselves in that situation from their standpoints as women, five participants shifted their views, to say that men were more likely to ask them. The five participants that changed their response were Ruby, Aunty Pat, Wendy, Alicia and Jessica. All those who said that a man was more likely to ask them, said so on the basis that men have more power, hold more leadership positions and have more access to opportunities for corruption. Jessica clarified that "it's not a situation where I feel like it's something inherently male," but that men are in positions of power and able to use that power to ask for bribes.

Though the overwhelming sentiment from participants was that either gender is capable of corruption, when placing themselves in a situation of potential corruption, some of the participants changed their answers, in relation to their perception of power held by men in society and that connection to corruption. The respondents perceive power to be key to corruption, and where men hold more power, some perceive that they are more likely to be corrupt.

4.4 Direct Effects of Corruption

Participants were asked, in a scenario where a corrupt act involves a victim who either benefits less or not at all, which gender they thought the victim is more likely to be. None of the participants responded that men are more likely. More than half perceived women as more likely to be victims, with the rest believing that both men and women are equally likely (Figure 5).

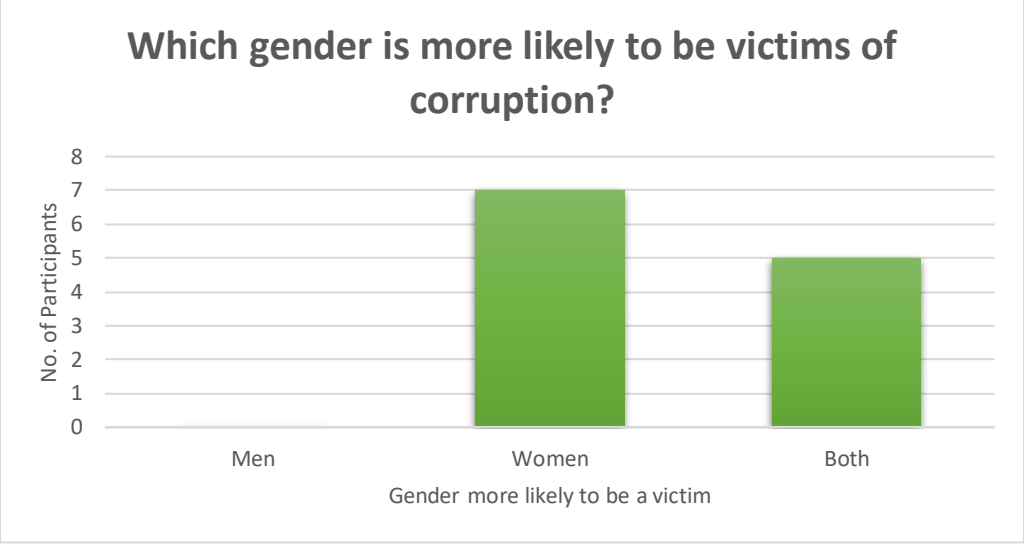

Figure 5: Participants' views on which gender is more likely to be a victim of corruption.

Participants reasons for saying that both genders are likely to be victims (Figure 5), include that it comes down to personal belief systems, and that it depends on the situation (where different forms of corruption might affect each gender differently). Because examples of sextortion and employment corruption were provided by the researcher, four participants (Emily, Thando, Aunty Pat and Jessica) specifically mentioned that corruption related to sexual favours or exploitation might result in more female victims, but employment-related bribery might have victims of either gender.

The question was then asked slightly differently, in a more personalised sense. They were asked, should they be a victim of corruption, whether their gender would be a deciding factor of victimhood. The responses to this question have been portrayed in Figure 6, and show that half the respondents did not think gender makes a difference. The other half of the participants did perceive being female as a factor influencing how likely they are to be victims of corruption.

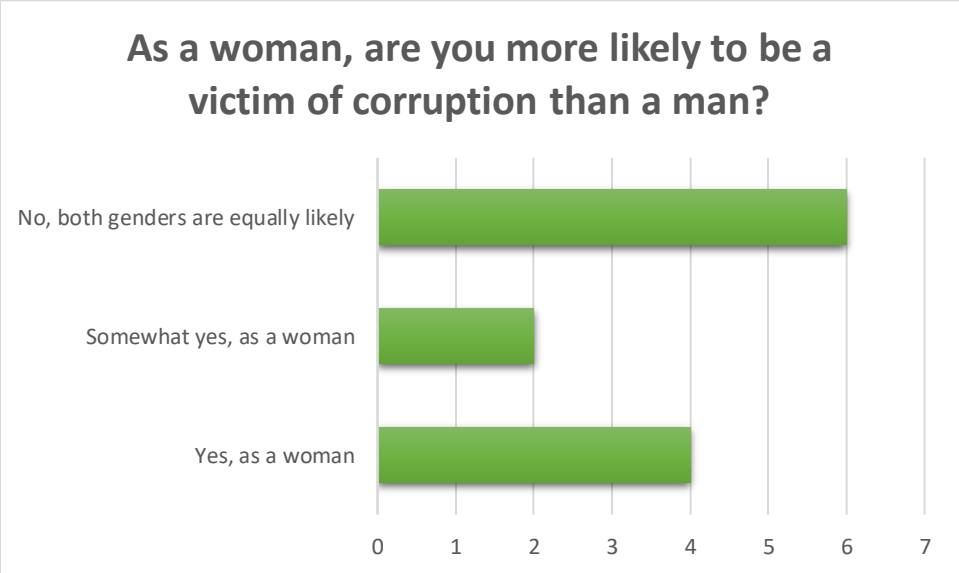

Figure 6: Participant's views on whether they are more likely to be victims, as women.

Three participants who said that gender did not make a difference for them personally (as per Figure 6) stated that it was because they knew their rights, felt “empowered with knowledge and education”,

and that they had strong morals and willpower (Aunty Pat, Emily and Aunty Poppy) to resist corruption. Interestingly, these three participants all expressed strong religious beliefs, and indicated that religiousness, conscience and morals were factors in capability for corruption.

Those that responded that women were more likely to be victims justified their responses by explaining that women have characteristics specific to their gender that put them more at risk, that there is an imbalance of power in different forms, that it is difficult for women to access justice, and that exclusion from networks prevents women from benefitting in the same way that men might.

With regards to the gender-specific characteristics, participants said that women are physically weaker than men, are more vulnerable because they are more gullible or "softer targets" (said Firoza) for corruption. Thuli said that even in a situation where a female was the corruptor or requesting a bribe, she feared being a victim more as a female because "a woman… would not challenge as much a man, than a fellow female." In addition, she said that women "bear the brunt of poverty and even a lack of service delivery" in the sense that women are responsible for taking care of the family, and where that fails because of corruption, they are more directly impacted than men.

Different forms of power dynamics were also credited in situations where women might be victims of corruption. Positions of power, as in leadership, were a key factor, with participants stating that men were more likely to be in those positions where they could pressure women into participating. Physical power was also mentioned, as two respondents (Ruby and Firoza) stated that men are able to physically overpower women or that women were physically weaker and less likely to be able to resist being asked to participate in corruption.

Moreover, lack of power in accessing justice was a reason mentioned for why women would more likely be victims of corruption. Thando said that in situations of sextortion women might be blamed for having participated, and that society treats women differently when they have done wrong. Emily said that "our society in South Africa is very male dominated… So, you'll find a lot of women who experience abuse in the workplace or politically (…) there's [sic] a lot of barriers to reporting it, and for that reason, I think they're more vulnerable to exploitation." Along the same vein, Jessica said that she would be afraid of being a victim of corruption because she would have no means by which to speak up about it, and in that sense, might jeopardise her job or her safety. Participants identified that social attitudes towards women negatively affect their access to justice if involved in corruption and therefore leave women more vulnerable to being victims, and possibly fearing for their lives and livelihoods.

Jessica attributed her views to the fact that in spaces of power where corruption is likely to play out, according to her, "it's a boy's club… there's [sic] generally a lot of older men that have been working together for decades, they know each other, they're kind of in cahoots with each other." Thando expressed a similar sentiment, referring to a "brotherhood" where men would take care of each other in situations of corruption, but not look out for any women involved, and even possibly, as Wendy put it, "throw them under the bus" if things went wrong. These participants identified the existence of a particular network that enables corruption and determined that they were excluded from such a network based on their gender.

An important theme to investigate, especially due to its prominence in the literature, is what participants' views were on how vulnerable women are to corruption of a sexual nature. Seven participants perceived women to be more vulnerable to being asked for sexual favours, especially when given the example of corruption involving sextortion. Among them, two respondents (Wendy and Thuli) mentioned sexual favours as a form of corruption before being prompted with the

examples. According to Thuli, “Corruption fits very much also in the dynamic of sexual harassment and sexual victimization and in those instances” women are more likely to be affected. This participant has identified that these sexual harms possibly intersect with harms of corruption and are more likely to affect women. Overall, these views indicate that women perceive that they are more vulnerable to sextortion.

On the other hand, two participants (Thando and Firoza) mentioned sexual favours as a tool used by women to access benefits, in the sense that they were not victims, rather perpetrators of corruption. Thando referred to this as how women can “sleep their way to the top.” This view is consistent with the general view that women can be as corrupt as men can be. But this may illustrate the possible existence of gendered ways in which corruption can be perpetrated. In this minority view, women could use their feminine characteristics to their advantage in order to obtain benefits.

4.5 Indirect Effects of Corruption

The indirect effects of corruption, as explored in the literature review, were explored through asking participants first generally how they thought corruption affects women, then with more focused questions on particular themes. They were first asked, more generally, whether they thought corruption impacted on gender equality. They were then asked whether they thought women were affected differently emotionally or mentally, in relation to financial access, and if their access to services or resources was impacted any differently to men.

In relation to general effects of corruption, most women associated corruption with effects on livelihood or their jobs. They stated that corruption, where men exclude women from benefits or where women might have knowledge of illegal corrupt acts, could result in a worse pay gap or in threats to job security. Other effects that participants mentioned were that women might be taken advantage of if they were single mothers without a male figure to provide protection, especially as women are traditionally tasked with the job of taking care of others.

