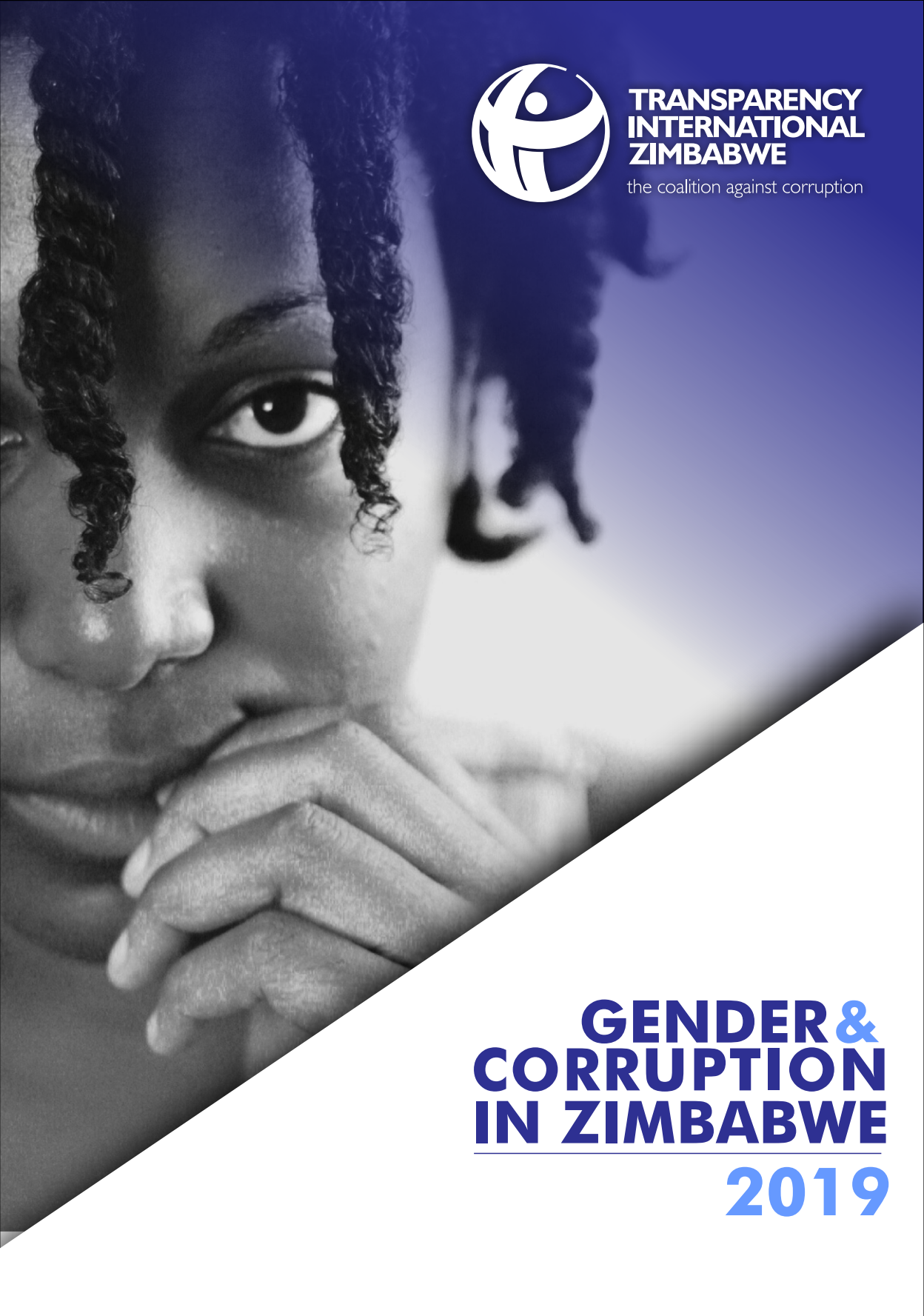




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**GENDER &
CORRUPTION
IN ZIMBABWE**

2019

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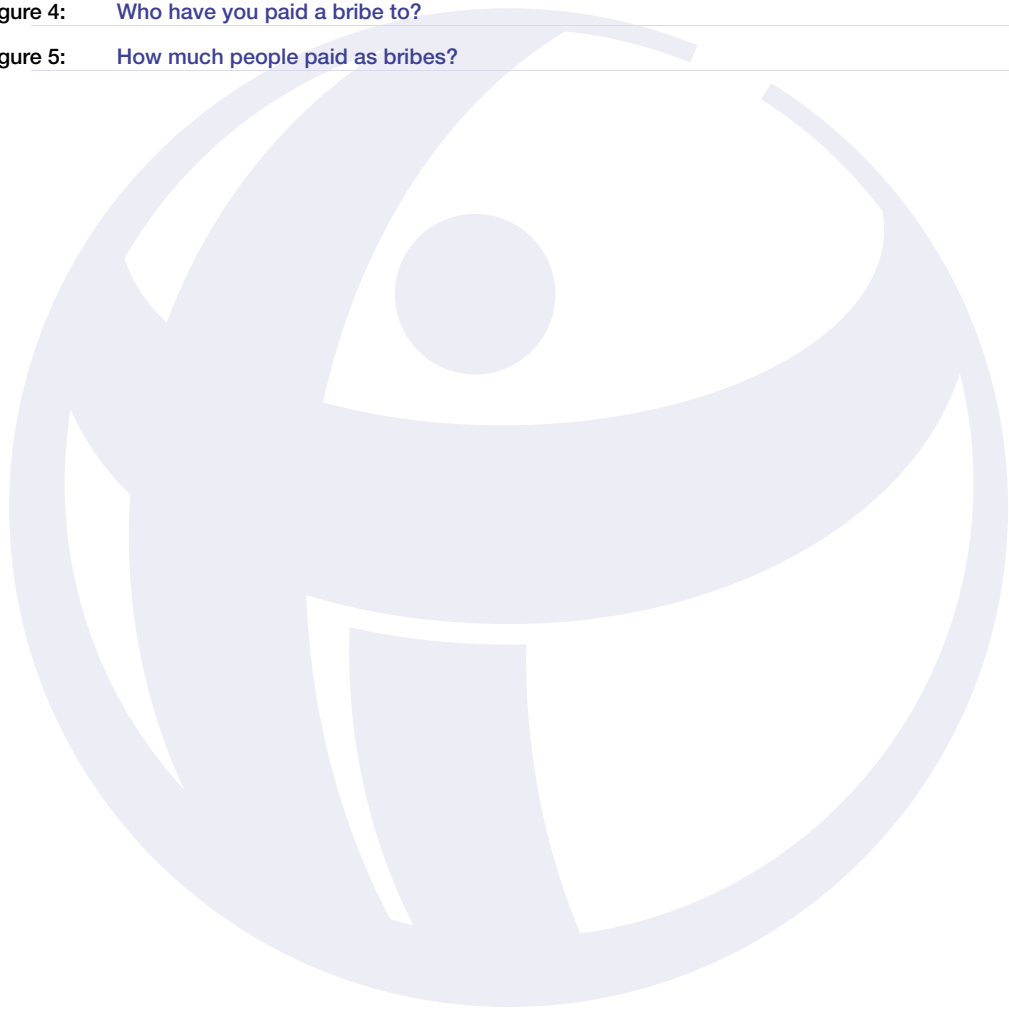
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Table Of Contents

Acknowledgements	v
Preface	vi
1 Introduction	1
2 Background to the study	3
2.1 Gender and corruption nexus	3
3 Objectives of the study	4
4 Research Methodology	4
5 Findings and Discussion	5
5.1 Social differentiation of study respondents	5
5.2 Women's opinions on corruption	6
5.3 Women's experiences with bribes	9
5.4 Women's perceptions of corruption	12
5.5 Corruption and access to services	13
5.6 Intersectional analysis of gender, disability, class vis a vis vulnerability to corruption	15
6 Sectional analysis of gendered dimensions of corruption	17
6.1 Extractive industries	17
6.2 Informal sector	20
6.3 Politics and decision-making structures	21
6.4 Corruption and gender-based violence	22
6.5 Agriculture and Rural Land	22
6.6 State Procurement	24
6.7 Corruption in Sports	25
6.8 Social Welfare and Services	27
7 Recommendations	31
7.1 Main-streaming gender in anti-corruption systems	31
7.2 Women empowerment through ICTs and social media	31
7.3 Improving data on gender and corruption	31
7.4 Institutional strengthening in fighting sextortion and other gendered specific forms of corruption	32
7.5 Increase equitable participation of women and men in governance, public decision	32
7.6 Gendered National Anti-corruption Strategy in Zimbabwe	32
8 Conclusion	33
References	34

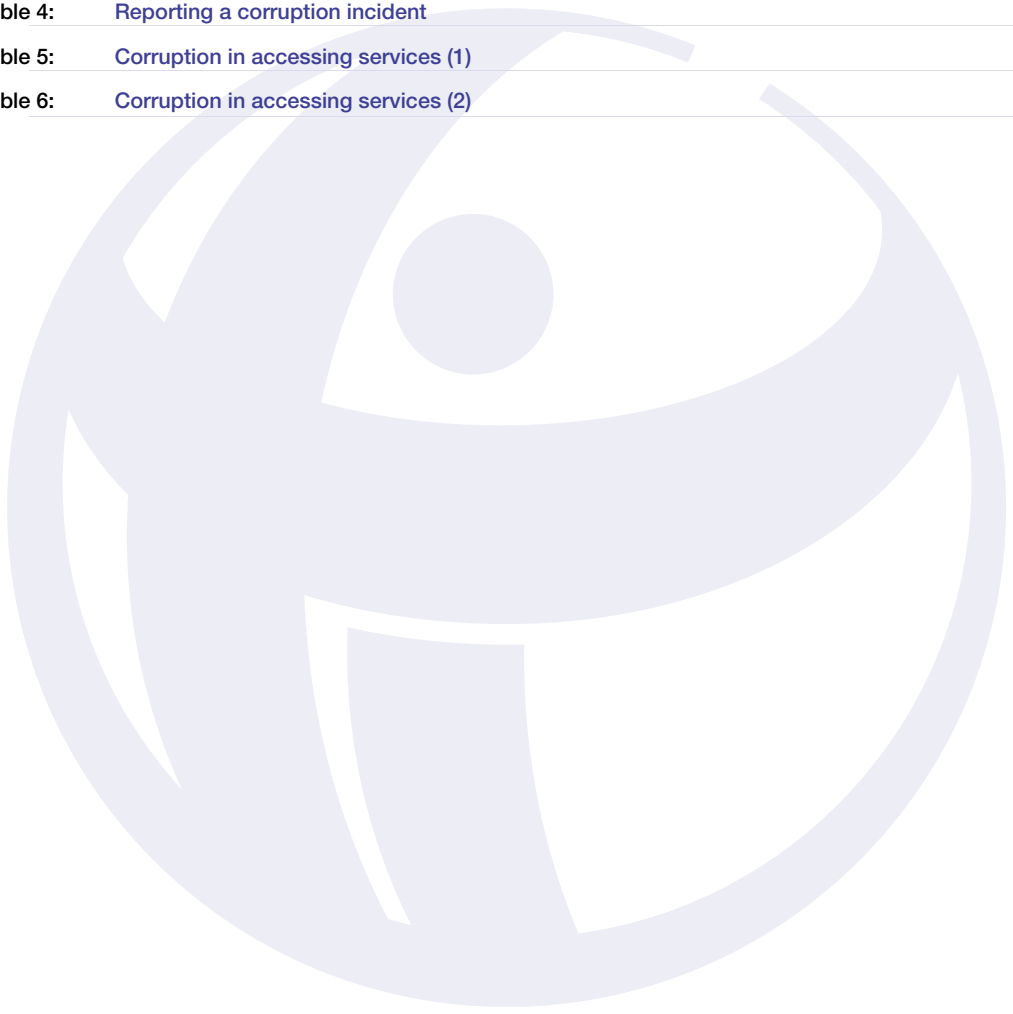
List Of Figures

Figure 1:	Age of respondents	5
Figure 2:	Male vs Female payment of bribes	7
Figure 3:	Forms of corruption experienced by individuals	9
Figure 4:	Who have you paid a bribe to?	10
Figure 5:	How much people paid as bribes?	11



