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CORRUPTION
AND
FEMALE OFFICIAL REPRESENTATION
IN DEVELOPING STATES

- do women counteract political corruption?

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Abstract

The purpose of this essay is to investigate the validity of the hypothesis that there is a negative relationship between female official representation and the level of corruption in developing states. The possibility of a reversed causality is also considered. This is done through statistical analysis combined with a theoretical framework.

The results show a weak relationship between the level of women in parliament and the level of corruption, although other factors seem to have a stronger explanatory force. From the analysis of the results it is indicated that it is a case of a circular relationship between a multitude of factors where an augmentation in one sector creates favourable conditions for the other factors and thus creating a cycle of effects that can be both positive and negative.

It is also argued that previous studies on this issue have not taken into consideration the different societal and political conditions that developing states face compared to highly developed states and that the conclusions drawn from these studies might not be fully applicable on this set of countries.

Keywords: Corruption, Gender, Women in the legislature, Developing Countries, Cross-national

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List of Abbreviations

- CPI** - Corruption Perceptions Index (Transparency International)
- FH** - Freedom House
- GNP** - Gross National Product
- HDI** - Human Development Index
- ICRG** - International Country Risk Guide
- TI** - Transparency International

1 Introduction

Corruption is a worldwide occurrence and although it is a serious problem wherever it takes place, I believe that some states are more negatively affected than others. These are states that also have other serious problems associated with former colonization, a lower degree of economic and social development such as widespread poverty, low industrialization and often recent non-democratic regimes¹. Here corruption, among other factors, sometimes seems to hinder the states' ability to move forward and change so as to be able to end poverty and the political marginalization of a majority of the citizens.

There are three different aspects to be considered when it comes to corruption. These are the causes, the consequences and the possible remedies. They are all related to each other and in order to be able to find viable remedies, one must know both the consequences and the causes. Recent research indicates that female official representation might be beneficial to the fighting of corruption (Dollar et al, 1999; Swamy et al, 2000)². If these findings are valid, they might entail two different things: first, it can add to the possible explanations for corruption, because it proposes that women are less corrupt than men. Second, it has bearing on the way corruption can be fought. If the causation runs the other way (that lower levels of corruption enables women to reach higher positions of power and influence) this can tell us something about the effects of corruption.

The studies mentioned above cover a population of highly developed countries as well as those with a lower developmental level. As I find the hypothesis that is brought forward in these studies very intriguing I want to further investigate it and especially in relation to countries that have lower levels of development. *The purpose* of my study is therefore to investigate the validity of the hypothesis brought forward by the above mentioned studies and put the findings into the developmental context, which in many instances is incomparable to the context of the highly developed countries. It is therefore interesting to look at these countries apart from the group of richer ones: an aspect that has not been problematized by the earlier studies. My problem is thus:

- *Is there a relationship between female official representation and the level of corruption in developing states?*

¹ These countries are usually referred to as *developing*. I will use it within this text even though it is a debated concept since there at the moment is no better concise description for this group of countries.

² For a fuller description of the findings of these studies see chapter 2.

1.1 Methodology

I intend to test the hypothesis that women can have a negative effect on the degree of corruption through cross-national statistical analysis and use a framework of the available theory in the field when interpreting the results. I have chosen this method because I believe that it gives me the best opportunity to test the hypothesis on a larger set of cases. A quantitative analysis cannot be as deep in its probing of the issue (because of the limited time-frame) as for example a qualitative case study would be and therefore it is possible that some important factors might be overlooked. However, since the aim is to investigate the validity of a hypothesis, it is difficult to make inferences that can be said to be more generally valid from a case study, even if it would contain several states. Therefore I have chosen to do a study that might not be as in depth as a case study would be, but can instead say something more general about the issue at hand (Lundquist, 1993:103ff).

A lot of criticism has been directed toward statistical analysis for the difficulty of making causal inferences from the results obtained (Jackman, 1985:162f). This is true in the respect that there is no way of directly proving which way the causation runs by using statistics. The criticism here tends to miss the point, since no method within the political science field can do without interpretation of the results and quantitative analysis is no exception. The results are not the only thing that matters, it is how they are interpreted that is important and if the user of statistical analysis is aware of the pitfalls of causality and acts accordingly the risk of making faulty inferences decreases significantly.