4.5.1 Emotional or mental health effects of corruption

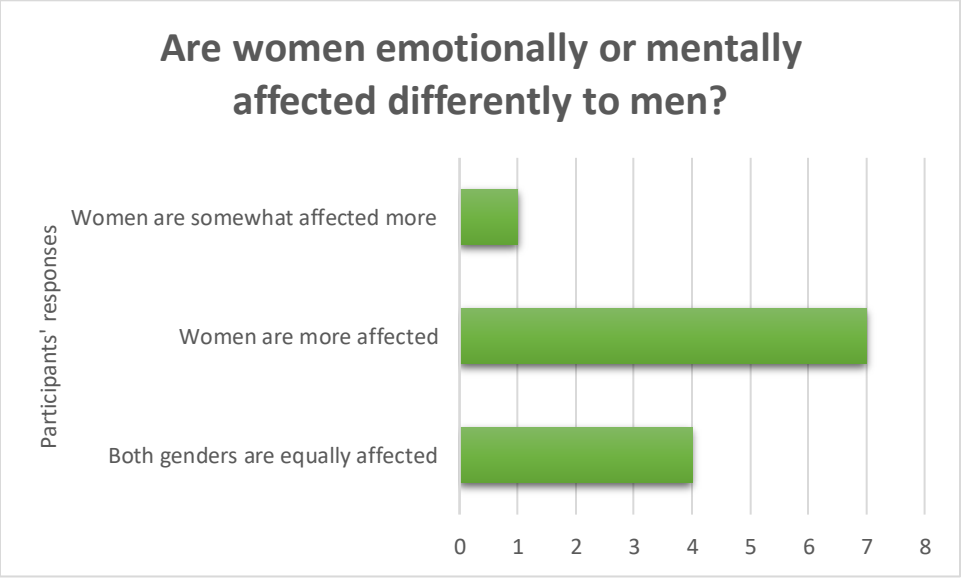

Figure 7: Participant's views on the emotional/mental effects of corruption on the genders.

Figure 7 shows participants responses to the question of whether women are emotionally or mentally affected by corruption any differently to men. This question was asked in conjunction with examples

as interviewees requested clarity, as explained in Chapter 3. More of the participants thought that corruption affects women more, in terms of emotions and mental health, than men. Four of the respondents (Ruby, Wendy, Mishka and Jessica) perceived that both men and women are affected mentally or emotionally.

For those that responded that both genders are equally affected, their reasoning was largely that it depends on the individual or the situation, but that mental health or emotions are not necessarily gender specific characteristics. Wendy reasoned that "some women these days are like men." These participants did not distinguish between men and women based on mental health or emotions.

For the two-thirds of participants who thought that women are more affected, a variety of reasons were given. The most common reason that was expressed, by five participants, was that women are more connected to children or their family which would cause more negative emotional or mental effects particularly where corruption adversely impacted on them. They said women are more impacted by failures in social relief efforts because of children or other family members that depend on them. Bridgette said that "the effect of it isn't like a man because when a woman doesn't have money it affects her family, it affects her kids… Her loss is a loss for the whole family." Similarly, Emily said that "women are thinking about their children, about their families, about people that rely on them." As before, these participants have identified that women are traditionally tasked with being concerned about their families and children, and therefore more likely to feel emotional or mental effects where is a possibility that consequences of corruption may spill over onto those they care for.

The second most common reason given for women being more emotionally or mentally affected by corruption is that women are more emotional than men. Four participants expressed this, saying that women are "emotional creatures by nature" (Firoza) and that they emotions influence decisions made by women. With a slightly contrasting view, Thando said that "Men can be cold… men can be quite cut-throat about things and because men have been raised not to be so emotional and not to entertain that side of their brains and their mind, it's easy for them." These participants have suggested that being emotional is a gender-specific characteristic, either natural or taught, that influences how they are affected by corruption. It must be noted, though, that only one-third of the entire sample group expressed this view.

Hand in hand with the reason that women are more emotional, was a view expressed by two participants that because of their traditional role as caregivers, women are more likely to have empathy and be conscious of the negative impacts of corruption on wider society. Thando said that women are more likely to feel guilty because, "we are raised to be the mother of the nation." The other participant who shared this view was Thuli who said that women have more civic responsibility, with "men marvelling at how much somebody got away with stealing and women marvelling at the consequence." These views also credit women with a gender-specific characteristic of being empathetic or conscious. The latter implies that men are by nature impressed with wealth and financial gains.

Finally, and importantly in relation to possible gendered forms of corruption, three participants (among them those who thought both genders might be affected by corruption) said that women would be more emotionally or mentally affected by corruption of a sexual nature. These were Emily, Aunty Pat and Jessica. Emily said that women might get blamed if they report, because they have given sexual favours in exchange for some benefit for themselves. Jessica said that "gender norms" around sexuality are different for men and women, so women would be worse affected by sextortion because they would be more harshly treated than men might, for participating in this form of corruption. These participants suggest that women are more likely to be negatively impacted by sexual forms of

corruption. Overall, more than half of the participants responded that corruption would emotionally or mentally affect women worse than men.

4.5.2 Financial effects of corruption

Participants were asked if they thought there is a difference in how corruption affect men and women financially. To assist participants in understanding this question, the examples referred to in Chapter 3 were given. Responses to this question are represented in Figure 8 below. Over half the participants felt that women and men are affected differently financially by corruption.

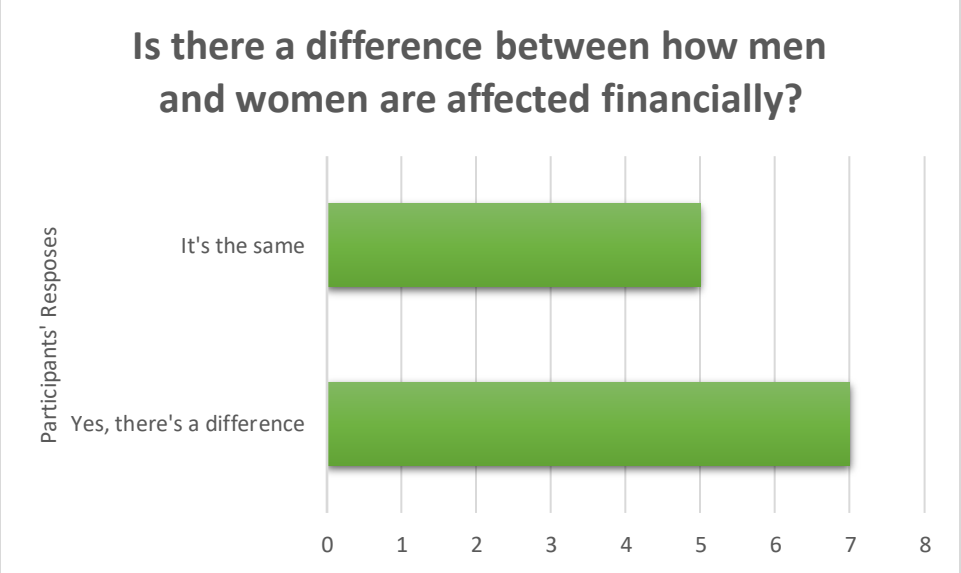

Figure 8: Participants' views on whether women and men are affected differently financially by corruption.

Aunty Pat, Jessica, Aunty Poppy, Mishka and Thuli all said that they thought the effects of corruption financially were the same for men and women. They gave several reasons, including that women are represented in every sector and so would face the same consequences as men. Another reason given was that gender is not relevant, because needs exist for everyone, and so both men and women would be affected if unable to financially meet their needs. Finally, Mishka said that how much a person might be affected financially would depend on that individual's income. The participants who responded thusly did not see any correlation between financial impact of corruption and gender.

Seven of the participants perceived women to be affected financially differently by corruption. The predominant reason given was that other people, such as family but especially children, rely more on women's incomes, and women are more responsible for expenses related to children or the household. Bridgette said, "women actually carry their families on their shoulders" and Wendy said that "although it may seem like tiny minuscule things, they actually… do add up when you look at finances… just general things that men don't think about, there's [sic] a lot of things they don't think about, in my view." This reasoning was given by participants who were both married with children, and by those who are single mothers. Again, participants have identified that particular gender roles have put them at risk of financial effects of corruption in a particular way.

Another reason given for why participants saw women as being affected differently financially, was that women are more likely to be in a financially vulnerable position. This would be either due to "gender roles where women are staying at home looking after kids more than men who are going off to work," as Jessica put it, and because women already experience unequal pay so women would stand to lose out more financially, as Emily explained. These participants identified gender roles as

well as societal standards that they viewed would cause women to experience financial effects of corruption differently, and perhaps worse, than men.

In sum, participants that stated that the financial effects were the same for both men and women said it depended on various characteristics of the individuals. The majority that perceived it to be different for women, suggested that it is because of how dependent other people are on women's access to financial resources as well as the responsibility that women feel to those other people. In addition, they identified that particular gender roles played by women augments financial effects of corruption on women.

4.5.3 Corruption's effects on access to services or resources

Participants were asked whether they thought there was a difference in how corruption affects men and women's access to services or resources such as healthcare, policing, or education etc. The responses to this question are represented in Figure 9, which shows that the sample group was varied split in their views.

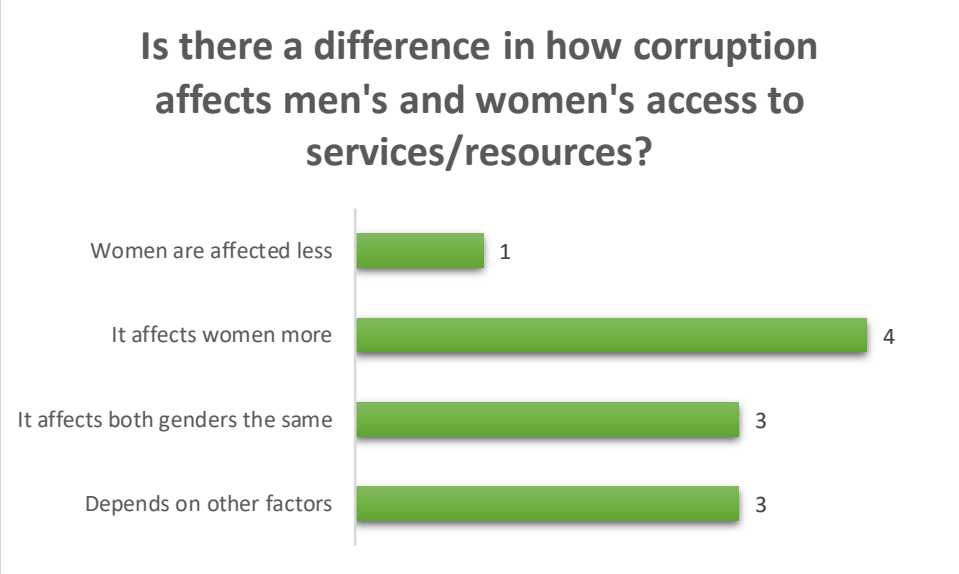

Figure 9: Participants' views on how corruption affects access to services and resources.[2]

Three participants, Ruby, Thando and Mishka, said that there was no difference in how access to services or resources was affected for either gender. These participants said that both genders make use of services such as healthcare and education, so any related corruption would have the same effect on both. These three participants were young women, who don't have children, or much responsibility in comparison to the other respondents, and therefore might not be accessing services, such as healthcare or education, on behalf of others. Three participants said other factors come into play in determining how people are affected by corruption in relation to services and resources. Ruby mentioned that race and social status are influencing factors, saying that white, educated people might be affected less because of the social power they hold to combat corruption. Similarly, Wendy said that the effects could be equal, but it could change according to class that people occupy. As a former teacher, Wendy perceived that in the higher classes, both parents take an interest in their children's education whereas in the lower classes she stated that women were more likely to be dealing with matters relating to their children's education.