List Of Tables

Table 1:	Marital and employment status of Respondents	6
Table 2:	Opinion on what would happen if more women were on positions of responsibility	7
Table 3:	If yes, how much bribe did you pay?	11
Table 4:	Reporting a corruption incident	12
Table 5:	Corruption in accessing services (1)	13
Table 6:	Corruption in accessing services (2)	14



Acronyms

Acronyms

ACEWC	African Committee on Economic rights and Welfare of children
AG	Auditor General
ARV	Antiretroviral
CPI	Corruption Perceptions Index
FIFA	International Federation of Association Football
EPOs	Extractive Prospective Orders
FTLRP	Fast Track Land Reform Programme
GBV	Gender Based Violence
HIV	Human Immuno deficiency Virus
ICC	International Cricket Council
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
ILO	International Labour Organization
MoHCW	Ministry of Health and Child Welfare
NPA	National Prosecuting Authority
NSSA	National Social Security Authority
PLHIV	People Living With HIV
PPDPA	Public Procurement and Disposal of Public Assets Act
PRAZ	Procurement Regulatory Authority of Zimbabwe
PWYP	Publish What You Pay
RAU	Research and Advocacy Unit
RBZ	Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
STDs	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
TARSC	Training and Research Support Centre
TI	Transparency International
TI Z	Transparency International Zimbabwe
UNCAC	United Nations Convention Against corruption
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
US	United States
VID	Vehicle Inspection Department
WASH	Water, Sanitation and Hygiene
ZACC	Zimbabwe Anti-Corruption Commission
ZCDC	Zimbabwe Consolidated Diamond company
ZDHS	Zero Discharge of Hazardous Chemicals
ZETD	Zimbabwe Electricity Transmission and distribution
ZIFA	Zimbabwe Football Association
ZIMCODD	Zimbabwe Coalition on Debt and Development
ZIMDEF	Zimbabwe Manpower Development Project
ZIMSTAT	Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency
ZHRC	Zimbabwe Human Rights Commission
ZRP	Zimbabwe Republic Police

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Zimbabwe has taken great strides in advancing gender equality through the establishment of various institutional, legal and policy frameworks. However, the country still ranks low on the Gender Inequality Index. Through its work over the years, Transparency International Zimbabwe (TI Z) has noted that the narrative on the state of corruption in Zimbabwe, its extent and impact bring to the fore interesting insights into the linkages between gender and corruption.

Whilst it has been noted in various researches that corruption mostly affects the vulnerable the most and impedes progress towards gender equality by acting as a barrier towards women attaining full access to civil, economic, social and political rights, there are limited studies in this area in Zimbabwe. To date, limited researches and policy papers that have taken gender as the central point of analysis in relation to corruption or paid sufficient attention to the differing impacts of corruption on women and men (perceptions and experiences) at a country level.

Therefore, this study by Transparency International Zimbabwe is a first in a series of researches under the title “Gender and Corruption” which seek to bring to the fore the relationship between gender and corruption, as well as identifying social, cultural, economic and political factors that attribute to how women and men are affected by corruption and the different impacts thereof. Transparency International Zimbabwe believes that a gender perspective in anti-corruption is

necessary in order to strengthen anti-corruption strategies and achieve equitable and sustainable development.

This first edition of the “Gender and Corruption” study is based on an in-depth exploration of women's experiences in relation to corruption and how this is intertwined with the complex challenges of gender-based violence across social, political, economic and cultural spaces in Zimbabwe. It highlights how corruption has significantly impacted negatively on the livelihoods of women. This study builds on previous research studies by Transparency International Zimbabwe, notably the 2012, 2014 and the 2017 Annual State of Corruption Reports, the 2014 Youth and Corruption Baseline, and the 2016 Women, Land and Corruption study) which have all revealed the disproportional impact of corruption on women and young girls in Zimbabwe. For example, the Youth and Corruption Baseline study brought to the fore the existence and manifestation of sextortion or sexual exploitation (which is both a corruption typology as well as another dominant form of gender-based violence).

Similarly, the Women Land and Corruption study by Transparency International Zimbabwe also showed how women have been subjected to different gendered forms of corruption such as sextortion due to structural factors such as land dispossession and land corruption. It is also important to note that sextortion is not the only way in which women are subjected to abuse. Rather sextortion shows the most direct impact

of corruption on women as well as showing the intersection between corruption and gender based violence.

The focus on women in this first edition of the “Gender and Corruption” study stems from various insights from both local and international studies that have shown that in patriarchal and unequal societies such as Zimbabwe, corruption tends to impact more negatively on women as compared to men. The study highlighted that corruption also hits women the hardest because they have to deal with multiple challenges such as patriarchy, culture and social exclusion.

Equally important is that women are affected more by corruption in service delivery because of their gendered roles which make them interact more with service delivery institutions such as health, education, water and housing. As such, corruption marginalizes already vulnerable women living in poverty, putting basic public services and goods out of their reach, and leaving them

lagging behind in the economic, social, and political development of their country.

The report noted that women are not a monolithic group as such they do not experience corruption in a similar manner. From the fieldwork with women living with disabilities (as individuals or primary care givers), the intersection of class, gender and disability creates unique vulnerabilities to various forms of corruption.

Through this report by Transparency International Zimbabwe seeks to make a contribution to the fight against corruption in Zimbabwe, particularly gendered forms of corruption as well as advocate for the main-streaming of gender in anti-corruption strategies. This report concludes by offering policy recommendations as to how this can be achieved.





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1. Introduction



Corruption is a complex and multi-dimensional phenomenon that affects the essential principles of democracy and the rule of law. It hampers development and affects the fulfilment of human rights, particularly those of the most vulnerable groups (Eurosocial and Transparency International, 2018). Corruption remains a key governance and development challenge confronting Zimbabwe. It has become normalised in the social, economic, political, and even religious fabric of society (TI Z, 2018). Generally, there is a consensus, judging from narratives from all sections of society including academic and policy narratives that corruption has in the last 15 years progressively become an endemic problem in Zimbabwe. The country continues to score negatively on governance and corruption indices such as the Transparency International Corruption Perceptions Index (CPI).

In 2018, Zimbabwe had a low score of 22 on the CPI, signifying high perceived levels of corruption in the public sector. The CPI ranks 180 countries and territories by their perceived levels of public sector corruption, according to experts and business people, giving each a score from zero (highly corrupt) to 100 (very clean). Focusing on economic corruption, Chitambara (2015) revealed that the state of corruption in Zimbabwe has been described as systemic and endemic and is often cited as one of the biggest obstacles to economic growth and development. It further undercuts various dimensions of human well-being such as health, access to clean

water, and education, and it negatively affects subjective dimensions of life such as self-reported well-being and happiness (Stensota and Wangnerud, 2018).

Although various tentacles of corruption such as 'grand', 'systemic' or 'petty' corruption are widely known and documented (Sachikonye 2015), the nexus between gender and corruption is not well researched. It is undeniable that corruption in Zimbabwe has become so endemic permeating economic, political and social spheres and its effects experienced by various actors, including women. Whilst for several years, the focus has been on the impact of corruption on citizens in general and the economic cost thereof, there has been glaring gap on the contextual analysis of the impact of corruption amongst different sexes/gender. The World Bank (2002) defines gender as socially constructed differences between men and women that may influence social and economic activities, as well as their access to resources and decision making. While all of society suffers from corruption's weakening of the efficiency, effectiveness and probity of the public sector, it has well-known differential impacts on social groups - with poor people among its greatest victims (Hossain et al 2010). Women and girls are among the most affected, not least because they account for the largest proportion of people living in poverty but because corruption exacerbates existing inequalities as a result of asymmetric power relationships (ibid).

Despite such pronouncements, a lot of controversy still surrounds gender and corruption especially in resource constrained settings such as Zimbabwe. Is there a relationship between gender and corruption? Do women suffer the impacts of corruption more than men? Are there specific forms of corruption that are peculiar to women than men? These are some of the questions, TI Z sought to address in this study. However, it is important to note that women are not a monolithic category. Thus it was imperative to explore this topic of gender and corruption by considering the different ages, classes, races, religious, geographical, education, marital and ethnicity statuses of women in Zimbabwe.

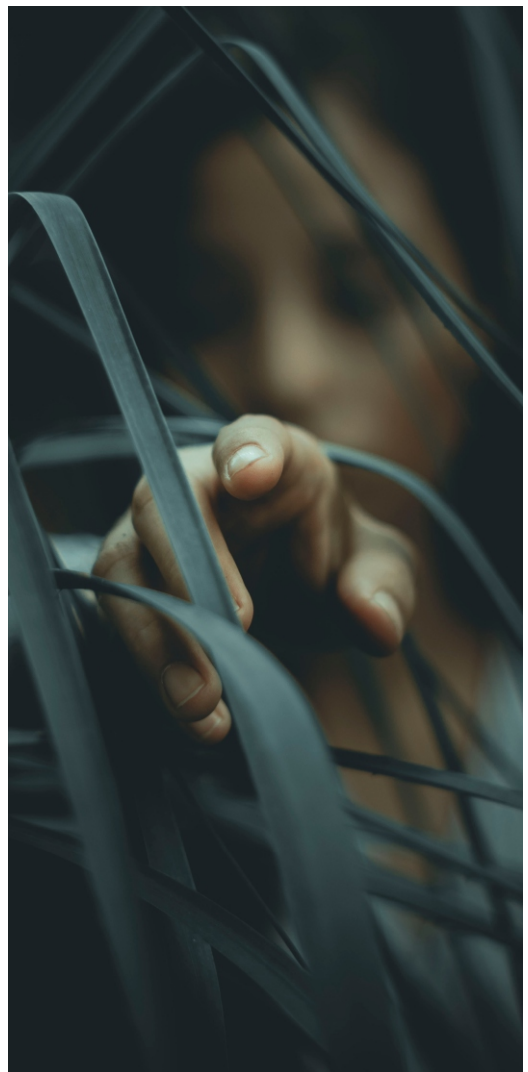
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The World Bank (2002) defines gender as socially constructed differences between men and women that may influence social and economic activities, as well as their access to resources and decision making.