Quantitative analysis is based on the use of data or measurements. These data are made into variables that are tested in relation to each other in order to generate results. This process implies two things: the results generated are dependent on the data collected; the data collected is subjectively chosen and sometimes also subjectively measured or classified, which in its turn demands interpretation (Kritzer, 1996:13ff).

My study is based on other people's data and some of the variables have been subjectively constructed. This is especially true for the variables on the degree of corruption. Since corruption is seldom practiced in the open, it is not possible to measure objectively. Hence the measures that I use (The World Bank's "Graft-index" and Transparency International's "Corruption Perception Index") are based on subjectively gathered data. They are constructed from a number of different subjective or perceptions-based measures and surveys which are aggregated into weighted indexes. This implies that, since the sources are seldom worldwide and since they change over time, it could be problematic to engage in large scale cross-national analysis and also analysis of change over time. However these issues have been noticed by the crafters of these indexes, who have attempted to control for this through the weighting of the different sources when

constructing the indexes³. By being aware of these problems and discussing it here and when applicable in the text, I strive to as far as possible eliminate the risk of making false inferences.

I use bivariate and partial correlation in combination with linear regression. The different methods are used for different purposes: as regression is limited because of its sensitivity to multicollinearity⁴ bivariate and partial correlations are used to determine which variables are inter-correlated and which are correlated to the dependent variables. Regression is used in the second stage in trying to find a model of explanation involving more than one independent variable.

1.1.1 Operationalization and the Problem of Definition

A prerequisite for a study of a concept/phenomenon is to operationalize it and define what is meant by it. My definition of corruption is by necessity the same as the definition for the indexes that I use. They are fairly similar and both have the basic definition of "misuse of public power for private benefit" (World Bank - Kaufman et al, 2003:4; TI – Graf Lambsdorff, 2002:3). This is a quite broad definition, but is necessarily so because corruption is a problem with many different manifestations and for example doesn't necessarily involve money. As always when it comes to broad definitions however, there is always a risk of conceptual stretching. Another definition that runs along the same lines as the one cited above is given by J. S. Nye: "Corruption is behaviour which deviates from the formal duties of a public role because of private-regarding (personal, close family, private clique) pecuniary or status gains; or violates rules against the exercise of certain types of private-regarding influence" (Nye cited in Hutchcroft, 1997:227). This definition says the same thing as the one above, but is more specified and gives an insight into the workings of corruption in a way that the first definition overlooks. However, in this case it is not possible for me to further specify the definition because I am dependent on the indexes, but below I will shortly discuss what this definition entails and how it affects the analysis.

In the title of this paper the concept of political corruption is used. To say that corruption is political puts it in the official sphere and separates it from corruption occurring strictly within the private or business sector (Heywood, 1997:5). This means that one of the actors involved in the corrupt behaviour has to be a politician, a bureaucrat or otherwise employed by the state (or an equivalent) (ibid). Within this broad definition are also included instances where politicians

³ For a further and a more in depth discussion of these methodological issues please see: Kaufman et al, 2003; Graf Lambsdorff, 1996; 2000.

⁴ Multicollinearity appears when two or more of the independent variables used in a linear regression are strongly correlated to each other. Usually multicollinearity is avoided because the relationship and explained variance might otherwise be a result of the correlation between the independent variables. (Djurfeldt et al, 2003:387ff)

distribute small sums of money to their constituents in order to buy votes (see for example Lindberg, 2003 and Rose-Ackerman, 1999:137f).

Several different kinds of corruption can be held within the definition stated above:

- “grand corruption”: in the political arena (Heywood, 1997:10; Kaufman et al, 2003:4)
- “legislative corruption”
- “petty corruption”: “the bending of rules in favour of friends” (Heidenheimer, 1970:23)
- “routine corruption”: where gifts from the public to officials is standard practice, mainly in traditional patron-client relationships (Heidenheimer, 1970:25).
- “electoral corruption”

The definition of corruption is related to the view of correct political behaviour and the prevailing norms in a society (Heywood, 1997:6ff). Since these can vary between societies and cultures one runs the risk of relativism which rules out the possibility of any comparative analysis (ibid). The indexes used in this study do not make any difference between corruption in the public and in the private sector. By including so many different kinds of corruption, the problem of cultural relativism is here in part avoided. This on the other hand, raises another problem: the issue of what kind of corruption is decreasing when a country gets a better score in the indexes. This is a dilemma facing anybody trying to conduct a statistical analysis involving corruption. One cannot be absolutely sure that a relationship (or lack of it) found is related to the “right” kind of corruption. However, it is plausible to think that if a correlation is found it is not completely by chance in all of the cases included in the study.