[2] An omission was made in asking this question, where due to poor internet connection, the researcher failed to ask one participant this question, resulting in a total of eleven responses instead of twelve.

Alicia suggested that the impact of corruption in services may depend on what sector is being accessed – so, for example, where corruption interferes with education it might be the same for both genders, but for women accessing gender-specific healthcare such as a gynaecologist, women might be affected more in that situation.

Four participants stated that women would be worse affected by corruption affecting access to services or resources. One reason given was simply that women are more open to being exploited than men are. Aunty Pat said that it is because women are more likely to be involved in caring for sick children or dealing with their children's schooling, so they were more likely to interact with services. Thuli agreed, and said also that women rely on child grants, that the income of female pensioners provides for their extended families, and that women are more often the ones queuing for RDP housing. Notably, this participant uses her income to take care of a household of up to seven people, and her mother's pension money supplements that income. The last participant who said women are worse off from corruption in accessing services, Jessica, reasoned that men have more access to resources than women do, by virtue of being more formally employed than women. From her experience working in the healthcare sector, she gave an example that even low wage male mine workers have access to a private doctor whereas women are more likely to access the public health system, also for their children or antenatal care. In contrast, with regards to the example of children's schooling, Firoza said that corruption might affect women less, because they might be treated with more empathy, especially if they were single mothers.

With regards to access to resources, participants' views varied. However, they relied on particular factors to explain their answers. For those that thought that there is no difference in the effects on each gender, they referred to other influencing factors such as class status or sector. For those that believed women are more at risk, they pointed to traditional gender roles and to social factors such as having family or children relying on women that would put them more in spaces where they might be exploited.

4.6 Corruption and Gender Equality

Participants were first asked whether they thought that South Africa had achieved gender equality, and then if they thought that corruption had anything to do with that. All the participants stated that South Africa has not yet achieved gender equality, for varying reasons. Some participants recognised the attempts have been made to realise gender equality by improving the representation of women in various spaces, including in government and corporate spaces. However, they say this representation has not necessarily translated into substantive equality for women. Aunty Pat and Alicia said that gender equality also requires a mindset and culture change, particularly on the part of men, because men still treat women unfairly and exert their authority over them. Emily said, "I think a lot of it has to go down to values that are promoted about women, about their capabilities and just a general sense of respect for who they are, which I think is lacking in society."

In addition, three participants pointed to high levels of GBV as significant indicators of inequality between the genders in South Africa. Thando said that women are often reporting their cases to men or in spaces where men are in leadership, and that if women were in charge of women's safety, there might be a difference in high levels of GBV.

Emily made an interesting comment, in relation to the prevalence of female-headed households in South Africa. She said that despite most households being female-dominated, and where the head of the family should hold some power, there has not been a shift in patriarchal attitudes or culture – "women are excluded and they still don't have a voice, despite them being leaders in their

households." This comment alludes to the fact that men still hold power, even in circumstances where women are in leadership in their respective households.

Leadership in general was an issue respondents thought contributes to gender inequality. One participant said that leaders are still mostly men, and they don't make decisions that contribute to gender equality. If women were in leadership positions, they would be able to "create those services that are going to provide equality for women," said Thando. Wendy said that despite there being women in leadership, women are also capable of abusing those positions and "very much capable of what the men are capable of" in terms of being corrupt.

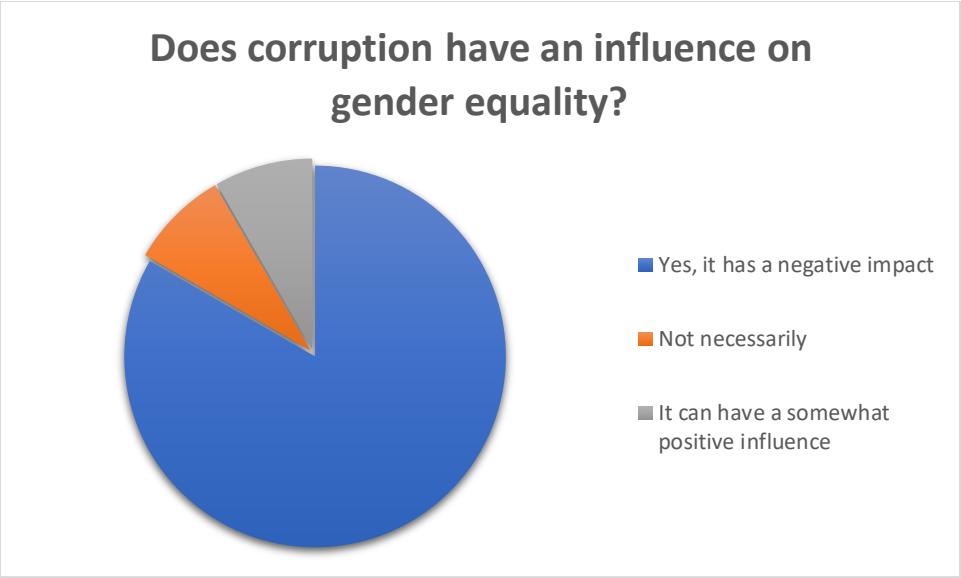

Figure 10: Participants' views on whether corruption influences gender equality.

To the question on whether corruption influences gender equality, the answers to which are represented in Figure 10, all but two of the participants said that corruption has a negative impact on gender equality. Emily said that there are other factors influencing gender equality rather than corruption, such as societal values. Alicia suggested that corruption can have the effect of essentially levelling out the playing field, so that gender is an obstruction that can be circumvented with a corrupt offer of the right benefit.

The rest of the participants, however, perceived corruption to have a negative impact on gender equality. The reasons given can be grouped as directly impacting women, and indirectly impacting gender equality. In line with the response to gender equality not yet being achieved in South Africa because of high levels of GBV, two participants (Thando and Ruby) said that corruption causes police do not deal effectively or fairly when women report such crimes to them. Corruption interferes with this process which could address the GBV facet of gender inequality.

Secondly, two participants (Thando and Wendy) state that corruption creates an environment in which women have to be corrupt to develop themselves or access other opportunities, rather than through affirmative action or merit. Women have to work harder to achieve the same as men, and exacerbating that, have to resort to corrupt means – one example given was having to 'sleep around' to access opportunities. When women do engage in corruption with men, one participant said that they are the ones that end up blamed.

Three participants perceived corruption itself to be exclusionary to women. Firoza said that men do not give opportunities to women "to get where they want", as they would do for a man. Men rather

exert authority over women, than seeing them as partners in corruption. Aunty Poppy gave the example of former President Jacob Zuma and the Guptas, saying that "if you look at the way they network" it is "male-dominant". Jessica referred to corruption as a "closed space" occupied by men. She also made a further observation, that corruption is a compounding incentive "for men to hold on to power" as corruption provides an alternative means to patriarchy to access power – men essentially should strive to keep corruption to themselves, excluding women, so as to hold on to as much power as possible.

Finally, three participants (Jessica, Thuli and Mishka) recognised that corruption diverts resources from potentially being invested in social programmes and development that might improve gender equality. Without corruption, there would be more means by which to promote gender equality. On this, Thuli said that:

> "Corruption has a direct impact on how a country develops… and the more a country develops, the more resources and autonomy a woman has, and real equality can start happening… The macro impact of corruption on development definitely affects a woman's ability to meaningfully self-determine which means that we cannot have gender equality in the truest sense. Until people are able to equally move up without hindrances and until corruption is fixed, we'll be going round in circles and things might just get worse as opposed to better."

In general, none of the participants thought that South Africa has achieved gender equality, and most of them views corruption as having some kind of influence on gender equality.

4.7 Influencing Themes

4.7.1 Imbalance of power

Throughout the data collection, questions were posed on a variety of issues related to corruption, that always investigated the experiences or perceptions of women as opposed to men. In the responses, therefore, comparisons were drawn between the genders and power was a theme that was both asked about and that cropped up organically. It was deemed important by the researcher but was also used by participants to explain the views that they were sharing.

Beginning with the definition of corruption, most participants referred in some way to the concept of power as a source of access to corruption. Though only two participants directly used the word 'power' in their definitions, most others referred to 'position' or 'leadership' to indicate access to power. With regards to who participants viewed as corrupt, almost all mentioned groups or individuals with access to power, such as 'government' or 'leadership'.

Further to this, are the responses from participants on which gender has more power in society, examined in relation to their views on what motivates people to participate in corruption, who they view as corrupt, and as to which gender would be more likely to ask them for a bribe. To the question, "Which gender do you think has more power in society?" all respondents stated that men have more power. When asked which gender they thought would ask them for a bribe (see Figure 4), those that responded men justified their responses by saying that men are more physically powerful than women, that men have more power or entitlement over women in society, and that men are more likely to be in positions of leadership and therefore access to opportunities for corruption. Many of the participants have made associations between men and power, and power and corruption.

Also, in relation to the direct and indirect effects of corruption, power was seen as an influencing theme. Participants mentioned physical power, political power and economic power as factors that

would impact on the likelihood of women to be victims of corruption. It was also mentioned by some participants that women's lack of social power to access justice would increase that likelihood. For a few of the participants as well, one's connection to different forms of social power, such as gender, race or class, would determine whether or how corruption in access to services or resources would have an impact.