”

It is also important to highlight that this study was further influenced by the current discourse on the development of a National Anti-Corruption Strategy in Zimbabwe. The Zimbabwe Anti-Corruption Commission (ZACC) has held consultative meetings with various stakeholders including TI Z on what should form part of this strategy. A National Anti-Corruption Strategy has the potential of positioning the Government of Zimbabwe's (GoZ) intervention strategy in fighting corruption. Hence, this study provides an opportunity for stakeholders in the anti-corruption chain to have an appreciation of the perceptions and

dynamics of corruption across genders and captures the interlocking nuances embedded in the gendered nature of corruption. Also important for this study is that women are not only victims of corruption, but they are also active actors in the anti-corruption chain. Thus, equally crucial is the role of women in fighting corruption. It has been noted that the belief that women are less corrupt than men is widespread, even among development specialists (Boehm 2015), but still this is highly contested.



2. Background to the study

2.1 Gender and Corruption nexus

Whereas there is a paucity of literature on gender and corruption in Zimbabwe, global studies have grown over the years, dwelling on diverse themes. Dollar et al (2001), published “Are women really the ‘fairer’ sex? Corruption and women in government” and in that same year, Swamy et al (2001) produced ‘Gender and Corruption’. These two studies indicate that women and men perceive corruption differently. Another important theme emerging from these studies is that women suffer the effects corruption to a greater extent than men due to the unequal power relations between men and women. Corruption exacerbates these power dynamics, limiting women’s access to public resources, information and decision-making, thus reinforcing social, cultural, and political discrimination. Another theme in gender and corruption studies is how women contribute to corruption and how women in positions of power engage in corruption, while largely ignoring how the different types of widespread corruption impacts different types of women (Sim et al. 2017). One glaring criticism often leveled against some of these studies is that they view women as a single identity, which is not the case. At the same time, some researches have also failed to note how gender identities are differently constructed in different spaces and cultures.

Oxfam International has also explored on the inter-linkages between gender and corruption with a specific focus on gender equality. Oxfam International (2018:2) noted the following:

- Corruption starves public services of revenue postponing development, equality and exacerbating gender inequalities.
- Unequal power relations between women and men make women more vulnerable to the impact of corruption.
- Corruption continues to exacerbate the uneven power dynamics between men and women, including when it comes to access to resources, decision-making, information and other areas.
- Corruption creates barriers to accessing essential services; corruption takes the form of sexual extortion which is rarely recognised as a form of corruption; corruption reduces women’s access to land, markets and credits excluding them from meaningful participation in the economy; and corruption reinforces women’s social and economic marginalization.

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CORRUPTION**

Gender has also been considered in fighting corruption and valuable evidence reveals various strategies premised on various notions regarding women and femininity. For instance, in Mexico City, the

police chief established an all-female force, in a bid to tackle corruption amongst police officers in 1999 and in Lima Peru, a similar strategy was adopted (Sim et al 2017) based the notion of 'women's incorruptibility'. The most common reasons cited include; women are less selfish, are more charitable and altruistic, or, being mothers and have stronger values (Boehm 2015). However, it has been argued that anti-corruption polices based on such views are inherently flawed as they reinforce inequalities and harmful stereotypes. Stensota and Wangnerud (2018) also concur that it is not that women are inherently 'fair' but gender differences in corruption are rooted in culture, social, political and economic structures (our emphasis).

3. Objectives the study

Through this study Transparency International Zimbabwe sought to:

- Establish gender dynamics of corruption in various spaces in Zimbabwe.
- Determine women's attitudes and perceptions towards corruption and anti-corruption.
- Explore the impacts of corruption on women.
- Provide recommendations on gender based anti-corruption strategies.

4. Research Methodology

The study utilised both qualitative and quantitative data. A survey method was used to collect quantitative data on corruption perceptions, opinions and experiences of women in selected sites in Zimbabwe. Such an approach was necessitated by the need to provide a holistic analysis of the gendered dimensions of corruption in Zimbabwe. The survey was conducted in Bulawayo, Harare, Mutare, Nkayi, Gwanda and Masvingo. The research sought a wide array of views and experiences from diverse communities in Zimbabwe. The findings of the research however did not show any distinct differences based on geographic location. The experience of corruption especially in accessing public goods and services is a challenge faced by women across the spatial spectrum of Zimbabwe. The survey instrument had open ended questions which allowed for the collection of qualitative data to enhance the quantitative data. The study also involved a focus group discussion with purposively sampled disabled women in Epworth, Harare; key informant interviews with women in civil society organisations; interviews with women entrepreneurs and an interview with a gender expert. The study also utilised a detailed desk research approach which sought a multi-sectoral analysis of the gendered dimensions of corruption.

5. Findings and Discussion

5.1 Social differentiation of study respondents

The study research design was informed by a triangulation of quantitative and qualitative research approaches but with a huge inclination towards qualitative research as the study focuses on qualitative phenomenon i.e. gender and corruption. As such the study relied on data cumulatively collected through a set of research and advocacy tools such as women empowerments circles and community meetings, policy dialogues on gendered corruption as well as review of secondary data. To supplement this largely qualitative data, TI Z also collected data via a questionnaire from 1680 women in four provinces across Zimbabwe. It was important to capture the varied experiences of these women with corruption. Figure one shows that the respondents were largely between 18-45 years old which the economically active age group is. Although there were respondents were above the age of 60 years old, it was noted that this age group had not experienced the types of corruption that the younger women came across – for example, sextortion.

Table 1 shows the marital and employment status of respondents. Most respondents are working in the informal sector (57.7%). This shows that the study largely focused on women occupying the lower rungs of the economy. The study indicated that corruption equally affects women despite their marital status.

Figure 1: Age of Respondents

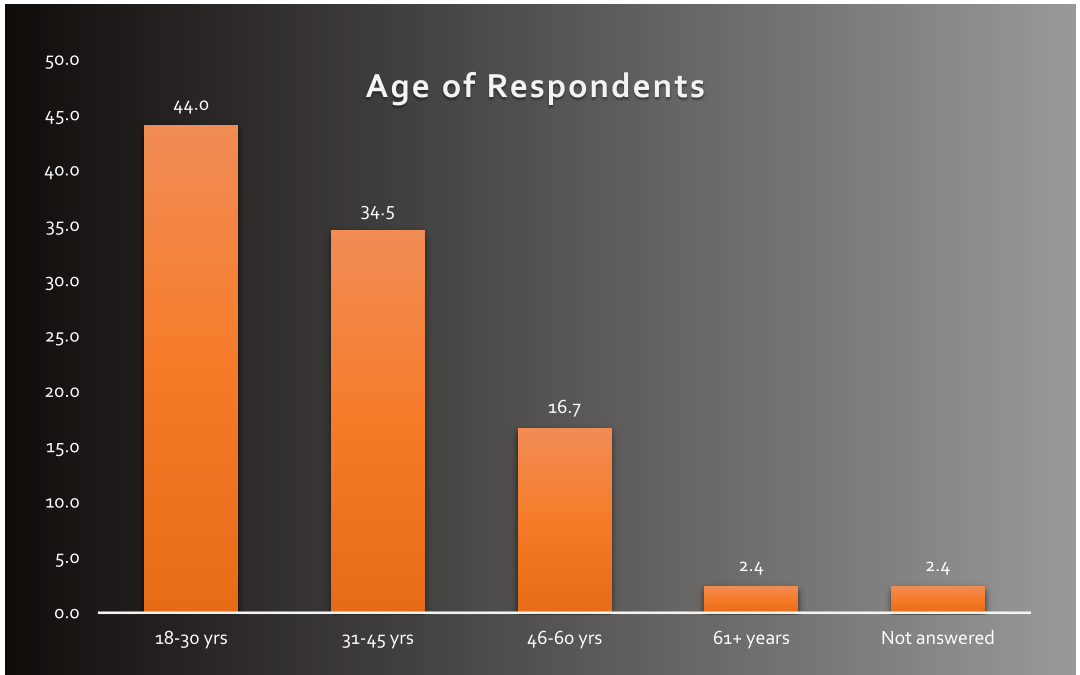


Table 1: Marital and employment status of Respondents

Marital Status			Employment Status		
	Frequency	Percent		Frequency	Percent
Single	430	25.6	Formally employed	290	17.3
Married	840	50	Informally employed	970	57.7
Divorced\Separated	170	10.1	Not employed	240	14.3
Widowed	160	9.5	Not answered	180	10.7
Not answered	80	4.8	Total	1680	100.0
Total	1680	100.0			

5.2 Women’s opinions on corruption

Respondents were asked about their opinions around varied issues related to corruption. Most respondents (69.6%) agreed that there is a link between the sex of a person and corruption in Zimbabwe. This shows that women understand corruption and its differentiated impact based on sex. For example, during focus group discussions, participants stated as follows:

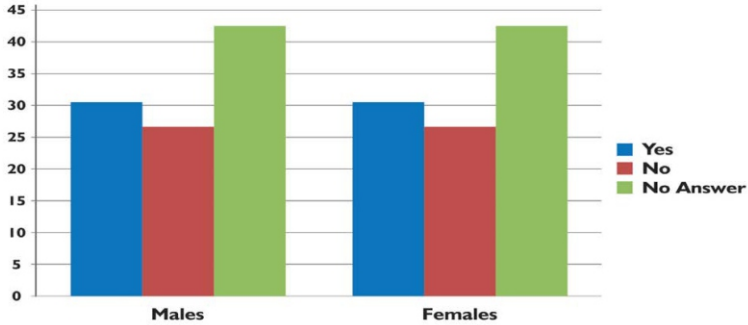
“Most organisations are led by men and when we try to seek for employment they will ask for sexual favors. If you refuse you will not get the job”
FGD participant Nkayi.