The purpose of this paper is to look into the possible relationship between women’s official representation and corruption. Hence, it is necessary to operationalize the concept of official representation. As I see it there are several levels of representation: parliamentary; governmental (high and low) and the civil service. Furthermore female managers or business owners who engage in transactions with the officials might also have an effect on the levels of corruption, although these women cannot be said to be official representatives in the strict sense and will therefore not be used here. I will use figures on the share of female representation in legislatures and governments for the first two levels. For the third level: civil service (or the bureaucracy) there are no available figures on female representation and therefore I use the female share of the total workforce, which ought to some degree be representative also for the share of

women in the civil service.⁵ All of these data are available through the UNDP "World Development Report" (UNDP, 2004) and "Länder03"⁶.

1.1.2 Delimitations and Selection of Population

The study will be conducted at the national level, as opposed to a micro-level study. My primary interest lies within the group of countries that have or have had serious corruption problems, which in turn have hindered their effective use of state funds and aid. Therefore I have chosen to study only states that have an HDI-score (2001) of less than 0,900. The countries that lie above this line are usually OECD-members, industrialized and are according to UNDP highly developed (2004). They generally have a lower degree of corruption, than those with an HDI score under 0,900. Because countries with different degrees of development also often differ in terms of institutional development and because of that have different possibilities to fight corruption it could be that putting all the worlds states into one population would not be as fruitful as dividing them into different categories.

It could be possible that a relationship between corruption and women takes some time to show effect and therefore one might want to limit the population even further to include only those states that have had female official representation for some time. This however is difficult since there are three different measures of female official representation in this study. Also, the population would probably become too small and if there is a relationship it ought to show also for those countries that do not have a high share of female official representation.

1.1.3 Outline

The first part of the essay is devoted to a background on the previous research on corruption in general and women in relation to corruption in particular. Following that is a chapter which discusses female official representation and what factors are related to it. The possibility of a reversed causality between women and corruption is also investigated. In chapter four the correlation between female official representation (with focus on women in parliament) and corruption is further looked into and analyzed. Last, the results and their interpretation are discussed in the conclusion.

⁵ This operationalization is also used by Swamy et al (2000) and Dollar et al (1999).

⁶ This database has been compiled by Leif Johansson at the institution of Political Science at Lund University.

2 Corruption and Women

This chapter is intended to give the reader an insight into previous research and also to put this study into context. The first part is a general overview of the mainstream theoretical discussion of corruption with a focus on developing countries.

The previous research on women and corruption is not very large. To this date there have been three published scientific articles that address the issue. The first one to be published was "Are Women Really the 'Fairer' Sex?: Corruption and Women in Government" by Dollar et al in 1999. Following this article in 2000 was "Gender and Corruption" by Swamy et al. These two articles both show a negative relationship between the share of women in parliament and the level of corruption. In 2003 an article by Sung called "Fairer Sex or Fairer System? Gender and Corruption Revisited" put into question the results of the two previous articles. In the second and third part of this chapter the findings of these three articles will be presented to give a background and a point of departure for my own study.

2.1 Previous Research on Corruption in General

The purpose of this section is to give a background to and discuss the points of difference and convergence among the different theorists and students of corruption. I will present the main findings of the current mainstream theories on corruption. The researchers whose results and theories I use are mainly political scientists or economists, but they have in their turn used material from for example sociologists. As stated above in the introduction, a study of corruption involves three dimensions: causes, consequences and remedies. Theory concerning corruption varies as to whether or not all three dimensions are included. The majority however discusses all three with different emphasis.

Theory on the causes of corruption can differ in the understanding of the relationship between structure and agency (Heywood, 1997: 10f). Basically it can be said that the controversy is mainly around the incentives for the corrupt/ the corrupter in relation to the impact of institutions, the political and the economic environment. The cultural and moral environment affects the decisions and priorities of individuals and this is given different emphasis in different perspectives. In the tradition of rational choice, it is expected of an official to be

corrupt if he or she thinks that she can get away with it (Heidenheimer, 1970:19). This is in contrast to a focus on patron-client networks, where the emphasis is on the structure of relationships and distribution of power (Heywood, 1997:11).