Finally, with regards to the relationship between gender equality and corruption, participants identified that people in positions of power have the ability to improve gender equality but do not necessarily use their power for that purpose. Ultimately, the theme of power recurred throughout the data and has been an important factor for participants, that impacts on their understanding and perceptions of corruption.

4.7.2 Social customs

4.7.2.1 Gender Roles

The questions asked in this research did not indicate that women or men had specific roles in society which might contribute to how they view or experience corruption. Yet, the theme of gender roles naturally manifested in participants' responses to various questions.

In a number of responses, various participants reasoned that women interact differently with corruption than men do, particularly because of their role in taking care of children, the home, and other family members. Participants mentioned that they thought this made them more likely to encounter and be victims of corruption, that women might participate in corruption in order to better support their families, and that women might be worse affected emotionally or financially because of others' dependence on them. One participant also mentioned that because of women's connection to their families and gender role of caring for others, they may be more likely to consider the harmful consequences of corruption. Gender roles have certainly influenced participants' responses.

4.7.2.2 Networks

Some participants in the research identified the existence of networks that exclude women. This phenomenon was referred to by three different participants as a "network" (Aunty Poppy), "brotherhood" (Thando) and "boy's club" (Jessica). These participants, among others, identified that this network intersects with corruption, resulting in the exclusion of women from participating in corruption (the example given was of Jacob Zuma and the Guptas as an all-male network of corruption), in preventing women from reporting corruption into a network that will cause them detriment, and in the existence of a system where men will lay blame on women for corrupt acts.

4.8 FEMINIST CONCEPTS

4.8.1 Patriarchy and corruption

Throughout the research, and in all the interviews with participants, responses showed that participants perceive the systems of patriarchy and corruption to interact in South Africa. Participants have connected maleness with power in its various forms that enables them to better participate in or control instances of corruption. Participants have also identified ways in which women carry out particular gendered roles that, in their view, make them more vulnerable to being victims of corruption in various formats. Most basically, women have largely agreed that there is no difference in how corrupt either gender could be, rather it depends on what opportunity and power is available, which some of them view as sitting with men rather than women.

4.8.2 Intersectionality of participants' identities

The data was analysed to find any correlations between identifiable characteristics such as race, age, motherhood/dependents, class, and education levels. The only clear correlation that was identified was in relation to the consideration of family and children as key factors to views on participation in or effects of corruption. The majority of participants (ten out of twelve) identified responsibility to one's family as a key factor in how women might experience or participate in corruption, independently of race, age, family and education. Of those ten, five were mothers, two had family dependents, one lived with family, and two work in the healthcare sector interacting with women in that space (this was picked up through non-structured parts of interviews). The two participants who did not mention family as a relevant factor have no dependents and have separate finances from their families. In relation to other key thematic areas identified in the responses, no other patterns or correlations were observed in relation to characteristics of participants.

5 ANALYSIS

In order to further unpack and analyse the data, we must go back to the initial research questions to investigate whether those questions have been answered, what theories can help us understand women's understanding and perceptions of corruption in South Africa can be proposed. To do this, findings of the research were compared with the findings of the literature review to determine whether the two sets of information correlated.

5.1 WOMEN'S UNDERSTANDING OF CORRUPTION

The first research question sought to investigate what women understand corruption and corrupt acts to be. The proposed method of defining corruption, based on the literature review is through a blend of perspectives – the public interest perspective, as a social process, in relation to power, and as a feature of a broader system. The public-interest perspective enables corruption to be defined as a moral wrong, enabled by dishonest, with private interests causing and disregarding negative consequences for the public (Alatas, 1980). The social process perspective allows an analysis of corruption as involving particular individuals, operating through certain relationships, and within a system that allows for those relationships. Finally, corruption as a system of power can help determine what dynamics exist that might allow those individuals within the system to benefit while exploiting others. Overall, this method of definition permits seeing corruption as an immoral act, which benefits the private over the interests of the public, that has a victim, and which exists within a broader social system that governs the relationships that allow it to happen.

The legal definition, contained in PRECCA (Prevention and Combating of Corrupt Activities Act, 2004), provides a very specific definition of corruption, as well as what acts constitute corrupt acts. It also provides for corruption as a criminal offence. In addition, PRECCA includes immoral acts such as dishonesty, abuse of power, misuse, bias, breach of trust, or violation of duty as elements to a corrupt act (Prevention and Combating of Corrupt Activities Act, 2004). The majority of participants recognised corruption as a moral issue, referring to it as 'dishonest' and an 'abuse' of power or position. Connecting corruption with criminality and immorality shows an understanding that corruption is, indeed, illegal. This is important in a country which has arguably normalised corruption as culture (Govender, 2018), that women are able to recognise that corruption is a crime despite societal views.

Building on the immorality of corruption, in relation to the public-interest perspective, the data shows that women recognise largely that corruption benefits the few at the expense of the many. In other words, some defined corruption as selfishness and greed, while others gave examples of corruption that involved the unjust taking of resources from public good for individuals (and their associates) to benefit from. Most women considered personal morals and values as intrinsic to whether or not people participate in corruption. Participants recognise well that corruption requires the favouring of the private interest over the public one, both in the sense that people who conduct corrupt acts favour themselves, and prevent benefits or resources from being available to the public. A public versus private definition of corruption involves consideration of personal morals and values, and most participants noted greed or weak morals as key to corrupt activity. Participants understanding of corruption in this manner supports the format of defining corruption through the public-interest perspective. Women show both a legal understanding and moralistic understanding of corruption. Women's understanding of corruption and how it manifests also clearly denotes an involvement of a private interest over public good or public development, to the detriment of the public.

In relation to corruption as a social process, most women do not consider corruption to be part of South African culture. However, they all identified social interactions that contributed to the way in which they defined corruption. Some examples were peer pressure, historic normalisation of corruption by the number of people that have done it before, and that participating in corruption may be necessary to fulfil the cultural obligation to care for one's family. Despite most participants refuting the claim that corruption is culture, many expressed that it has been normalised. Thus, according to the participants' responses, there is a good understanding of corruption as a social process, either facilitated as a culture, or by other cultural interactions between people which lead to corruption.

To further unpack these social interactions, and women's understanding of how corruption works, it must be examined whether women understand corruption as involving power dynamics that determine how these interactions function. When thinking of 'the corrupt' almost all the participants referred to groups or individuals or characteristics that had access to some kind of power, be it political, social or economic. These included leaders, the former South African president, and those with wealth. There are two pertinent observations here. Firstly, respondents associated power with many factors, including having a leadership or education. Secondly, all but one respondent recognised that power is an important factor in one's capability to be corrupt. Unprompted, most respondents linked the concept of being corrupt, with someone's access to power. Aside from demonstrating this understanding of corruption and the element of power, this also becomes relevant where participants started to answer questions about the relationship between gender and power, as will be explored in Section 5.2. Even though few participants mentioned the word 'power' in their definitions, they did identify power by association through the people and motivations for corruption they gave in their responses. What this may suggest is that asking them to define a concept alone compared to asking them to define it in relation to tangible people makes a difference. Where participants could link corruption to people, it helped them identify sectors of society where corruption might take place.

Interestingly, most participants thought of 'the corrupt' as those with access to some form of power, as opposed to those who are, as suggested by Hui (1975), potentially extorted, in other words, the victims. Corruption is very much viewed as an act instigated by those with access to power, and not by those who may be party to corrupt acts, but do not necessarily hold any power. Ultimately, it is clear that women understand power to be an intrinsic feature of corruption.

Three themes stood out that denote that women understand corruption to exist within a broader system. Firstly, some participants in defining corruption, recognised that corruption requires the disregard or hindering of proper procedures and a disruption of the legal system that fails to hold people accountable. Secondly, some participants expressed that a broader context of post-apartheid inequality drives people to corruption. Thirdly, some participants recognised a connection between patriarchy as a system and corruption that allows for the exploitation of women in corrupt acts. These three perspectives on corruption point to women's understanding that corruption exists within or in conjunction with some other broader system, whether a system of rules and processes, within an inherited system of post-apartheid issues, or in conjunction or connection with a system of patriarchy.

In conclusion, this study has found that women show an understanding of corruption that extends beyond TI's definition (Transparency International, n.d.). Women recognise that corruption is immoral, and that the failed implementation of laws and processes helps corruption take place (Hodgkinson, 1997). Women largely recognise that corruption is a crime with a recognisable victim, rather than one with players who benefit on a level playing field, particularly when there is an imbalance of power between parties to corruption. Women also recognise that corruption involves social interactions which determine how it can play out and can therefore be influenced by the broader system or interact with other systems in its formulation.

5.2 The Link Between Gender and Prevalence of Corruption

The second question sought to understand whether women perceive the prevalence of corruption in South Africa as relational to gender. In other words, do women believe that high levels of corruption in South Africa can be attributed to a particular gender? This research question investigated, overall, whether women think that either gender is more or less capable of corruption than the other, or if there is no difference. Various responses contribute to answering this question, including whether or not women think both genders have the potential to be corrupt and which gender they think would be most likely to ask them for a bribe.

The response to this question in the literature, in experimental settings, showed that women were less likely to engage in corruption and more likely to consider corruption to be morally wrong, (Corcoran-Nantes, 2017; Rivas, 2013; Swamy et al., 2001; Torgler & Valev, 2010). However, studies that have examined the corelation between women leaders and levels of corruption had mixed results. Some showed that there was less corruption where women were leading (Breen et al., 2017; Paweenawat, 2018) while others found the opposite (Afridi et al., 2017; Okonkwo, 2016). Other authors have suggested that other factors must be considered in order to understand the relationship between gender and levels of corruption, such as the existence of male-dominated networks (Goetz, 2007; Howson, 2012; Stockemer & Sundström, 2019) and the overall state of implementation of democracy (Sung, 2003, 2006; Ziegler, 2011).

In order to understand women's views on this matter, several areas must be examined together. These are, the responses from participants on which gender has more power in society, examined in relation to their views on what motivates people to participate in corruption, who they view as corrupt, and as to which gender would be more likely to ask them for a bribe. Unpacking the relationships between the responses to these questions begins to provide a sense of how the commission of corruption might be gendered, from women's points of view.