Interestingly, 47% of the respondents noted that men were more likely to initiate corruption dealings as opposed to women. Only 2.4% noted that women could initiate corruption dealings. The responses show that women believe that men are more likely to initiate corruption. This can be attributed to the fact that men are more visible in

positions of authority which gives them access to spaces that allow them to solicit for bribes. Respondents however noted that there was little difference between men and women when it comes to being corruptible. Men and women are similarly susceptible to corruption. Respondents were also asked whether there was a difference in the pattern of bribe paying among the sexes. Most respondents (64.3%) agreed that there was a difference in the pattern of paying bribes between men and women. Thus, the belief by respondents that men are generally more corrupt than women.

Beyond the opinions outlined above, in 2017, TI Z in its Annual State of Corruption Report titled “Corruption and Cultural Dynamics in Zimbabwe” measured the levels of bribery payment between men and women. Figure 2 below shows that bribery payment affects both men and women the same. Women and men all pay bribes but as will be shown later in this report for women the payment may include sexual and physical harassment. What is clear is that no one is immune from demanding and payment of bribes in Zimbabwe.

Figure 2: Male vs Female Payment of Bribes



Interviews with female entrepreneurs also highlight how they have all at one time experienced sexual harassment in the course of their business. One of the entrepreneurs noted:

“At times you get asked for sexual favours in return for tenders or business. What makes the situation difficult especially for state contracts is how women in business are perceived by men in control of these processes. When they see a woman for most of them sex is the first thing that comes to their mind.' Hence women are sexualised and seen as sex-preneurs rather than entrepreneurs”

The study also sought to find out the respondent's views pertaining to the view that having more women in positions of power and authority would result in less corruption. Table 2 below shows that 58.9% of the respondents were of the view that having women in positions of authority would result in there being less corruption. This shows that women believe women in positions of power are less likely to be corrupt as their male counterparts. 70.2% of respondents further noted that women are more mindful of integrity issues when in positions of authority. Women thus make more accountable and transparent leaders according to these respondents.

Table 2: Opinion on what would happen if more women were in positions of authority

	Frequency	Percent
More likely less corruption	990	58.9
More likely more corruption	150	8.9
No difference with men in corruption levels	490	29.2
Don't know	30	1.8
Not answered	20	1.2
Total	1680	100.0

One of the key informants from civil society further argued:

“**‘Women may not necessarily be less corrupt than men but in community projects they are more community inclined and their actions are rarely inimical to development. Women can thus be more accountable as they are more community oriented.’**”

One of the aims of the study was to position women in the fight against corruption. To this end, the respondents were asked if they believed women could make a difference in the fight against corruption. 81.5% of the respondents stated that as women they can make a difference in the fight against corruption. However, women living with disabilities in Epworth indicated that in as much as they want to be involved in governance processes especially at community level, they often face structural barriers such as the lack of sign language facilities during community meetings including capacity building programmes offered by civil society organisations. Respondents also cited the need to organize grass roots women into activists groups if they were to meaningfully engage in the fight against corruption. Tied to that, the respondents stated the need for a safe and protected environment for activism and continued anti-corruption knowledge dissemination to grassroots women. The willingness of women to participate in anti-corruption measures needs to be

harnessed so that they form part of the collective force in the anti-corruption drive. A gender expert who took part in the study noted that:

“**Women have increasingly become visible at national level in anti-corruption and accountability institutions such as ZACC and the Auditor General's office but beyond this there is still need to capacitate women at the grassroots to become more active in fighting corruption. It is at local levels that women's participation needs to be strengthened further.**”

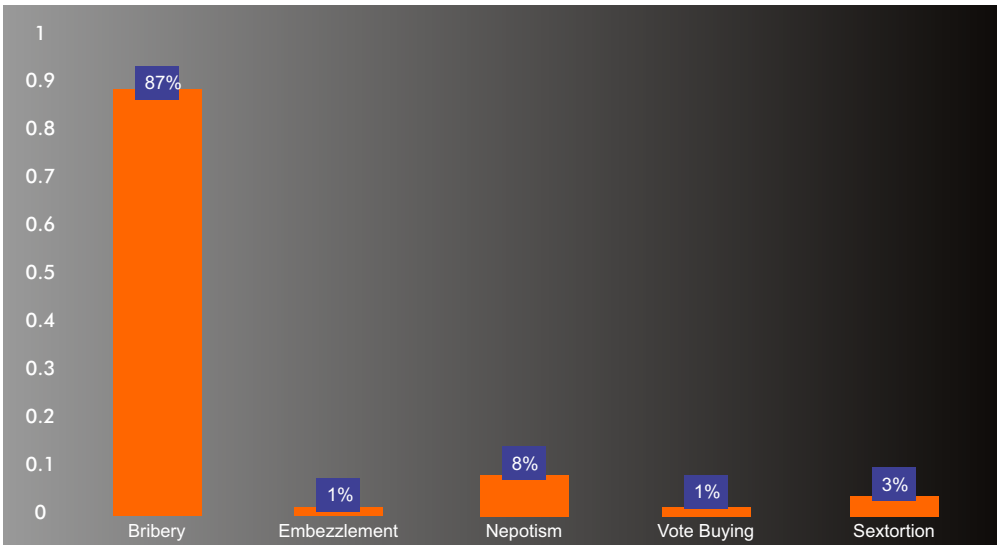
Key informants from civil society however highlighted that there is a gap in programming around corruption by gender organisations in the country yet most of the challenges facing women can be traced and linked to corruption.

“**When we look at it even cases of gender-based violence can be directly and indirectly linked to corruption. Often perpetrators of gender based violence easily buy their way out of the criminal justice system.”**”

5.3 Women’s experiences with bribes

In this section, the report discusses the various experiences women have had with bribes in Zimbabwe. Figure 3 below shows that in the TI Z Annual State of Corruption Report (2017) bribery is the most common form of corruption among ordinary Zimbabweans. What is also critical for this current study is that sextortion was identified as one of the forms of corruption because it affects women more than men. The same 2017 report shows that 85.1% of female respondents noted that bribery is morally incorrect, yet people continue to pay bribes as it has become a normalised part of everyday life in Zimbabwe.

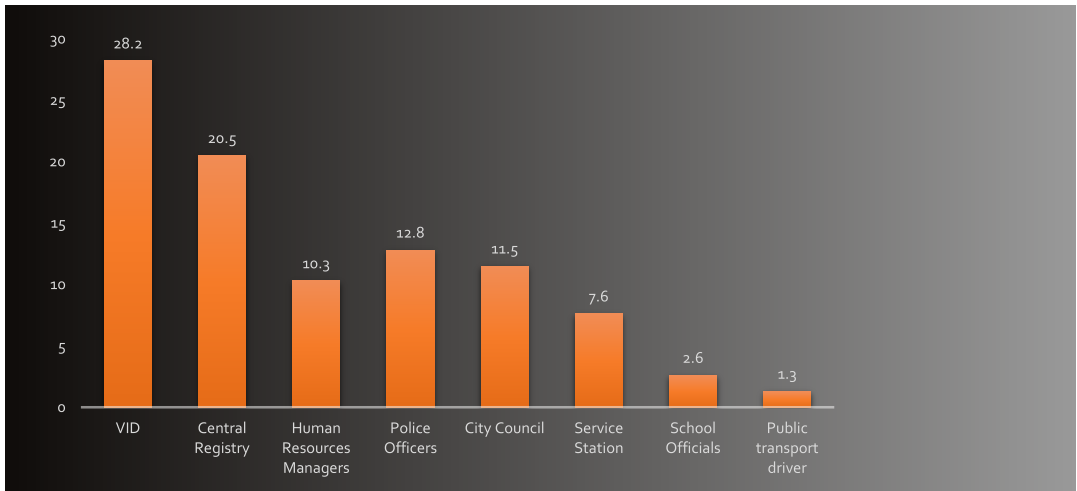
Figure 3: Forms of corruption experienced by individuals



Source: TI Z 2017 Annual State of Corruption Report

The research questioned whether respondents had been offered gifts/cash/favours during election periods. 56% indicated that they had not been offered anything during elections whilst 39.3% had been offered gifts. Thus, there are incidences in which gifts have been used to buy votes. In terms of paying a bribe, almost half of the respondents (49.4%) noted that they had paid a bribe in the past year. Figure 4 below shows that of those that paid a bribe in the past year, 28.2% paid at the Vehicle Inspectorate Department (VID) to get a driver’s licence. Bribes were also paid to varied actors providing public services that are in demand in urban spaces. For example, 7.6% of respondents indicated paying a bribe at a service/fuel station to avoid long queues and uncertainty of accessing fuel in present day Zimbabwe. Bribes can thus be said to be a manifestation that comes with shortages of key essential services such as jobs, fuel, school admissions to mention but a few. In Epworth, some of the women interviewed said that to get their children enrolled into a school one needs to pay as much as US\$20. The women also noted that bribery was a function of everyday life in accessing public services.

Figure 4: Who have you paid a bribe to?



Reasons for paying bribes were varied but mainly centered on the fact that getting quick access to a service or product always requires paying a bribe. Public services provided by VID and Central Registry often take long and the delays can be costly (multiple trips to the offices) for clients who may opt to bribe to quicken the process. One respondent noted that those who do not pay will spend weeks trying to access a birth certificate to no avail. Government services are thus becoming tied to the ability to pay a bribe. Respondents were also asked whether they had witnessed someone paying a bribe. At least 47.6% noted that they had witnessed another person paying a bribe. This displays that almost half of the respondents witnessed some form of bribery happening involving government officials (27.5%) and Human Resource officers (10%). This again shows how access to public services and jobs fuels petty corruption which affects most poor urban women.