It has sometimes been argued that corruption can be beneficial under some circumstances, but this view is now contested by most serious students of corruption (Doig et al, 1999). It is now widely believed that corruption has distortionary effects that hit the weaker in society the hardest, i.e. women, children, the sick and the elderly (Riley, 2000:138f). In the 1990's, the approaches on corruption started to be associated with the new development agenda concerned with good governance, where fighting corruption is one of the most important issues to strengthen state capacity and the legitimacy of its leadership (Doig et al, 1999). With this it is also linked to other factors, such as modernization, democratization and civil society (ibid). The link to modernization and democratization concerns primarily the capacity and stability of regimes in transition and new democracies (ibid). Civil society is here seen as an arena for plurality and gives the possibility of pursuing one's interests, which in turn could be seen as a counterweight to corrupt networks (ibid).

In summary, corruption is a complex issue and the understanding of it is very much dependent on which perspective of structure and agency is taken.

2.2 The Negative Relationship between Women and Corruption

In this section a short résumé will be given of the two scientific articles published up to this date which claim that there is a negative relationship between women in parliament and the level of corruption. The first one, written by David Dollar and his colleagues was first published as a World Bank Working Paper in 1999 (later published in *Journal of Economic Behaviour & Organization*, issue 46). Following that Anand Swamy and his colleagues wrote a paper on the subject which was published in *Journal of Development Economics* in 2000. Both these studies have been conducted by economists, using economical methods.

2.2.1 "Are women really the fairer sex?"

David Dollar, Raymond Fisman and Roberta Gatti are the authors of the first published study on the subject of women and corruption. They cite several behavioural studies which suggest that women are more public spirited than men. These are results from both experiments and surveys which amongst other things show that women in general score higher on integrity tests and are more

averse to non-ethical behaviour (Ones & Viswesvaran, 1998; Glover et al 1997; Reiss & Mitra, 1998 cited in Dollar et al, 1999:1). According to Dollar et al this implies that women are not as likely as men to behave in a way that is detrimental to the common good (1999:1). To investigate if bringing in women has a positive effect on the honesty of the government they use a sample of more than 100 countries (Dollar et al, 1999:2). The principal measure of corruption used for the study is the International Country Risk Guide's corruption index (ICRG) which is one of the most widely used in the economics field and it is used to measure the probability of both high and low government officials demanding payments for their services (Dollar et al, 1999:2). The operationalization used the share of women in parliament or a mean of the share of women in the lower and the upper house of parliament (Dollar et al, 1999:3). The scope of the study runs over ten years: 1985, 1990 and 1995 (Dollar et al, 1999:4).

Dollar et al are aware of the possibility that it is the overall development level which affects both the level of corruption and the share of women in parliament and they use GNP/capita to control for this (1999:3). They are also cognisant of the risk that a relationship between women in parliament and corruption levels is caused by an increase in the level of political freedom and civil liberties (Dollar et al, 1999:3). To control for this they use the Gastil's Civil Liberties index (ibid).

In the regression corruption is the dependent variable with women in parliament, GDP, civil liberties, schooling, fractionalization, legal origin, openness to trade, regional dummies, colonial dummies and the size of population as independent variables (Dollar et al, 1999:9). Their results show that an increase of women in parliament is associated with a significant decrease in the level of corruption (Dollar et al, 1999:4). The regression explains the variation to approximately 57% (Dollar et al, 1999:12).

2.2.2 "Gender and Corruption"

The study by Anand Swamy, Stephen Knack, Young Lee and Omar Azfar has a wider scope than the one conducted by Dollar et al. They set out to study women in official positions as well as women in business and do this by first investigating the claim that women are more altruistic than men using world wide survey based data: the World Values Survey from the early 1980s and 1990s (Swamy et al, 2000:2). The analysis of these data show that women are less likely to condone of bribery and corruption (Swamy et al, 2000:3ff). To investigate the behaviour of women in business they use a survey of business owners and managers in Georgia, but as this part of their study is not directly related to the official representation of women I will not discuss it further here.