The data collected in this research reflects many of these arguments and concepts. Whilst all the participants responded that both men and women are capable of being corrupt, half the participants associated corruption with power and opportunity, irrespective of gender. The other half distinguished the reasons for which each gender might engage in corruption. For them, women might engage in corruption for more empathetic reasons such as caring for their children and families, and might also be more cognisant of the negative consequences of corruption. Others said that due to women competing with men, they would have to engage in the same corruption, and two said that women use their femininity or sexuality to access benefits that they might not otherwise have had.

The reasoning presented here demonstrates that half of women perceive that women might have compassion and empathy for those around them. Some of them pointed out particular characteristics of 'being female' that might make women's potential to participate in corruption different, but not necessarily less than men's. Some participants viewed women as having nurturing qualities that would either encourage their participation, or that would make them participate more hesitantly. Finally, two participants mentioned femininity as a tool that women could use to be corrupt and benefit for themselves.

More than half of participants still believed that both genders were equally likely to ask them for a bribe in a situation of corruption. The reasoning was that the access to power and personal intentions or morals were key to capability for corruption. For those that mentioned men as more likely to ask them for a bribe, participants started connecting men with more access to said power, which would influence their ability to instigate corruption, but also specifically how they would deal with women in corruption – either by being in leadership more often than women, or by viewing women as

expendable. This demonstrates the perception of a power imbalance between men and women, for those that held this view.

To further unpack this, we can look at how participants referred to power in general throughout the research. All participants stated that men have more power in society than women do. Many respondents also associated men with more physical power or entitlement over women, that men are more likely to be in positions of power, and therefore have access to opportunities for corruption. It is clear that women very evidently associate power, in its different forms, with corruption. In unpacking their views on power dynamics between genders in society, an understanding can be drawn, that women may feel that men have more potential to be corrupt because of powerful spaces they occupy. Despite participants not answering outrightly that men are more likely to be corrupt, they have identified conditions for corruption, such as power or opportunity, and linked those with maleness. Further, a few participants identified that being part of a network smooths participation in corruption and identified those networks to be exclusionary to women in different ways.

Overall, the split between participants views of corruption as either down to opportunity, power or personal beliefs and therefore not gendered, or as something more likely to be male because of the influencing factors of power imbalance or networks, matches with the split in the literature on which gender is more corrupt. The experimental analyses showed women to be more empathetic and conscious of wrongdoing (Corcoran-Nantes, 2017; Rivas, 2013; Swamy et al., 2001; Torgler & Valev, 2010), as did half of the participants on why women might participate in corruption. The other literature found that other factors were influential, such as access to power, influence of democracy and networks of exclusion (Goetz, 2007; Howson, 2012; Stockemer & Sundström, 2019; Sung, 2003, 2006; Ziegler, 2011), factors which were well-recognised by the sample group, and for approximately half the group, identified as allowing men access to participating in corruption.

Social reproduction theory can provide a theoretical lens through which to understand the participant's responses who thought that women might be more empathetic or nurturing, and therefore associated capability of participating in corruption with those characteristics. Because the tasks of social reproduction are disproportionately imposed as women's responsibilities, tasks which largely involve the nurturing and caring for others (Jaffe, n.d.), women then respond to situations, including opportunities for corruption, with consideration for those responsibilities. Half of the participants in the research expressed this view, and therefore this is a significant outcome in relation to gender and corruption.

Bauhr and Charron's "need and greed corruption" (2020, p. 101) can also help to explain these outcomes, in that their hypothesis has also been proven by the participants in this study. It was a recurring theme, that women might engage in corruption as a result of needing to provide for or take care of their families, as opposed to because of opportunity or the pursuit of power. This study has been useful in identifying that distinction, and in supporting the work of Bauhr and Charron (2020).

5.3 THE LINK BETWEEN GENDER AND PERCEPTIONS OF EXPERIENCES OF CORRUPTION

The third research question sought to understand whether women see experiences of corruption, particularly in instances where corruption has a victim, as related to gender. As discussed in the literature, there are also direct and indirect effects that corruption has, and about which the participants were also asked in relation to gender.

5.3.1 Direct effects

In relation to the direct effects of corruption, the literature states that particular characteristics of women make them more likely to be in spaces where they might encounter corruption. Women may be more likely to access public services, as the caregivers of their families (Boehm & Sierra, 2015; Mohan, 2020; Transparency International Zimbabwe, 2019). Furthermore, patriarchy may influence the power dynamics in how women receive services, and women may also have less access to justice (Transparency International Zimbabwe, 2019).

In addition, the literature argues that sextortion is a form of corruption that directly and disproportionately impacts women. This, also for the reasons that sextortion requires an imbalance of power which already exists where there is patriarchy, that sextortion exists at the intersection between corruption and GBV, and, as before, traditional gender roles place women more often in situations where they may be at risk (Feigenblatt, 2020).

These views on the direct effects of corruption on women have been largely reflected in the research. Participants were split almost evenly on whether or not women are more likely to be negatively affected by corruption. For the approximately half of participants who perceived that gender does not make a difference, they gave reasons such as personal values and access to knowledge. For the other half of participants women were more likely to be victims, they cited particular gendered characteristics such as physical weakness, gullibility, networks of exclusion, women's responsibility for caring for others, lack of access to justice, and men more likely to be in positions of power to coerce women into corruption.

With regards to the question on whether women are differently affected when corruption interferes with access to services or resources, the perspectives were much more split. Some participants believed other factors were more relevant, such as race or class, or that it depended on what kind of service was accessed. A third of participants, however, said women are more likely to encounter and be victims of corruption, once more for the reason of being more likely to access services such as school or healthcare because of their roles as caregivers to children or family members. Despite the varied views, social reproduction theory as a women-related concept emerged to support views where women might be more at risk.

Again, women have identified that corruption is very much linked to power of different forms including physical or political in the form of leadership, or access to knowledge. Because women have less access to that power, they are more likely to be negatively affected by corruption. In addition, about half of the women have again identified that traditional gender roles as caring for others, leave them more at risk of encountering and being victims of corruption, agreeing with the views in the literature. This discussion can be understood through social reproduction theory, that these life sustaining activities have become the role of women through the imposition of gender roles by society (Bhattacharya & Vogel, 2017), and therefore put women more often in positions when they might be accessing needs or services where corruption is likely to happen.

A second observation here is on the likelihood of women to be victims of sextortion. A third of participants linked the example of sextortion to being something that would more likely affect women negatively, which fits in with the corresponding contention in the literature (Feigenblatt, 2020). Interestingly, one participant suggested that corruption fits into existing sexual violence to manifest as the extortion of sex or sexual favours. Given that in their responses regarding gender equality in South Africa three participants pointed to high levels of GBV as an indicator, it is not unreasonable for this connection to have been made.

In contrast, two women identified the possibility of women using their sexuality in their favour to gain benefits, rather than viewing them as being exploited. SET can be used to understand both views in relation to corruption. The theory states that women use sex as a means of bartering, and men see women as commodity (Rudman & Fetterolf, 2014). This theory explains well the minority view that women can use sex to their advantage as a form of corruption, where women are capable of exchanging their sexual value for a benefit. The criticism of this theory, that it is patriarchal and is facilitated by female oppression (Rudman & Fetterolf, 2014), explains the phenomenon of sextortion as disproportionately affecting women. In the context of GBV in South Africa, recognised by many participants, sex can be seen as another way men exploit the value of women, because of patriarchal views on women's sexuality as a commodity to be exchanged.

Views on the direct effects of corruption match different concepts from the literature. There are two major points of view on whether gender plays a role in how people are directly affected by corruption. From the point of view that it does not, the data still reflects other factors that are key to corruption, found in the literature, such as the importance of power (Sung, 2006) and networks (Warburton, 2013). The other point of view, that characteristics of being a woman result in women being more likely to be victims of corruption is consistent with the literature. This view explains that because of social reproduction being a traditional role of women, they may be more likely to encounter corruption, and that because of power dynamics that favour men, they are more likely to be exploited.

5.3.2 Indirect or secondary effects

Indirect or secondary effects of corruption, with regards to the research, explored the financial impacts of corruption, as well as mental or emotional effects. It investigated whether women were differently impacted along these two thematic areas.

The literature in relation to the emotional impact of corruption on women drew from the impact that sextortion might have on the emotional wellbeing of women (Gitlin, 2015). This was also explored in order to further test how women understood female versus male responses to being affected by corruption, according to their perceived gender roles. Two-thirds of participants responded that women are affected more, emotionally and mentally, by corruption, again citing the relationship of dependence of family on women and having to safeguard those dependents. A further reason cited was that women are more emotional by nature, and because of women's role as mothers and caregivers, were more likely to have empathy. These responses correspond with discussions in the literature on the connection between women and motherhood (Butler, 1990; Martin, 1982). However, one interesting comment questioned whether men are not emotional *by nature*, but rather they have been *raised or taught* to be so. Though this question in particular is not investigated in depth by the research, it speaks to the ongoing theme of women having particular gender roles thrust upon them by power dynamics in society, questioning whether men and women have been taught to be behave in a certain way, rather than instinctively doing so.

The literature on financial impact was compiled in relation to how access to finances and loss of financial means might impact women. Women who have less access to financial resources or income may be more likely to access public services and encounter corruption (Dutta, 2018). Corruption also excludes women from avenues for development, where they might be unable to financially participate in corruption (Transparency International, 2010; Transparency International Zimbabwe, 2019). The data showed that women were split as to whether financially, women are affected any differently to men by corruption. Just less than half of the participants viewed the effects to be the same, given that everyone needs access to money, and so both genders would be affected the same. For the more than half of respondents that perceived women to be worse affected, the reasoning largely had to do with

how corruption would have an impact not just on the woman herself, but also her children and family that depend on her. In addition, they said that women consider things financially that men do not necessarily think of, because of their roles as carers and in charge of matters of the home. This viewpoint was further supported by the reason that women are more likely to be at home rather than working, and that even working women already experience unequal pay gaps, that would cause women to be affected worse than men by corruption that causes financial detriment. Few participants recognised that with less access to financial means, comes less financial choice and therefore increased reliance on public sector services where corruption may occur.

With regards to financial effects of corruption, only approximately half of the responses in the data match the arguments in the literature, that women are worse affected than men. The reasonings continue to follow the themes of social reproduction theory and gender roles that result in women being more likely to experience those effects.

5.4 Corruption and Gender Equality

The fourth research question sought to investigate whether women perceive there to be a link between gender equality and corruption. The literature on this theme looked at how women are represented in political leadership and policy making, how corruption more broadly impacts on women's development, and generally how corruption intersects with views on women.