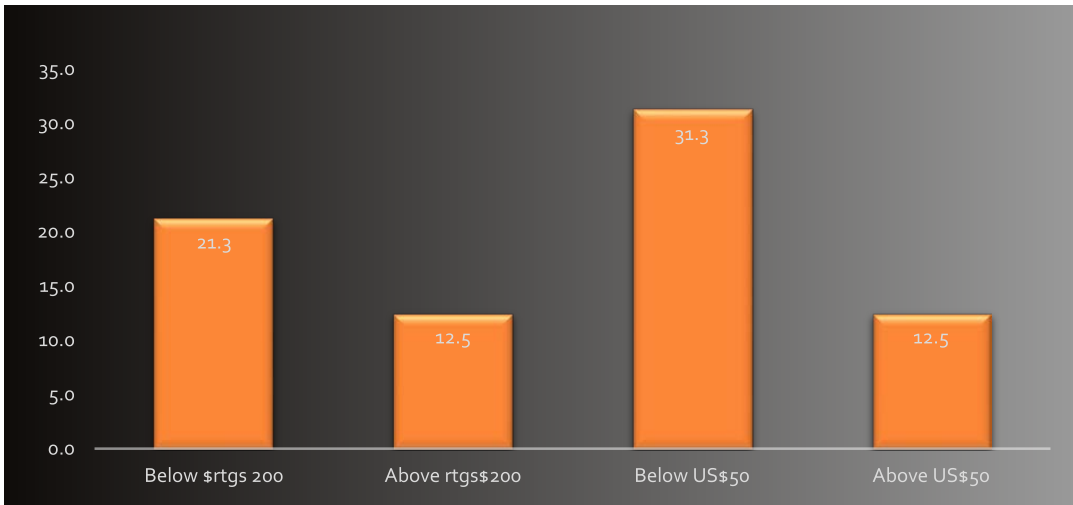
Table 3 below outlines the amount of the bribes paid by respondents. The statistics

point towards low level petty corruption. However, it is important to note that while the amounts are seemingly low, they are taxing for low income households given that the majority are either unemployed or engaged in low income activities in the informal sector. One respondent noted that they paid the headmaster US\$30 to get a primary school admission for their child. This is because there is a lot of competition for school enrolment which is largely in short supply in many high-density areas. Another respondent highlighted how they were made to pay get a driver's licence after being told by their instructor that they would not pass without paying something. Those that paid more than US\$50 were mainly seeking a passport or a job. This makes the services out of reach for vulnerable groups in society. In Epworth one of the respondents remarked: Payments to the police or judicial officers were mainly related to people trying to escape expensive fines or gain acquittal for criminal activities. It is however clear that most of the bribes point towards petty corruption which is prevalent among low class populations targeted in this study.

Table 3: if yes how much did you pay?

	Frequency	Percent
Below ZW\$ 200	310	39.7
Above ZW\$200	110	14.1
Below US\$ 50	190	24.3
Above US\$ 50	80	10.2

Figure 5: How much people paid as bribes?



The research also sought to understand the occurrence of non-monetary forms of bribery experienced by women. At least 23.8% of respondents indicated that they had experienced a non-monetary form of bribery. About 57.5% of these respondents noted that sexual favours are the form of non-monetary bribe they had experienced. Sextortion is thus a part of the bribery culture in Zimbabwe. Women who do not have money to pay for bribes are thus forced to use sex as a form of payment. 15% used employment favours as a form of bribery. One of the key informants from civil society argued

“ Sex is a currency in many corrupt deals in Zimbabwe. Sexual harassment is institutionalised, and women have been suffering for a long time. There is need to actively deal with all forms of sexual harassment in all sectors. ”

Other respondents noted that food and electrical gadgets are also often used in exchange for services. Forty-five percent of the respondents indicated having received requests for sexual favours to access a service.

5.4 Women’s perceptions of corruption

91.7% of the respondents stated that they are of the view that corruption is very high in Zimbabwe. The respondents noted that bribery, nepotism, fraud and sextortion are all prevalent in the country. This is supported by evidence from other studies that show that corruption is now part of one accessing services and goods in Zimbabwe (Bhatasara 2015). Chiweshe (2015) avers that corruption is part of everyday life in Zimbabwe and ordinary women are feeling the brunt of it. At least 34.5% of the respondents indicated that they had been coerced into corruption. This means that in some cases it is the service providers who force people into corrupt activities. Such service providers are at times brazen and openly demand a bribe in exchange for a service. The gender expert highlighted that:

“Corruption is so common that even service providers actively ask for bribes. Both male and female service providers expect bribes”

In terms of reporting corruption, the majority of respondents (75.6%) indicated that they have never reported corruption (Table 4). Only 15.5% indicated that they had taken the initiative to report corruption. Those who had taken the initiative of reporting corruption, had done so mainly to the police. The respondents indicated that the major reason for not reporting corruption incidences was that some of the police officers were corrupt and cannot be trusted to follow up on issues. **“Even the police officers require some form of payment to help you. They may ask for transport or fuel to enable them to investigate. In the end they also get bribed by the perpetrators”**. Other respondents highlighted that reporting corruption is difficult because they do not know where to report. Other respondents noted that reporting corruption was useless given that most people are involved in one form of corruption or another. For some respondents it was fear of reprisal that stopped them from reporting whilst others indicated that there was no reward for reporting corruption. Regarding sextortion, respondents cited the justice system as too masculine hence they opted not to report. All the key informants who took part in the research indicated that Zimbabwe lacks a robust corruption reporting system. They also highlighted the need for a system to promote and protect whistle blowers.

Table 4: Reporting a corruption incident

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	260	15.5
No	1270	75.6
Not answered	140	8.3
Not Applicable	10	0.6
Total	1680	100.0

5.5 Corruption and access to services

This section of the report outlines experiences of corruption by respondents associated with accessing different kinds of services. Table 5(a) firstly shows how bribery is experienced by respondents when seeking enrollment in schools, colleges or seek medical treatment, seek employment and apply for loans. Ninety-five (95) out of 1680 respondents noted that they had interacted with public service authorities when seeking enrollment in a college/university and accessing educational services. 58% of these respondents indicated being asked for a bribe in the process and 52% indicated that they paid money to speed up service delivery. Similarly, out of the 98 respondents who sought medical attention/ services from public hospitals/urban/rural health units, 58% averred that they had been asked to pay a bribe to access medical services. 60% paid the bribes to get served quickly. What is clear is that service delivery in critical areas such as health and education is getting more expensive as people must pay extra tax in the form of bribes. Even when seeking employment, 67% Consistently, according to Hardoon and Heinrich (2011) 52% of Zimbabweans have paid a bribe to a service provider.

Table 5(a): Corruption in accessing services

	Number visiting institution	% who were asked for a	% who gave money or favours to speed up service delivery
Enrolling in a public school / college / university, availing of gvnt scholarships & other educational services.	95	58	52
Getting a school place for your child.	950	60	61
Medical check-up, hospitalization, vaccination, getting free medicines or other health services from public hospitals/urban/rural health units.	98	58	60
Applying or getting loans or benefits from government institutions.	47	68	70
Seeking assistance for employment or livelihood or getting subsidy/benefits for the poor from government institutions.	680	68	67

Table 5(b) below further illustrates this reality of bribe paying in everyday lives of ordinary Zimbabweans seeking to gain services especially in public institutions. 69% of the respondents paid a bribe to access a passport and 63% paying to obtain a birth certificate. All public documents which should be available to citizens without having to pay a bribe. This reality was further reiterated by women in Epworth as they narrated how impossible it had become to obtain documents like passports and birth certificates without paying a bribe. According to them, bribery at these public institutions takes place in many ways. For example, young people who wait in queues overnight and sell their spots in the morning. Of concern, was that law enforcers are also said to be demanding bribes.

86% of the respondents stated that they had been asked for a bribe when seeking assistance from law enforcers. Accessing justice is thus now mediated by one's ability to pay a bribe. Corruption has become pervasive in all institutions meaning that those without

money fail to access justice. Chiweshe (2015) also notes that the police officers (especially traffic police) in Zimbabwe have a history of amassing small fortunes from bribes and illicit activities on the roads. The police officers suffer from poor working conditions, lack of training and resources, and low salaries, so corruption is common especially at lower levels (Zimbabwe Human Rights Report 2014).

The 2019 Global Corruption Barometer (GCB) – Africa (a joint publication by Transparency International and Afro barometer) stated that 25% of the respondents who had interacted with public service providers in the previous 12 months had paid a bribe to access the services. In that survey, 57% of the respondents were of the view that most or all people in police service were corrupt with 36% of the respondents of the view that most government officials are corrupt.

Table 5(b): Corruption in accessing services

	Number visiting institution	% who were asked for a	% who gave money or favours to speed up service delivery
Paying taxes, duties or service charges	770	61	60
Filing a complaint or seeking assistance from law enforcers	86	86	75
Getting documents like birth, death, marriage certificates from the Civil Registry .	1031	70	63
Getting a passport	982	78	69
Accessing land in either rural or urban areas.	166	83	75

These statistics point towards the normalisation of corruption in everyday practices. Corruption has become an accepted part of doing business and accessing services in Zimbabwe (National Integrity Systems, 2006/7).



5.6 Intersectional analysis of gender, disability, class Vis a Vis vulnerability to corruption



Women are not a homogenous group, thus it is important to highlight the unique and contextual experiences of women occupying different spaces in relation to corruption. In this vein, the research provides a purposive analysis of the experiences of women living with disabilities as they encounter corruption. Women with diverse disabilities were interviewed to gain insight into their experiences, attitudes and perceptions. The findings are outlined below:

- **Definition of corruption:** The respondents provided a definition of corruption that goes beyond the academic understanding of the concept. They defined corruption as “any action, process or activity that affects access to a goods or services”. For example, public transport operators often leave behind disabled passengers

- especially with wheelchairs. This form of discrimination was defined as a corrupt act by the respondents. One respondent argued: ‘Corruption is about anything that denies someone access to a something [service or good] that they should get. Hudzvanyiriri (oppression) is not only about being asked to pay bribes but includes denial of a service.

Spaces and examples of corruption: The respondents outlined multiple instances where corruption has hampered their access to services. One woman indicated how women are being forced to pay bribes to get medication at health centers. Another visually impaired woman narrated her experience at the local board,

“The officers are abusive and refused to assist me. If you have nothing to give them, you will not get assistance especially if you are disabled.”

Another respondent highlighted the issue of how corruption in food aid was affecting them.

“

The food aid from the government is distributed in a corrupt manner with disabled people often being removed from the distribution lists without explanation

”

The respondents also specified that sextortion is often involved when women look for work.

- **Lived experiences of corruption:** The respondents narrated how corruption affects them negatively. Corruption is demeaning and often leads to painful experiences for women living with disabilities. It affects access to key services including health care, employment, justice, education, identity documents and access to communal water from boreholes. The respondents indicated that corruption leaves them in poverty. With corruption in the social services sector, young people living with disabilities face intersectional discrimination. Women with children living with disabilities also narrated how intergenerational poverty and social exclusion persists because they cannot get their children enrolled in schools if one doesn't pay a bribe. One woman narrated how her child, living with cerebral palsy, was denied enrolment at a government school and then later evicted from a private school after one

month of attendance because 'the teachers felt he would mess up other pupils'.

- **Why women suffer more from the brunt of corruption:** One of the respondents argued that: 'Women tend to suffer more from corruption because they are the ones that interact frequently with government and social service providers as compared to men. It is women that take children to the clinics, look for water and interact with the police officers after domestic abuse.'
- Women are also largely responsible to looking for schools for enrolment of their children. Women thus have more opportunities to interact with corruption within these various systems and spaces because of their gendered roles.
- **Government responses to corruption:** The respondents indicated that government is not doing enough to address their concerns with corruption. Women living with disabilities individually or as mothers or care givers are often excluded from programmes conducted by government or civil society. Institutions are not equipped to ensure that they cater to the needs of the different disabilities. Some of the respondents knew about ZACC but were quick to point out that not much has been done to arrest corrupt people or to ensure disability inclusion in their programming.