The operationalization that Swamy et al use for the level of female participation is: share of female legislators, share of ministers and high-level government female bureaucrats and the women's share of the labour force as

well as a composite variable constructed from these three (2000:10f). The independent variables the use are: % of women in parliament; % of women government ministers; % of women in labour force; a composite index of the previous three; log GNP/capita 1995; average years of schooling 1990; catholic proportion; Muslim proportion; former British colony; never colonized, largest ethnic group (%); political freedoms (Swamy et al, 2000:35). The results show that the share of women in parliament and the share of women in the labour force are significant for the level of corruption where the dependent variable is measured by the Graft index as well as the CPI (Swamy et al, 2000:13f).

To rule out a spurious relationship, they control for the level of discrimination of women through the level of political, legal, social and economic equality for which the results are not altered (Swamy et al, 2000:18).

2.3 The Critique of the Negative Relationship

In 2003 an article was published in *Social Forces* (December issue) which was written as a critical response to the studies published by Dollar et al and Swamy et al. In this article Criminologist Hung-En Sung suggests that the correlation which the two preceding articles present is mainly a result of a spurious relationship caused by an increase in liberal democracy. He argues that the construction of these two studies runs the risk of making faulty inferences because they use findings from two different levels of analysis (the individual and the national) (Sung, 2003:705). Additionally he means that the use of the Freedom House composite indexes of civil liberties and political freedoms are too encompassing and therefore difficult to interpret, which makes them unsuitable for this type of analysis (Sung, 2003:708).

For his own analysis he uses the "CPI" as the dependent variable. Female participation is operationalized as the proportion of women among ministers, sub ministerial officials and women in parliament (Sung, 2003:709). The other independent variables are GNP/capita in 1999, % of the population below poverty line and illiteracy in 1998 (Sung, 2003:710). Also, instead of the Freedom House indexes mentioned earlier three alternative measures of liberal democracy are used: rule of law, freedom of press and electoral democracies (ibid).

The results show that when controlling for the liberal democracy variables the significance for women in parliament is the only one that stays significant and has a very low impact on the whole of the explained variance (Sung, 2003:716f). His conclusion is that an impact of female representation on the level of corruption cannot be falsified but that it is a much weaker predictor of the corruption levels than the liberal democracy variables (Sung, 2003:718f).

2.4 How to Proceed From This Point

As can be seen above the three studies use somewhat different variables and measures but essentially the same technique. The main difference between Dollar et al and Swamy et al is the use of literature to support the hypothesis that women are less corrupt than men in the Dollar study as opposed to the empirical analysis done by Swamy et al. The critique that Sung delivers is that these two studies have interpreted their results too benevolently. He does not completely discard the possibility of women having an influence, but his results point to it being very small at the best.

The corruption measures that I use are different from the one(s) used by Dollar et al, but their index (ICRG) is included in both "Graft" and in the "CPI" (Swamy et al, 2000:10). The "Graft" index as well as the "CPI" measure both grand and petty corruption which has implications for how results using them can be interpreted, but if there is a significant decrease in political corruption this ought to show in a better score overall.

My operationalization of women's official participation in parliament is measured by the share of women in the lower (or only) house of parliament. There is not much divergence between this measure and the one used by the three studies above and it should not have a significant effect.

The main difference between my study and the earlier ones is that I focus on those countries which are usually said to be part of the developing world. This means that my population at times is smaller. The reason for conducting the study like this is because I want to see if the claim made by Dollar et al and Swamy et al is valid for these countries as well, since it could possibly have a larger impact on their corruption levels if it is true. Also, the objections that Sung has is interesting to investigate within these countries as a group as they are more diverse in regard to political freedoms and civil liberties than for example the OECD countries.

3 Obstacles to Women's Official Representation

This chapter will deal with the issue of how women get into official positions. The purpose is to probe the possibility of a reversed causality between women and corruption: lower levels of corruption lead to higher female official representation.

The majority of the theoretical and empirical work done in this area is on OECD members and especially the USA. This might have the effect that these theories are not applicable on the developing states. The main point here though is women getting into an official space dominated by men and therefore these theories should, at least in part, have something to bring to the discussion.

The first part of this chapter will discuss the different levels of analysis that might be entailed in an investigation of how women get to positions of power. The second part deals with the obstacles to women's entry into official life. In part three the results of the statistical analysis are displayed and discussed. In the final part the findings are summed up and alternative explanations are contemplated upon.