The literature states that women are less represented in leadership because of exclusion from access to networks which tend to favour men, even in corrupt acts (Corcoran-Nantes, 2017, 2017; Howson, 2012; Richardson et al., 2018; Stockemer & Sundström, 2019; Sung, 2006). There is also the suggestion that because of this, women are at a disadvantage, because they do not have access to the same power and opportunity as men do (Sung, 2006). In addition, corruption subtracts resources from being available to pursue causes for women or for equality. Because more men are in power, women's issues get less interest (Boehm & Sierra, 2015; Merkle, 2019). Finally, networks exclude women because they are seen as outsiders or 'others', and untrustworthy, to the men who control those networks (Stockemer & Sundström, 2019).

The data shows that women do not believe that South Africa has achieved gender equality. This, for a number of reasons including lack of cultural change, poor representation of women in leadership, power exerted by men over women, and high levels of GBV. Throughout the data collection, women referred to the fact that men continue to hold more spaces in leadership than women, and therefore have better access to opportunities for corruption. In a number of instances, participants expressed that a male-dominated network exists, that excludes women from participating in corruption, but also puts women who do, at risk of being exposed because men do not see them as equal members of the network.

A quarter of participants recognised that corruption could divert funding and resources from being invested in programmes or policies that could improve gender equality. These participants drew a connection between broader development and the improvement of women's lives, and that corruption impacting on one, impacts upon the other. With regards to women's individual development, only two participants viewed corruption as an additional barrier, requiring women to either engage, or to work harder to achieve what men do through their corrupt networks.

The connection between gender equality and corruption, though expressed, was somewhat understood in the way that the literature conveyed. While themes were identified, such as lack of

women in leadership, reasoning on why corruption affects gender equality was scattered and slightly inconsistent. It is clear that this is an area that needs further research and public awareness.

5.5 Feminist Analysis

Throughout the data collection, this research project has sought to investigate corruption from a feminist and an intersectional point of view. That is firstly, to argue for corruption as a system infused with power, and that this system of power interacts with the system of power that is patriarchy, and other systems of power such as class and race, to influence and shape how women understand and perceive corruption.

The data collected very much demonstrates that women perceive there to be a power imbalance in society between men and women, not least in their unanimous response to the direct question, that men have more power in society than women. Secondly, through their defining of corruption, it has been argued that the participants certainly identified power as a key feature of corruption or of the possibility of participating and benefiting from corruption. Thirdly, participants' responses to questions which essentially examined differences or similarities between what they perceived to be men's or women's experiences or interactions with corruption, were very much infused with ideas about power, and in particular power being a characteristic of men. This, both in their ability to participate/benefit from corruption, but also to exploit women through corrupt acts. Therefore, research has applied the theory of intersectionality to corruption and patriarchy. It has produced results which confirm that these two systems of power can indeed intersect to shape how women perceive corruption and how they might experience it.

The second aspect was an intersectional analysis, to analyse the characteristics and identities of participants to understand whether those identities informed their responses. This intersection is coherent with the initial conception of intersectionality, which expresses that multiple systems of power exist, and can intersect to produce identities, and thereby, the subjects' experiences (Crenshaw, 1989). Few patterns emerged in relation to the identities of participants. All participants in the 50+ category believed that neither gender was more likely to be asked for a bribe, nor that either gender would be more likely to be victims of corruption. It is not clear from the literature available why this is so, and this can be further investigated by future research.

However, a clear pattern stood out in participants' answers, in relation to the importance of the gendered role of caring for others. The participants who identified care for others as an influencing factor in their perceived interactions with corruption all either had responsibilities of care or interacted with care work in their working environments. This may show how lived experience of caring for others or proximity to that work shaped these women's understanding and views on corruption. It may also show how deeply rooted the concept of 'care' is in the female identity, especially as some participants expressed that they thought men do not consider family or dependents in the way that women do. The participants who did not express caring for others as an important influencing factor had separate finances from their families and did not have any dependents. This may lend some further weight to this intersectional link, in that financial independence and not having responsibilities of care for others may influence women's perceptions on the interaction between corruption and that specific gender role. How women viewed themselves with regards to their respective responsibilities to care for others, impacted on how they perceived and understood corruption.

The lack of patterns in participants' responses in relation to their characteristics may be explained by the universality of their experiences with patriarchy. All of the women expressed that men have more

power than women in society, and their responses largely reflected that they all felt disadvantages because of this, despite their differing positionalities. This may denote that patriarchy is a system of power experienced by all the women, and that reflects in their general understandings and perceptions of corruption.

That only one intersectional correlation was discovered, may be because the questions in the interviews were focused on the identity indicator of gender and did not specifically question participants' views according to their respective ages, races and classes. Before concluding that an intersectional analysis of corruption is not valid, it would be important to further explore this topic in future research, asking those specific questions related to race, class and age, among other indicators.

6 CONCLUSION

The topic of women and corruption is one that is relatively unexplored in South Africa. This research aimed to use an intersectional lens to analyse the phenomenon of corruption from the point of view of women, in order to identify whether there is indeed, an intersection. Knowing that South Africa is a country rife with patriarchy (Bower, 2014) that negatively impacts women, and where corruption is arguably, a daily reality (Govender, 2018), it was almost an obvious source of academic curiosity. This research has produced two useful outputs for consideration, and a number of areas of inquiry for future studies.

6.1 WOMEN'S UNDERSTANDING OF CORRUPTION IN SOUTH AFRICA

This research has painted a picture of how women perceive and understand corruption in South Africa. Women generally understand corruption as an immoral act, involving access to power in different forms, resulting in harm to individuals or society at large, and depending on social processes that determine who has access to power. Women also do not necessarily see corruption as culture in South Africa. They do see it as systemic, however, and cultural dynamics and obligations are what might get them involved in corruption in some way.

Women do not necessarily think that women cannot be corrupt or are naturally less corrupt than men, but they do perceive power in society to be more accessible to men and less available to women. This access to power informs how women participate in corruption, and how they experience corruption. Women perceive that women are more likely to be victims because of this power imbalance, and are more likely to be excluded from networks that give men the power in the first place.

Women's views on broader effects of corruption were varied, with some again relating them to their roles as caregivers. Other women were able to recognise broader effects of corruption on gender equality. However, it is clear that there needs to be more work done in empowering women to understand how corruption impacts their personal development, and on the possibility of women's issues being addressed more broadly.

Central to discussions on gender and corruption was an understanding that women are, more often than men, charged with the care of children and other family members. This gender role played by women, they perceive, would result in women being more likely to encounter corruption with regards to public services. It also played a role in that at least half of the women felt that they would be more likely to suffer worse from corruption because of the dependence of others on them. Also central to this research was a consideration of a patriarchal system of power that permeates the lives of participants. All of them recognised this imbalance in power in some form or the other. The consistent relevance of these two themes justified that a gendered analysis was key in unpacking how women perceive and understand corruption in South Africa.

6.2 A DEFINITION OF CORRUPTION

The literature review, supported by the data gathered has provided both a theoretical and empirical foundation for the proposal of a definition of corruption that enables the consideration of key thematic areas. Power dynamics, gender roles, social reproduction theory, theories on the commodification of sexuality, the existence of networks, and patriarchy all relate to women's views of corruption in South Africa. As such a definition of corruption must be able to recognise these concepts and be broad enough that researchers and practitioners can investigate them.

A definition of corruption is proposed, that must take into consideration the disregard for the public interest in favour of the private (Alatas, 1980), that must acknowledge that it is dependent on power (Sung, 2006), that also is shaped by social processes determined by power (Warburton, 2013), and is facilitated by a broader system that formulates power and social processes (Warburton, 2013). Corruption should be defined as an immoral abuse or misuse of access to power or opportunities, with winners/beneficiaries and losers/victims that are determined by the culture or society or social processes that operate within a broader system made up of components such as rules, behaviours, customs, or cultures, that shape the power dynamics that enable corruption.

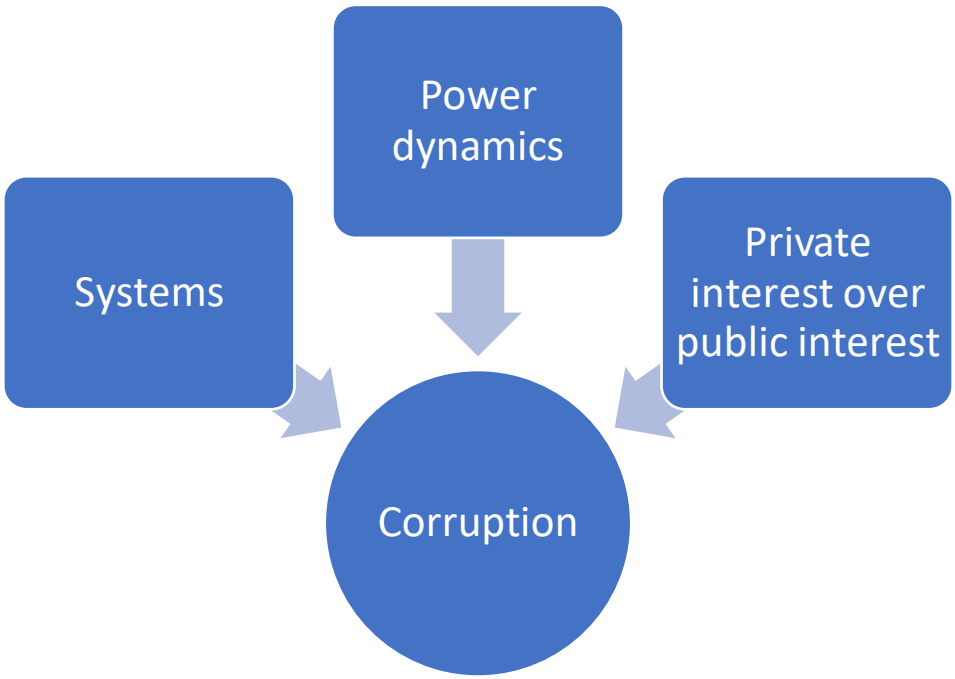

Figure 11: Visualisation of the components of corruption.

Defined this way, corruption can be understood in relation to the recurring themes identified in the research, and be comprehended through a feminist lens, to distinguish how corruption is viewed and experienced by women. A definition of corruption that does this, can then also be used to investigate corruption in relation to other imbalanced systems of power such as race, class, or sexuality.