6. Sectional Analysis of Gendered Dimensions of Corruption



This section is largely based on a literature review of the gendered political economy of corruption in Zimbabwe. It draws from a multiplicity of sources to highlight how corruption in different sectors of the Zimbabwean socio-economic and political sectors is gendered.

6.1 Extractive Industries

Zimbabwe is a country blessed with vast natural resources and rich environments, however, it continues to score negatively on human development indices. This can be attributed to the corruption that characterizes the extractives sector, the red tape and pillaging of the country's natural resources for private wealth creation, thus earning the adage of being a 'curse' (Murombo 2016). The Transitional Stabilization Programme (TSP) adopted by the Government of Zimbabwe puts mining at the core of development to attain Vision 2030 where Zimbabwe will attain middle income status. Thus, the impact that the extractives industries particularly mining can have on the revival of the economy of Zimbabwe cannot be understated (if properly managed). It has been also been argued in various literature that transparent and accountable mining contributes to sustainable development (Transparency International 2017).

In the absence of transparency and other controls, ruling cliques use resource profits to enrich themselves and consolidate power through corruption and patronage, while the general citizenry remains impoverished (Bryan and Hoffman 2007). In Zimbabwe, corruption, greed, and lack of



transparency and accountability have taken precedence as the country's minerals continue to benefit few, especially the elite and people who have powerful connections both locally and internationally (Malinga 2018). Masiye et al. note that the inadequacies of the existing law and policy inconsistencies have fueled corruption, opaque licensing and other forms of resource plundering (Masiya et al 2018).

A study by Transparency International on mining licensing approvals, revealed that corruption risks are present in the mining approvals regimes across the world - irrespective of the country's stage of economic development, political context, or the size and maturity of its mining sector corruption (TI, 2017). It was noted that corruption is likely to emerge in mining if the real owners or beneficiaries of mining companies applying for licences are not disclosed and regulation of political donations and lobbying is weak and lacks transparency. Added to that, complex legal structures and secrecy jurisdictions can be used to hide who benefits from natural resources (Global Witness 2012).

Similarly, corruption in government decisions about opening land to mining compromises the rest of the approvals process, even if subsequent licensing decisions are transparent and apparently corruption-free. In the case of Zimbabwe, it has been reported that public officials have had interests since the discovery of the Marange diamond fields. Senior officials, including retired military and security personnel, hold interests in mining companies operating in Marange and the former minister Obert Mpofu has been implicated in awarding licenses to dubious applicants. It has also been observed that in Zimbabwe, insecure property rights have increased the risk of mining-related corruption and conflict in farming regions, with some farmers believing they are losing out to mining (TI 2017).

Nonetheless, while the literature on the nature of corruption in the mining sector continues to grow, there is not much research on the nexus between gender and corruption in the sector. Zimbabwean studies do not engage with nuances around gender or intersectionality theory. However, it is apparent from the broader global studies, that, just like mining is predominantly a masculine landscape, corruption in the mining sector is also gendered. Corruption in the management of extractives can have gender-differentiated consequences (EITI, 2018).

In the Zimbabwean context only 2% of large- scale mining employees are women while just 11% of artisanal and small- scale miners are women (TI Z 2017). Often, the social and economic exclusion of women is exacerbated by corruption. A study by TI Z (2012) established that politicians, notably senior male government ministers and

officials were implicated in most corrupt activities concerning the extraction, sale and exportation of gold and diamonds in Zimbabwe. As a result, mining has only benefited a few politically connected individuals and investors – **local women and youths have not attained any material benefits**. Looking at the Marange diamond fields, it has been reported that after the expulsion of artisanal miners, three companies (Mbada, Anjin, and Transfrontier) were given licenses to mine different claims of diamonds in July 2009. The allocation of licenses was marred by corruption and patronage and the companies are wholly owned by stakeholders aligned to the ruling party (Zvarivadza 2015). Owners of these companies are mostly elite men, both black Zimbabweans and other nationalities. On the other hand, the main bureaucrats involved in bureaucratic corruption in gold mining are the officials in the Ministry of Mines and Mining Development and members of the police force (Publish What You Pay Zimbabwe 2016).



This does not mean that corruption and misgovernance in mining are only male practices, but in most cases, there are gendered effects which make it precarious for women to penetrate the sector (Chiweshe and Bhatasara 2019). For one to enter the industry, one must be highly connected to the ruling party (Zvarivadza 2015), no fair considerations are made, even in terms of gender in allocating claims. Further, in cases where large bribes are demanded, some women may not afford monetary payment and may end up using their bodies as payment a practice termed 'sextortion'. TIZ (2012) also reported cases of sextortion where women offer sex to security officers in order to gain access to securitised/militarised diamond fields.

The impacts of corruption in the mining sector also take a gender dimension. For instance, when Environmental Impact Assessments in the mining sector are not enforced and environmental officers take bribes from companies, communities face the brunt of environmental problems. Communities are subjected to adverse impacts of large-scale mining on the environment, social life and livelihoods, and these affect women the most (ZIMCODD 2018). Mining involves pollution and the contamination of the environment with highly toxic substances and through a process of state capture, mining companies may weaken environmental regulations (Standing 2007). The environmental degradation that tends to accompany mining operations can have a severe impact on local communities through water shortages, air pollution, contamination of natural water supplies by toxic waste, and the resulting loss of local biodiversity (ibid).

Pertaining to Marange diamond fields, it has been noted that unregulated mining leaves several negative mining legacies, such as acid mine drainage, environmental degradation, social ills, economic meltdown, endangered health and safety, and ultimately, impoverished communities (Zvarivadza 2015). Still in Marange diamond fields, with the diamond mining companies unregulated use of excessive water, ground water is depleting causing many boreholes to dry and, repercussions are multifaceted mainly affecting women who largely carry the burden of sourcing domestic water for their families (ZIMCODD 2018, PWYP 2016). PWYP (2016) also highlighted that environmental challenges adversely affect women and children more severely than men, as they deplete food and water sources. Land and water grabbing by mining companies is a common practice throughout Zimbabwe.



6.2 Informal Sector

The deepening economic crisis in Zimbabwe has simultaneously led to increased informalisation of the economy. Although it is widely acknowledged that informalisation of the economy is a pattern across Africa, it is the embeddedness of corruption in Zimbabwe's informal sector that is highly problematic. Vendors are vulnerable to many forms of systematic corruption (including extortion and bribes) due to the requirements for stringent compliance conditions by council by-laws. The application of city by-laws is selective and unjust, hence several people in the informal sector are subject to fleecing by the City Council employees. Vendors are also subject to unauthorised taxes either by some council workers or political sub-groups so that they are guaranteed vending spaces that is rightfully theirs in the first place. Urban spaces are also contested and politicized, with the emergence of land barons in cities like Harare worsening the plight of vendors. TI Z has previously reported that vending barons usually connected to political elites and council

workers, grab most of the spaces and later force vendors to pay bribes to get the vending stalls.

Various groups in the informal sector face different experiences. Women have historically been the majority in the informal economy. The surge of corruption in the country is one of the challenges faced by women in the informal economy (International Labour Organization 2017). For instance, ILO notes that without bribing immigration officials at border posts, female cross border traders risk having their goods denied entry into the country or paying inflated duty fees. ILO's report also pays attention to the plight of women living with disabilities whose presence has increased in the informal sector over the years due to the failure of social welfare provisions. Women in informal mining activities must also deal with corrupt elements such as security agents who demand bribes. As noted in the TI Z (2014) study, women end up paying monetary bribes or engaging in sextortion to be granted entry into mining fields.



6.3 Politics and decision-making structures

Increasing women's participation in politics and decision making is an important factor in ensuring that women's issues become central in government planning. If women are not represented within governance structures, their interests and needs will remain peripheral. It is thus important to analyse how corruption intersects with other factors such as patriarchy, religion and location to affect women's access to decision making structures in Zimbabwe. It is also important to note that several studies looking at the correlation between levels of corruption and women's representation in politics found that corruption tends to be lower in countries with a greater share of women occupying political positions (Swamy et al., 2000, Dollar et al., 2001). Within the Zimbabwe context, the electoral process requires financial prowess to succeed. Besides that, there is widespread perception that people with money can lead, hence people look down upon people of low-income status. Young unemployed women do not have money to give women supporters to vote for them. In their research RAU and IYWD (2018) also cited that young women (29%) reported lack of financial support as a barrier.



The political economy of Zimbabwe is characterized by deepening corruption based on a patronage system in which ZANU PF has maintained political power by parceling out benefits such as stands, market stalls, state contracts and other illicit activities (Anti-Corruption Trust of Southern Africa, 2012). All these processes have further pushed women to the economic margins leading to the feminization of poverty and closed spaces for economic emancipation. Financial marginalisation of women in many ways entrenches patriarchy and this negatively impacts women across all sectors. Economic inequalities thus increase women's vulnerability and dependence on men. This negatively impacts on women's abilities to participate in governance and decision-making structures as they neither have the resources nor time to do so. The continued regression of women's economic fortune thus reinforces the already existing structural barriers to participate in governance systems.

“

The lack of financial resources by women often poses as a hindrance to women participation, more so when it comes to electoral campaigns. Electioneering needs resources and women in this country are still challenged economically”
Key Informant Interviewee

”

The impact of money and corruption in politics is directly felt by the few number of women in elected positions. For example, in 2018, only 13.3% of elected councilors were women. Harare Residents Trust (2013) also reported that Harare City Council has an imbalance in terms of women's representation at senior managerial level and at policy making level. This not only results in gender blind social policies, but also limits the ability of female citizens to demand accountability, justice and equity in service delivery from mostly men who are not privy to their gendered realities. Under representation of women at local government level poses serious challenges to local authority services. Women are the first and main users of services, yet the number of women in positions of influence does not reflect the population statistics

6.4 Corruption and Gender based violence



Narratives from women in this research point towards direct links between gender-based violence and corruption. Firstly, women noted that there are many cases where perpetrators are released without explanation and cases do not get

prosecuted because of the alleged corruption in the justice sector. In Epworth women noted multiple cases in which the police officers are implicated in further entrenching GBV when they do not arrest abusers because they get bribes or demand bribes from victims of GBV in order to arrest the abusers. Secondly, key informants noted that there are many areas of concern within the referral system for sexual gender based violence which can provide opportunities for corruption. One key informant noted: 'Corruption can actually be detrimental to the referral system for sexual offences. For the system to work all the stakeholders should play their part.' Related to the above is how a lack of health personnel due to industrial action can lead to challenges and corrupt tendencies in processing rape kits and having health check-ups.