3.1 Levels of Analysis

When looking into how women get into positions of power there are different levels of analysis. This means that the different obstacles or opportunities that women might face can be on an individual, group or organizational/societal level and this has implications for which conclusions can be drawn from the analysis. An excellent model of these different levels has been constructed by Rita Mae Kelly and Georgia Duerst-Lahti⁷ and it is shown below.

⁷ Rita Mae Kelly is Director and Chair of the School of Justice Studies and Professor of Justice Studies, Political Science and Women's studies at Arizona State University, USA.
Georgia Duerst-Lahti is an Associate Professor of Government and Women's Studies at Beloit College, USA.

Figure 1: Paths to Power – Different Levels of Analysis

Career Transitions	Level of Analysis		
	Organizational	Interpersonal	Individual
<i>Promotion to powerful position</i>	Performance appraisal Selection and tracking Training	Interpersonal perceptions Work relationships: Mentors Coalitions and net-works Subordinate support	Self-selection Background Skills Personality traits Career aspirations Non-work roles
<i>Entry into organization</i> <i>Entry level</i> <i>Department</i> <i>Position</i> <i>power</i>	Publicity of job openings Recruitment practices Selection and hiring practices	Interpersonal perceptions: Stereotypes Prototypes Attributions Networks	Self-selection Background Skills Personality traits Career aspirations Non-work roles
<i>Entry into job market</i> <i>Job vs. career</i> <i>Occupation</i> <i>Specialty</i>	Social- Systems Sex-role socialization	Sex roles and stereo-types	Self-selection Role conflict Training/education Economic pressures

(Kelly et al, 1995:48)

This model clarifies the fact that most women have struggled long and hard to get into powerful positions (as have most men). What can further be read is that there are arrays of factors that come into play and have to be taken into account when analyzing how women get to the top. For example the personality and background of the individual woman is very important in both the external and the personal selection process. Furthermore, how a woman interacts with other people and how they conceive of her is also very important. Finally, on the organizational level, which can also be seen as the societal level, the conception of women as a group becomes important along with their access to information.

3.2 Getting Women into the Official Space

The majority of work that is done on women and their participation in public life is concentrated on women and parliament. Therefore the theoretical discussion in this section will be influenced by this bias but it is my opinion that the main arguments can be said to be valid for other forms of participation as well as it is still a question of getting into a domain of society largely dominated by men.

The participation of women in parliament is influenced by the general social and economic status of women (Shvedova, 2002:6). Research has shown that political arrangements such as the electoral system are more important than social factors in determining the ability of women to get into parliament (Shvedova, 2002:2).

3.2.1 Socioeconomic Factors

With the above in mind, there still are social and economic obstacles which have an impact on women's access to official representation. These are poverty, lack of financial means, lack of education and access to the labour market and the dual burden of being responsible for the home at the same time as having a job (Shvedova, 2002:7). It is today very commonplace to talk about the feminization of poverty. Within this expression lies the assumption that it is first and foremost women who lack access to the necessities of life. This is believed to be an effect of the structures of ownership which often discriminates against women at the same time as they are the ones who do the lion's share of the unpaid labour. When women do not have access to money of their own corruption is likely to hit them the hardest because they lack the means with which to overcome such problems. If paying bribes to constituents or competitors is the only way to get elected or put in a post, they then stand less chance of being successful.

According to Jessica Wide⁸, women who engage in working life also tend to engage more in political life as a carrier of one's own brings confidence, independence and motivation (2000:4). If this is so, the share of women in the labour force should be correlated to the share of women in parliament. Also the female level of education is seen as being positively correlated to the share of women in parliament as this gives more educated female voters as well as more confidence to stand for election (Wide, 2000:4). However, the previous results from testing these hypotheses have so far been ambiguous (Wide, 2000:4f).

Political activity in general tends to be higher among: more educated persons; men; people of higher socioeconomic status; older persons; executive; professionals and other white-collar workers (Dahl, 1991:105). From this one can draw the conclusion that men are more likely to be involved in politics since they are in majority in most of the groups mentioned here. Furthermore the women who do engage in politics are more likely to belong to one or more of these groups which does not make them representative of the majority of women: most women who aspire to and succeed in getting into official posts are not the poorest. They are mainly well educated middle or upper class citizens with access to resources that most women in the world do not have. At the same time the structures of ownership applies to them equally and if lack of financial means is

⁸ Postgraduate Student in Political Science at Umeå University in Sweden.

the main hinder to getting in to official life, they are still less likely to have this than men from the same social sphere.