6.3 A Feminist Understanding of Corruption

This research has delivered that women have an understanding of corruption as having the potential to operate in a gendered manner, and potentially having gendered impacts or effects. This, through a confirmation of the existence of particular concepts that have been uncovered in feminist theory. Much of the data collected has highlighted the validity of social reproduction theory (Jaffe, n.d.), of the commodification of female sexuality as patriarchal (Rudman & Fetterolf, 2014), and of gendered power dynamics, in explaining women's perceptions and understandings of corruption. For women in South Africa, corruption is very much linked to power, and this is shaped by the fact that in the society in which these women find themselves, patriarchy is, according to them, the standard of the day. Patriarchy has shaped their understanding and perspectives on corruption, particularly in terms of women's vulnerability to corruption and its impact on women – whether in the form of a social reproduction analysis, or in relation to gender roles that they live with.

6.4 An Intersectional Theory of Corruption?

The data collected and analysed through a feminist lens has not produced a full intersectional theory of corruption. Though there was a correlation in relation to the importance placed on family and the existence of a participants' family or dependents, no other correlations were observed. This may have been because the methodology of the research placed an emphasis on gender only and did not ask specific questions related to other characteristics of identity.

6.5 The Way Forward

Firstly, a definition of corruption that acknowledges and recognises the intersection of corruption as a system of power with patriarchy as a system of power has assisted in understanding better how women perceive corruption in South Africa. The data has demonstrated areas where women might need access to more resources about corruption, so that they can be empowered not to become victims, or to understand the broader consequences that corruption has on their lives. For example, it is clear that women feel despondent about accessing justice for forms of corruption, and that few understand how corruption affects funding and investment in broader policies that would improve women's livelihoods overall. Providing access to such information may enable the mobilisation of women as a key stakeholder group in the fight against corruption. This research can also contribute to developing policies and programmes either aimed at combatting corruption in the forms that women might feel more vulnerable to, or for the purpose of ensuring that practitioners are better equipped to be gender-sensitive in dealing with matters of corruption.

Secondly, this definition of corruption will enable future analyses of corruption in relation to other systems of power, such as race, class, or sexuality. This can allow for deeper understandings of how people from different social groups with different social power perceive corruption and enable the development of better education and policies to deal with corruption. Because this research was not able to fully identify an intersectional theory of corruption, it is highly recommended that further studies explore this more deliberate and specific methodology. Further research can also be done to confirm whether corruption is both "extortive and voluntary" (Hui, 1975, p. 474), or if there is indeed always a winner and a loser, particularly in relation to the gender dynamics explored in this study.

Thirdly, this research will hopefully provide a sound theoretical and exploratory basis upon which to investigate women's actual experiences of corruption. Quantitative and further qualitative data will be essential to investigate the accuracy of women's perceptions, but also to understand the real scale of experiences of gendered corruption in South Africa. It is important for vulnerable groups to be acknowledged, protected and understood, as an integral part of the fight against the scourge of corruption in South Africa.

7 REFERENCES

Afridi, F., Iversen, V., & Sharan, M. R. (2017). Women political leaders, corruption, and learning: Evidence from a large public program in India. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, *66*(1), 1–30. https://doi.org/10.1086/693679

Alatas, H. (1980). *The sociology of corruption: The nature, function, causes, and prevention of corruption*. Times Books International.

Badenhorst, C. (2008). *Dissertation writing: A research journey*. Van Shaik Publishers.

Bauhr, M., & Charron, N. (2020). Do men and women perceive corruption differently? Gender differences in perception of need and greed corruption. *Politics and Governance*, *8*(2), 92–102.

Bautista, V. A. (1983). Public-interest perspective: A neglected dimension in the study of corruption. *Philippine Sociological Review*, *31*(3/4), 45–53. JSTOR.

Bhardwaj, P. (2019). Types of sampling in research. *Journal of the Practice of Cardiovascular Sciences*, *5*(3), 157–163. https://doi.org/10.4103/jpcs.jpcs_62_19

Bhattacharya, T., & Vogel, L. (Eds.). (2017). *Social reproduction theory: Remapping class, recentering oppression* (First published). Pluto Press.

Bjarnegard, E. (2013). *Gender, Informal Institutions and Political Recruitment: Explaining Male Dominance in Parliamentary Representation*.

Bless, C., Higson-Smith, C., & Sithole, S. L. (2013). *Fundamentals of social research methods: An African perspective* (5th ed.). Juta. http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=670767

Boehm, F., & Sierra, E. (2015, August). The gendered impact of corruption: Who suffers more—Men or women? *U4 Brief*, *9*. https://www.u4.no/publications/the-gendered-impact-of-corruption-who-suffers-more-men-or-women.pdf

Bower, C. (2014). The plight of women and children: Advancing South Africa's least privileged. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *652*, 106–126. JSTOR.

Breen, M., Gillanders, R., McNulty, G., & Suzuki, A. (2017). Gender and corruption in business. *The Journal of Development Studies*, *53*(9), 1486–1501.

Brenner, J., & Laslett, B. (1991). Gender, social reproduction, and women's self-organization: Considering the U.S. welfare state. *Gender & Society*, *5*(3), 311–333. https://doi.org/10.1177/089124391005003004

Budhram, T., & Geldenhuys, N. (2018). Combating corruption in South Africa: Assessing the performance of investigating and prosecuting agencies. *Acta Criminologica: African Journal of Criminology & Victimology*, *31*(2), 23–46. https://doi.org/10.10520/EJC-139f4dd49f

Burke, J. (2021, May 26). Jacob Zuma trial: South Africa's ex-president denies corruption charges. *The Guardian*. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2021/may/26/jacob-zuma-trial-south-africas-ex-president-denies-corruption-charges

Butler, J. (1990). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. Routledge.

Clammer, J. (2012). Corruption, development, chaos and social disorganisation: Sociological reflections on corruption and its social basis. In M. Barcham, B. Hindess, & P. Larmour (Eds.), *Corruption* (pp. 113–132). ANU Press; JSTOR. www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt24hbwc.11

Commission of Inquiry into Allegations of State Capture. (n.d.). *The judicial commission of inquiry into allegations of state capture*. Judicial Commission of Inquiry into Allegations of State Capture, Corruption and Fraud in the Public Sector Including Organs of State. Retrieved 7 February 2022, from https://www.statecapture.org.za/

Corcoran-Nantes, Y. (2017). Engendering corruption: Gender and the culture of exchange in Central Asia. *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, *18*(2), 18–25.

Corruption watch. (n.d.). *About Corruption Watch*. Corruption Watch. Retrieved 9 June 2020, from https://www.corruptionwatch.org.za/about-us/who-we-are/about-corruption-watch/

Corruption Watch. (2020). *From crisis to action: Annual report 2020*.

Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, *1989*(1), 139–167.

de Graaf, G., Wagenaar, P., & Hoenderboom, M. (2010). Constructing corruption. In G. de Graaf, P. Wagenaar, & P. von Maravić (Eds.), *The Good Cause* (1st ed., pp. 98–114). Verlag Barbara Budrich; JSTOR. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvbj7k5p.11

Debski, J., & Jetter, M. (2015). *Gender and corruption: A reassessment*. *IZA Discussion Paper No. 9447*. http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2684277

Disaster Management Act, 2002: Amendment of Regulations Issues in Terms of Section 27(2), (2021).

Dobos, N. (2017). Networking, corruption, and subversion. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *144*(3), 467–478. JSTOR.

Dutta, M. (2018). *Globalisation, corruption and women empowerment*. *37*(3), 327–343.

Feigenblatt, H. (2020). *Breaking the silence around sextortion: The links between power, sex and corruption*. Transparency International.

Flick, U. (2018). *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*. SAGE.

Foucault, M. (1978). *The history of sexuality Vol. 1* (R. Hurley, Trans.; Vol. 1). Pantheon Books.

Gitlin, S. (2015, January 2). Beyond sextortion: How corruption uniquely affects women. *GAB | The Global Anticorruption Blog*. https://globalanticorruptionblog.com/2015/01/02/beyond-sextortion-how-corruption-uniquely-affects-women/

Goetz, A. (2007). Political cleaners: Women as the new anti-corruption force? *Http://Lst-Iiep.Iiep-Unesco.Org/Cgi-Bin/Wwwi32.Exe/[In=epidoc1.in]/?T2000=024882/(100)*, *38*. https://doi.org/10.1111//j.1467-7660.2007.00404.x

Gorta, A. (2013). Research: A tool for building corruption resistance. In P. Larmour & N. Wolanin (Eds.), *Corruption and Anti-Corruption* (pp. 11–29). ANU Press; JSTOR. www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt2tt19f.5

Gouws, A. (2021). Feminist institutionalism, women's representation and state capture: The case of South Africa. In D. H. Madsen (Ed.), *Gendered institutions and women's political representation in Africa* (1st ed.). Bloomsbury Publishing; Bloomsbury Collections. https://doi.org/10.5040/9780755637829

Govender, K. (2018, October 22). *An anatomy of public corruption: Is there a fault in our analysis?* Daily Maverick. https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2018-10-22-an-anatomy-of-public-corruption-is-there-a-fault-in-our-analysis/

Harrison, E. (2007). Corruption. *Development in Practice*, *17*(4/5), 672–678. JSTOR.

Hatti, N., Hoadley, M. C., & Heimann, J. (2010). The corruption bazaar: A conceptual discussion. *Sociological Bulletin*, *59*(2), 216–234. JSTOR.

Hlongwane, P. (2018). The anti-corruption institutions in South Africa: A panacea to governance ills? *Southern African Public Law*, *33*(2), 1–24. https://doi.org/10.25159/2522-6800/2949

Hodgkinson, P. (1997). The sociology of corruption – some themes and issues. *Sociology*, *31*(1), 17–35. JSTOR.

Howson, C. (2012). Women smuggling and the men who help them: Gender, corruption and illicit networks in Senegal. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, *50*(3), 421–445. JSTOR.

Hui, L. M. (1975). [Review of the book The Sociology of Corruption by Syed Hussein Alatas]. *The Developing Economies*, *13*(4), 474–477.