6.5 Agriculture and rural land

In Zimbabwe, the intersection between corruption and access to land has been observed. Land corruption and its impacts are gendered. Adverse reports on women's negative experiences have been produced. During the fast track reform, women lost out because of several malpractices in land allocation, issuing of offer letters, land registration, demarcation of land boundaries, dispossession and unfair land conflict resolution processes (Matondi and Dekker, 2011). Mutopo (2013) aptly highlights how women in different spaces were affected. In Masvingo for example, a significant proportion of women had no legal title to land despite having access to it for over a decade. Large scale land deals and land grabbing post-fast track have also affected

women in adverse ways. In Mazowe, women, for instance at Manzou farm were evicted by the former first lady, Grace Mugabe.

Due to the dependence on land as their primary livelihood resource women are likely to be confronted by corruption more severely than men. Land corruption reduces women's access to and ownership of land. It entrenches already existing patriarchal norms that promote gender land inequalities in rural Zimbabwe. Land corruption intersects and entrenches already existing gendered land inequalities and creates new inequalities. Ownership of land in Zimbabwe has traditionally been a male privilege with women having usufruct rights mostly through birth within specific patrilineage and through marriage.

Mutondoro, Chiweshe and Gaidzanwa (2017) highlight how in Chisumbanje women have been negatively affected by displacement from communal lands due to the biofuel plant in the area. TI Z has also cited this in its documentary titled "Women, Land and Corruption". The investment in biofuel promoted by a company called Green Fuels led to the displacement of households from farming land leading to loss of livelihoods and negative impacts especially on women including increased early marriages and gender-based violence (Chiweshe and Mutopo 2014). The Chisumbanje case has also seen new forms of land corruption emerging affecting women negatively such as sextortion. In Chisumbanje when the company took land from villagers it introduced a programme to handover 0.5-hectare plots to a limited number of households. The land was allocated by male traditional leaders who used their power to demand sex in lieu of

access from vulnerable women (mainly divorced, single and widowed women). Experiences of sextortion in patriarchal society stigmatises women for such acts and are often the hidden and untold aspects of large-scale land deals. One female interviewee quoted in the Transparency International documentary stated

“When it was time to get compensation land, the Headman said, if I wanted to get half a hectare of land, I had to have sex with him. I had to agree because we are poor and landless. I only did it because I wanted land, but he wanted to continue having sex with me, indefinitely. When I refused to continue with the relationship, the headmen kicked me out of Bepe Village.”

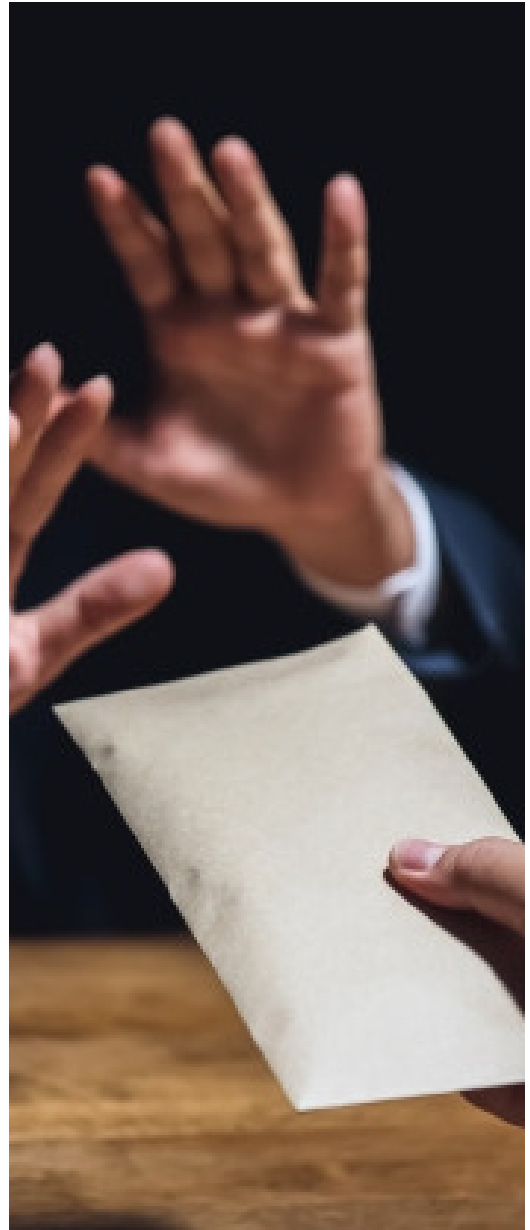


The interviewee also indicated that several women had traded sex in return for land, but they could not disclose this as this would ruin their marriages or the community would label them as prostitutes. This study noted that sextortion is a growing form of corruption that is least reported due to factors that are embedded in the social structure of the Zimbabwean societies. These factors include the fear of condemnation by and expulsion from the community and the fear of losing the land, the asset that they would have sacrificed their health and morals to gain.

6.6 State Procurement

One of the biggest spaces for business and entrepreneurs is in acquiring state contracts which can be very lucrative. Access to state contracts however has been riddled by corruption leading to emergence of new forms of actors known as tenderpreneurs whose sole business is to corruptly acquire such contracts. Corruption in the State procurement process is what led to the creation of the Public Procurement and Disposal of Public Assets Act, Chapter 22:23 that dissolved State Procurement Board at the beginning of 2018 in favour of a Procurement Regulatory Authority of Zimbabwe (PRAZ). While there is little data on the gendered dimensions of the state procurement process, its impacts have a widespread effect on women. To better illustrate this, the 2019 Auditor-General's report is instructive in showing how state procurement processes are entangled with widespread corruption characterised by unauthorized payments by parastatals; non acquittal of financial transactions; salary overpayments and double salaries; non-payment of funds due to government; unguided investments; unauthorized, dubious and illegal donations; undelivered goods; theft; fraud; under banking; no receipts and no invoices. An example is how the Zimbabwe Electrical Transmission and Distribution paid US\$4.9 million for transformers that have not been delivered yet poor households are increasingly suffering from energy poverty. Bhatasara (2019) shows that from the Auditor-General's report social service leakages are approximately US\$102 333 955. This hampers sustainable development because it negatively affects the achievement of health and education outcomes, inclusive growth and equity

(PACT 2017). The negative impact on socio-economic rights impedes development and a better quality of life to the most vulnerable members of society (Wafawarova 2011). Women and children suffer the most when maternal health care is compromised by corruption and leakages of public resources.



6.7 Corruption in sport



Corruption in sport has negatively impacted the growth of participation by women in different sporting codes. In 2019, all the major sporting codes in Zimbabwe had been involved in crises involving bad governance and mismanagement especially of funds. These endemic problems of corruption in sport must be understood within wider societal context in which corruption has become a part of everyday life in Zimbabwe. As such sports administrators are not immune to wider social rot in Zimbabwean institutions. The impacts of poor governance in sport administration also has an effect on women and in some instances the effects are felt more by women than men. It is investment in women's sport and their continued participation that has suffered especially in 2019 when the women's football team forfeited a match against Zambia due to complaints over money and the women's cricket team was disqualified from a world cup qualifying tournament due to government interference (Chronicle, 2019). These cases point towards a context in

which women's participation in sport is continuously being undermined by bad governance.

Research shows that there are high levels of historic corruption that characterize the Zimbabwe Football Association's (ZIFA) administration. It seems corruption at ZIFA is mostly expressed in multiple ways, such as embezzlement of funds for personal use, match fixing and vote buying during ZIFA elections. Over the years a number of football administrators were relieved of their duties on accusation of embezzlement of funds, for instance Sharuko in the Herald of November 2015, notes that Trevor Juul was relieved from his position as ZIFA chairman in 1993 because he and his board had failed to account for money grossed from a match featuring the Zimbabwean men's senior national team. Leo Mugabe (ZIFA chairman 1993-2002), who was Juul's successor at ZIFA was also removed on allegations of personal use of funds given to ZIFA by FIFA as part of the Goal Project initiative, a development

project aimed to improve the development of football in developing countries (Ncube 2016). The biggest scandal to rock Zimbabwean football however is the Asiagate scandal where between August 2007 and January 2010 the Zimbabwe national team and other local clubs went on tour, mainly in Asia, as well as the Middle East and North Africa, and were paid to deliberately lose matches. Monomotapa football club, masqueraded as the Zimbabwe national team and played a number of international matches with Asian teams that they deliberately lost in return for payments (Ncube 2014). Wilson Raj Perumal and involved then chairman of ZIFA Wellington Nyatanga and chief executive officer Henrietta Rushawya among multiple other football administrators and journalists.

The multiplier effect of these issues on women's football includes a lack of investment in grassroots football. Women's football in Zimbabwe is virtually on life support because of the lack of investment into building infrastructure that can promote its growth including a viable national league. In 2018 ZIFA introduced the Zimbabwe Women Soccer League, but in 2019 the league faced serious problems stemming from governance and financing challenges. The Women's national team has achieved many honours including playing at the Olympic Games in Brazil but the athletes have been poorly rewarded for their efforts. For example, when they came back from the Olympic Games, the players are alleged to have received only US\$5 for bus fare. In the past, the treatment of women players include allegations of sextortion. In cricket, years of mismanagement has affected the growth of the game among women. The sport has gone through turbulent times post 2000 leading to the regression in gains

made by the game post-independence. In 2019, the Zimbabwe Cricket and Sports and Recreation Commission was embroiled in a dispute which led to the dissolution of the cricket board by Government. The SRC had concerns around the governance issues and transparency within the sporting body but the International Cricket Council viewed this as political interference leading to the ban of the country from major tournaments. This came as a blow for the women's team which had qualified for an international tournament. The ban also meant that funds from the ICC were frozen leading to the suspension of cricket programs especially for women at the grassroots. The male national team still managed to tour Bangladesh and Singapore whilst the female game went into limbo.



6.8 Social welfare and services



The cost of corruption is not only measured in terms of economics that is the amount of money or public resources stolen or embezzled. Corruption is also measured through the social cost. That is, the absence of basic services that could have been provided with that money and would have improved the lives of families and communities (UN Secretary General 2012). There is ample evidence that corruption is a major hindrance to sustainable development because it negatively affects the achievement of health and education outcomes, inclusive growth and equity (PACT 2017). From a population welfare perspective, corrupt practices increase inequality and perpetuate poverty (United Nations Economic Commission for Africa 2016). Income which could have been spent for the benefit of society at large is

depleted on such a scale that housing, spent for the benefit of society at large is depleted on such a scale that housing, education, sanitation, nutrition and healthcare for example, are threatened or rendered inadequate (Lewis 2015). Reduced investment in social services also disproportionately affects the poor and perpetuates inequality and poverty (ibid). Corruption further marginalizes already vulnerable women living in poverty, putting basic public services and goods out of their reach, and leaving them lagging in the economic, social, and political development of their country (SIDA 2015). Scholars have noted that usually, people living in poverty are socially excluded and belong to politically marginalised groups. Corruption disproportionately affects people living in poverty and people whose voices are marginalised, the significant

majority of whom are women (Oxfam International 2018). It is a tax on the poor and it distorts how income, resources, power and services are shared between men and women, boys and girls and creates additional obstacles and risks for women to access utilise and manage public goods and services (ibid). Socially and politically excluded people are more likely to fall into poverty, and the poor are more vulnerable to social exclusion and political marginalisation (Peters 2019). At the same time, social injustice is threatened because corruption keeps the elite in power, for instance, from the 2019 Auditor General's Report it is evident that offenders are still in power (such as fraudulent Board members and executives in various entities). Some have had their contracts renewed even though there is ample evidence of fraud and potential criminality.



PACT (2017) observed that corruption impairs the provision of social programs to the intended target populations and citizens end up failing to access critical services. In the case of Zimbabwe, corruption has severely stifled development and crippled social services, particularly through the diversion of resources intended to fund economic growth, public infrastructural development and social programs in health and education for private gain (ibid). The cost of corruption in Zimbabwe has been evident in the broken infrastructure, power and water shortages, worsening poverty in both rural and urban communities, lack of drugs in hospitals and books in schools, rising unemployment and crimes (ibid). In addition, corruption causes citizens to remain poor and illiterate, and to suffer from high infant and child mortality rates, low birth-weight babies and high

dropout rates in primary schools (Kaufmann et al. 2008). Social sector-specific studies show that corruption harms poor people more than other groups and diverts desperately-needed funds from education, healthcare and other public services.

Corruption in the **health sector** is probably one of the most detrimental faces of the problem corruption and leakages because life is directly at stake (Mundawarara and Mapanda 2010). It can be a matter of life and death, especially for poor people in developing countries (Hussmann 2011), and can have severe consequences for access, quality, equity and effectiveness of health care services (Chene 2015). Theft of medical supplies and budget leakages lead to drug shortages and poor-quality services. The vast social and geographical disparities in Zimbabwe's health indicators

and services provides fertile ground for corruption (TARSC, MoHCW and EQUINET, 2011). It has also been noted that health practitioners continue to enjoy impunity for various acts of conflict of interest and other forms of corruption that they commit (Chinhamo undated). In July 2019, it was reported that Masvingo Provincial Hospital medical superintendent Dr Julius Chirengwa and the entire management committee were suspended owing to a scandal that involved drugs being diverted to private pharmacies for resale in foreign currency. These and other noted corrupt acts (creating artificial acute drug shortages and fictitious dispense lists, theft of surgical equipment and ARV drugs) have compromised the quality of health service delivery to citizens. In their study Mapanda and Mundawarara (2010) noted that 57% of PLHIV paid bribes to access to drugs, 24% diagnostic services, and 19% for initial enrolment. Corruption in health sector also has gender specific consequences. Women and children suffer the most when maternal health care is compromised by corruption and leakages of public resources. From the 2019 AG report, Mpilo Hospital Maternity Unit was operating with one resuscitative machine instead of at least three which should be in Theatre A, Theatre B and in the Recovery Room. This compromised service delivery and the health of the expecting mothers. In her study on corruption and maternal health care, for maternal health seekers in rural Zimbabwe, (Choguya, 2018) identified two notable forms of corruption (bribery and extortion). It is also women and girls who pick up the burden in the form of unpaid care when their family and friends cannot access health care - a hidden subsidy to governments health budgets that is never

acknowledged (Oxfam International 2018). Unequal responsibilities for unpaid care compromise women's economic and social freedoms and reduce their opportunities to escape poverty and fully participate in society (ibid).



The **education sector** unfortunately is not excluded from the corruption epidemic. Global Trends, released by Transparency International (TI), cited corruption in education as among the most significant barriers to the universal right to education. Examples of grand corruption in the education sector include the then Minister of Higher Education, Science and Technology Development and his deputy conniving to siphon about US\$500 million meant for Zimbabwe Manpower Development Projects (ZIMDEF) to fund ZANU PF party activities. Misappropriation of funds by school heads threatens infrastructure development at schools. TI (2013) reported that corruption in education acts as a dangerous barrier to high-quality education and social and

economic development and jeopardizes the academic benefits of higher education institutions. Corruption, inequitable distribution and misuse of funds in the education sector may worsen inequality between groups, potentially triggering discontent, protest and social unrest (Miller-Grandvaux 2009). Therefore, it is apt to agree that lack of education, as manifested by high illiteracy rates and low primary school enrolment ratios, itself constitutes a dimension of poverty. From the analysis of several studies, it appears that this negative impact on the right to education falls most heavily on women and girls (Bhatasara 2015).

Corruption leads to **poor quality water** infrastructure and fatally undermines fair and affordable access to water and sanitation (Jenkins 2017). Ultimately this exacerbates the already precarious lives and livelihoods of the poor -especially where these are related to other vulnerabilities such as gender, age or ethnicity, living with disabilities - and reduces their ability to escape poverty (ibid). Poor water management systems by local authorities such as City of Harare have resulted in residents enduring several days or weeks without tap water (ZIMCODD 2015). Women bear the burden mostly because of their gender roles. For instance, corruption increases the burden on women and girls (when corrupt officials misuse funds for water provision) as women are responsible for fetching water in households (Chimanikire 2015). Their time and labour burdens are increased. The outbreaks of Cholera and Typhoid, in part, occurred because of corruption that diverts resources for water and sanitation infrastructure. Worse still, even donated

water purification tablets destined for areas hit by cholera have been stolen by opportunists, who sell them to people who should be getting them free. Again, women and children are reported as the main victims. Most recently, there have been cases of women having to succumb to sextortion to get water in areas such as Chitungwiza, Glenview and Budiro.



7. Recommendations

7.1 Main-streaming gender in anti-corruption systems

Zimbabwe has numerous anti-corruption institutions such as the Zimbabwe Anti-Corruption Commission (ZACC) whose roles are outlined in Section 13 (1) of the constitution includes investigating corruption, referring cases to the National Prosecuting Authority, directing the police officers to investigate cases and offering recommendations to government. In the context of the constitutional provisions of ZACC, police officers are an important institution in the investigation and prevention of corruption. There is need to ensure that ZACC and other institutions fighting corruption deliberately place gender at the core of their actions. ZACC must have a gender and corruption policy framework that prioritize issues such as sextortion and other forms of corruption which impacts on women. The legislation in Zimbabwe is silent on gendered corruption, for example, the Prevention of Corruption Act (Chapter 9:16) does not specify gender-based forms of corruption. The legislation need to be revised to ensure that gender is mainstreamed in the entire anti-corruption infrastructure in Zimbabwe.

7.2 Women Empowerment through ICT & social media

The development of ICTs and increased access to social media especially in urban Zimbabwe provides a unique opportunity to improve reporting, managing and investigating corruption. Bauer (2014) notes that social media serves two purposes in anti-corruption efforts, that is i). Analysis, commentary and advocacy; and ii). Investigation and crowd sourcing. The

first is already happening in Zimbabwe in the form of various blog posts, legal reviews and presentations that impart knowledge or spread the word on corruption. There is need for all stakeholders to harness such tools and capacitate women especially in low income groups to report, mobilise and advocate against corruption. There are many online resources emerging on corruption in Zimbabwe, but none has solely focused on women and their gendered experiences of corruption. The second use which involves investigation and crowd sourcing remain underutilized. Anti-corruption institutions should work towards investigation and crowd sourcing including websites and applications that allow for reporting corruption especially for women.

7.3 Improving data on gender and corruption

There is a distinct lack on gender disaggregated data on the effects and impact of corruption on men and women in Zimbabwe. Policy making requires more data in various institutional spaces to allow for evidence-based responses to corruption. Therefore, strategic entry points Strategic entry points for future anti-corruption programming by both government and civil society aimed at reducing the gendered impacts of corruption must include developing gender-sensitive tools, data and measurements and undertaking gender assessments.

7.4 Institutional strengthening in fighting sextortion and other gendered specific forms of corruption

In patriarchal societies such as Zimbabwe, issues affecting women are often at the periphery of mainstream social debates. Women's experiences are in many ways marginalized and there is lack of formal institutional support to respond to women's unique experiences of corruption. In this regard, the capacity of formal anti-corruption institutions such as the Police, ZACC and the judiciary must be strengthened to respond to corruption using a gender lenses (human rights-based approach to anti-corruption). For example, the police through the victim friendly unit must create an enabling environment for victims of sextortion and all other forms of gendered corruption to report without blaming and making fun of the victim.

7.5 Increase equitable participation of women in governance, public decision making and social accountability processes

In Zimbabwe, the participation of women in governance, public decision making, and social accountability processes is very low as compared to that of men. Women, including those living with disabilities must be part of the formulation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of anti-corruption policies. Integrating women in the public services will ensure a fairer access to political rights. Women's participation in public offices will contribute to improved integrity and accountability in the anti-corruption fight.

7.6 Gendered national anti-corruption strategy in Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe is a signatory to the United Nations Convention Against Corruption

(UNCAC). Under Article 5 on Preventive Anti-Corruption Policies and Practices, the UNCAC calls upon state parties to develop and implement or maintain effectively, coordinated anti-corruption policies/strategies. In line with this Article, Zimbabwe is in the process of developing a anti-corruption strategy or policy. There is need to ensure that the national anti-corruption strategy mainstreams gender and human rights.

8. Conclusion

This research by Transparency International Zimbabwe confirms that women are more susceptible to the effects of gendered corruption. The social, political and economic environment in Zimbabwe revealed that women relatively lacks both political and economic muscles which greatly hinders their ability to demand transparency and accountability to highlight their specific concerns about corruption. Within the context of development, the debilitating effects of corruption requires further analysis in highlighting how the future gender equality and development concerns are intricately linked to efforts geared towards fighting corruption. The gendered dimensions of corruption characterise all socio-economic and political spaces in Zimbabwe.

Corruption in the social services sector for example, affects women in a multiplicity of ways that speak to the everyday access of services such as water, health, identity cards and other social services. Corruption in the education service delivery chain for instance, occurs during school planning and management, student admissions, examinations, as well as dealing with teacher management and professional conduct. In urban land management, it is important to see how women seeking land have also been affected by sextortion and the impact for those that have lost money to bogus political land barons. The major findings from the survey indicate that most women are experiencing corruption in accessing everyday social and public services. The rights of women are seriously undermined by the increasing need to bribe when accessing public goods. The research concludes that the everyday normalisation of corruption has serious implications for gender equality and attainment of sustainable development goals.

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