International Association of Women Judges. (n.d.). *Corruption and sextortion*. International Association of Women Judges. Retrieved 19 March 2020, from http://www.iawj.org/programs/corruption-and-sextortion/

Jaffe, S. (n.d.). Social Reproduction and the Pandemic, with Tithi Bhattacharya. *Dissent Magazine*. Retrieved 3 October 2020, from https://www.dissentmagazine.org/online_articles/social-reproduction-and-the-pandemic-with-tithi-bhattacharya

John, V. M. (2021). The violence of South Africa's COVID-19 corruption. *Peace Review*, *33*(1), 1–9. https://doi.org/10.1080/10402659.2021.1956114

Krylova, Y. (2016). *Corruption and gender inequality: The case of Nicaragua*. *12*(4), 273–289.

Lukose, R. (2018). Decolonizing feminism in the #MeToo era. *The Cambridge Journal of Anthropology*, *36*(2), 34–52. https://doi.org/10.3167/cja.2018.360205

Luttrell, W. (2005). 'Good enough' methods for life-story analysis. In N. Quinn (Ed.), *Finding Culture in Talk: A Collection of Methods*. Palgrave Macmillan US.

Martin, B. (1982). Feminism, criticism, and Foucault. *New German Critique*, *27*, 3–30. JSTOR. https://doi.org/10.2307/487982

Mélé, D. (2009). The practice of networking: An ethical approach. *Journal of Business Ethics*, *90*(4), 487–503.

Merkle, O. (2019). *The gendered dimension of illicit financial flows* (U4 Helpdesk Answer No. 5). U4 Anti-Corruption Helpdesk, Transparency International.

Mohan, J. (2020). *The time is now: Addressing the gender dimensions of corruption*. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. https://www.unodc.org/documents/corruption/Publications/2020/THE_TIME_IS_NOW_2020_12_08.pdf

Motala, S. (2019, April 11). *Rampant corruption is direct affront on women's rights*. SowetanLIVE. https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/opinion/columnists/2019-04-11-rampant-corruption-is-direct-affront-on-womens-rights/

Nye, J. S. (1967). Corruption and political development: A cost-benefit analysis. *The American Political Science Review*, *61*(2), 417–427. https://doi.org/10.2307/1953254

Okonkwo, A. D. (2016). Gender and corruption in Nigerian politics. *African Sociological Review / Revue Africaine de Sociologie*, *20*(1), 111–136. JSTOR.

Palinkas, L. A., Horwitz, S. M., Green, C. A., Wisdom, J. P., Duan, N., & Hoagwood, K. (2015). Purposeful sampling for qualitative data collection and analysis in mixed method implementation research. *Administration and Policy in Mental Health*, *42*(5), 533–544. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10488-013-0528-y

Paweenawat, S. W. (2018). *The gender-corruption nexus in Asia*. *32*(1), 18–28.

Plaaitjies Van Huffel, M.-A. (2011). Patriarchy as empire: A theological reflection. *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, *37*, 259–270.

Prevention and Combating of Corrupt Activities Act, (2004).

Puar, J. (2011, January). 'I would rather be a cyborg than a goddess': Intersectionality, assemblage and affective politics. *Transversal Texts*. https://transversal.at/transversal/0811/puar/en

Richardson, A., Debere, S., Jaitner, A., & Nanayakkara, R. (2018). *Gendered land corruption and the Sustainable Development Goals*. Transparency International.

Rivas, M. F. (2013). *An experiment on corruption and gender*. *65*(1), 10–42.

Rudman, L. A., & Fetterolf, J. C. (2014). Gender and sexual economics: Do women view sex as a female commodity? *Psychological Science*, *25*(7), 1438–1447. https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797614533123

Safara, L., & O Odeku, K. (2021). Critical Legal Perspective of International Anti-Corruption Laws for Tackling Corruption in South Africa. *Perspectives of Law and Public Administration*, *10*(1), 203–216.

Salahuddin, M., Vink, N., Ralph, N., & Gow, J. (2020). Globalisation, poverty and corruption: Retarding progress in South Africa. *Development Southern Africa*, *37*(4), 617–643. https://doi.org/10.1080/0376835X.2019.1678460

SALDRU. (n.d.). *Income Comparison Tool*. Retrieved 7 December 2021, from https://www.saldru.uct.ac.za/income-comparison-tool/

Sebake, B. K. (2020). Crime against humanity: Social perception of public service corruption in South Africa. *African Journal of Development Studies*, *10*(3), 167–188. http://dx.doi.org/10.31920/2634-3649/2020/10n3a9

Soma-Pillay. (2014). *Development Corruption in South Africa: Governance Matters*. Palgrave Macmillan. http://0-

search.ebscohost.com.innopac.wits.ac.za/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip&db=nlebk&AN=997190&site=ehost-live&scope=site

Stockemer, D., & Sundström, A. (2019). Corruption and women in cabinets: Informal barriers to recruitment in the executive. *Wiley Governance*, *32*, 83–102. https://doi.org/10.1111/gove.12352

Sung, H.-E. (2003). Fairer sex or fairer system? Gender and corruption revisited. *Social Forces*, *82*(2), 703–723. JSTOR.

Sung, H.-E. (2006). From victims to saviors? Women, power, and corruption. *CURRENT HISTORY-NEW YORK THEN PHILADELPHIA-*, *105*(689), 139.

Swamy, A., Knack, S., Lee, Y., & Azfar, O. (2001). Gender and corruption. *Journal of Development Economics*, *64*(1), 25–55.

Torgler, B., & Valev, N. T. (2010). *Gender and public attitudes toward corruption and tax evasion*. *28*(4), 554–568.

Transparency International. (n.d.). *What is corruption?* Transparency.Org. Retrieved 21 March 2021, from https://www.transparency.org/en/what-is-corruption

Transparency International. (2010). *Corruption and gender in service delivery: The unequal impacts*. Transparency International. https://issuu.com/transparencyinternational/docs/2010_wp_genderinservicedelivery_en/1

Transparency International. (2019a). *Corruption perceptions index 2019*. Transparency.Org. https://www.transparency.org/en/cpi/2019/results

Transparency International. (2019b, September 23). *Women and corruption in Latin America & the Caribbean*. Transparency.Org. https://www.transparency.org/en/news/women-and-corruption-gcb

Transparency International. (2019c, December 11). *Sextortion: Middle East and North Africa*. https://www.transparency.org/en/news/sextortion-middle-east-and-north-africa

Transparency International. (2021a). *2021 Corruption Perceptions Index*. Transparency.Org. https://www.transparency.org/en/cpi/2021

Transparency International. (2021b, December 20). *The ABCs of the CPI: How the Corruption Perceptions Index is calculated*. Transparency.Org. https://www.transparency.org/en/news/how-cpi-scores-are-calculated

Transparency International Zimbabwe. (2019). *Gender & corruption in Zimbabwe*. Transparency International Zimbabwe.

Walby, S. (1989). Theorising patriarchy. *Sociology*, *23*(2), 213–234. JSTOR.

Warburton, J. (2013). Corruption as a social process: From Dyads to networks. In P. Larmour & N. Wolanin (Eds.), *Corruption and Anti-Corruption* (pp. 221–237). ANU Press; JSTOR. https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt2tt19f.16

Ziegler, M. (2011). Reexamining the link between gender and corruption. In H. Sautter & S. Klasen (Eds.), *Institutions, Inequality and Development* (NED-New edition, pp. 75–90). Peter Lang AG; JSTOR. www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv9hj8g0.11

Zúñiga, N. (2018). *Women's empowerment and corruption in Uganda* (U4 Helpdesk Answer No. 12). U4 Anti-Corruption Helpdesk, Transparency International.

8 ANNEXURES

8.1 LIST OF CODES

The following codes were used to analyse the data:

1. In defining corruption:
    - References to public versus private
    - References to corruption as a moral issue
    - Reference to corruption as related to law/rules/procedures
    - Frequency of examples given of forms of corruption
2. In investigating corruption as part of culture
    - Reference to corruption as societal
    - Reference to networks
    - Reference to normalisation of corruption
3. In investigating perpetration of corruption and gender
    - Counting mentions of 'men' and 'women' and 'both/equal/same'
    - Grouping of responses as to who is corrupt
    - Grouping of responses by recurring themes of individual characteristics, gendered characteristics, leadership, power
4. In investigating effects of corruption
    - Counting mentions of 'men' and 'women' and 'both/equal/same'
    - Grouping of responses by recurring themes of individual characteristics, gendered characteristics, power, access to justice
5. Investigating effects of corruption on gender equality
    - Comparing agreement and disagreement
    - Grouping responses by recurring themes of patriarchy, power, gender-based violence, access to resources

8.2 Interview Questions

1. Please could you provide your age, which South African race group you belong to and your current occupation.
2. What is your household income? Who makes financial decisions in your household?
3. Do you have control over any of your own finances?
4. What is your education level?

Now I would like to ask you about what you think corruption is.

5. How would you define corruption?
6. Do you follow news about corruption in South Africa?
7. Can you describe some ways in which you think corruption happens?
    a. Must corruption always involve money?

For the purposes of the rest of the interview, this is how corruption is defined: An abuse of power that results in either one or both parties obtaining a benefit. The exchange is not limited to involving only money, but can be access to a job, services, resources, items of value, or even sexual favours. Corruption does not always benefit both or all sides equally.

Now I would like to ask you what you think that the high levels of corruption in South Africa, and if they are related to gender.

8. Some people say that corruption is part of our culture in South Africa. What do you think of this?
9. What do you think makes someone participate in corruption?
10. Who do you think are corrupt, in South Africa?
11. Do you think men or women have more power in society?
    a. Why do you think this?
12. Do you think men and women have the potential to be corrupt?
    a. Why or why not?
    b. Do you think there is a difference in South Africa, in terms of the people who you think are corrupt?

Now I would like to ask you if you think there is a connection between gender and how women experience corruption in South Africa.

13. Do you think men or women are more likely to be victims of corruption?
    b. Why do you think this?
14. As a woman, are you scared of being a victim of corruption, more than if you were a man?
    c. Where would this happen, and why?
15. Do you think you are more likely to be asked for a bribe, or to participate in corruption, from a man or a woman?
    d. Why?

Now I would like to ask you about how you think corruption affects women in South Africa.

16. How do you think corruption affects women?
17. Does corruption affect women emotionally or mentally, differently to men?
18. Do you think there is a difference in how corruption affects women financially, differently to men?

19. Do you think there is a difference in how corruption affects men or women's access to services or resources?
20. Do you think South Africa has achieved gender equality?
    e. Why or why not?
    f. Does corruption have an influence on gender equality?