In Africa, voters in a system that favours corruption tend to vote for the candidate that is more likely to give them the most favours in return (Owusu cited in Osei-Hwedie et al, 2000:47). If this is applicable to all countries, it is questionable if women stand much of a chance against men in a society where they don't have the same access to money and power as men.

The general level of societal and economic development in a country is often seen as being beneficial to women (Wide, 2000:5). Studies conducted on third world countries somewhat contradicts this hypothesis and this has been explained with the existence of a "threshold" that needs to be passed before developmental factors come into play (ibid).

3.2.2 Cultural and Ideological Factors

Culture is an elusive concept which should be used with great care. There is a tendency of using culture as a factor that explains everything that is not possible to account for through other explanations. Here culture is used as a composite concept including religion and other social norms and values which affect women's roles as well as views of what is appropriate and possible for women and men to do.

Religion is a factor that has a great impact on societal values and different religions emphasize different norms. In countries where the religion stresses traditional female roles there is a lower share of women in parliament (Wide, 2000:4). It has for example been shown that the share of Catholics and the share of women in parliament are negatively correlated and the same connection has also been shown for predominantly Muslim countries (ibid). In these countries there is a prevalence of a patriarchal ideology of "a woman's place" as being in the private sphere (Shvedova, 2002:7). This affects women's confidence as leaders as well as their possibilities to act independently of these traditional values (Shvedova, 2002:8f). Development and liberalization that often follows with (or precedes) it can be seen as factors which ameliorate this traditional way of looking at women through higher standards of living and education (R.E. Matland, quoted in Shvedova, 2002:6f).

Women often perceive of politics as a dirty game and are therefore reluctant to engage in this sphere of society (Shvedova, 2002:9). This is especially so where corruption generates conditions for organized crime to thrive and this in turn creates a threat against anyone who might get involved in the political sphere where these elements exists (Shvedova, 2002:10).

3.2.3 Political and Institutional Factors

There have been a number of studies which show a relationship between the share of women in parliament and the electoral system (Wide, 2000:5f). For example, there is a tendency that proportional systems are more beneficial to women than majoritarian ones (Matland, 1998, p.74ff). The electoral system might also be a result of other factors which are more influential. The majoritarian system is for example primarily used in countries which have an affiliation with Great Britain and its culture (Welch and Studlar cited in Wide, 2000:6).

To summarize there are obstacles to women's official representation that are primarily linked to financial means and traditional roles for the sexes which tend to change to the better along with the development in general. There are also indications that high levels of corruption would create conditions less favourable to women as a group.

3.3 The Results

The quantitative analysis for this part was done both through bivariate correlations and multiple linear regressions. The test was performed on a population with an HDI-value below or equal to 0,900 which brings the total number of cases to 143. However this number is dependent on other variables and changes somewhat between different tests.

3.3.1 The General Status of Women

The general status of women (as measured here by female literacy rate 2002 and ratio of estimated female to male earned income 2002) is strongly correlated to women's share of the workforce. It is also correlated, although weaker to the share of women in parliament but there is no correlation for the share of women in government. The share of women in the workforce has no significant correlation to the share of women in parliament, but there is a correlation to the share of women in government. There is no correlation between the share of women in the workforce and HDI, although there is a correlation for democracy⁹ and civil liberties/political rights¹⁰.

The share of Muslims in the population can be seen as an indicator of the prevalence of Islam as the dominant religion. This factor explains about 5% of the variance and about 12% in those countries that have a population with at

⁹ Measured by Vanhanen's democracy index (2000)

¹⁰ Measured by mean of political rights and civil liberties – Freedom House (2003)

least 0, 1% Muslims. The share of Catholics shows the same pattern with similar numbers.

This suggests that the general status of women to a certain extent can explain the level of female official representation. Although it is not the general developmental level as much as the position of women in society that seems to be most important. In the next part this will be discussed with focus on women in politics.

3.3.2 Women in Parliament

The results from the bivariate correlations show that the representation of women in parliament is more strongly correlated to corruption than HDI, GNP/capita, female literacy rate, women’s share of the labour force and estimated female income. These results seem to support the studies cited in part 3.2 that general development do not generate better conditions for women to enter into politics in the developing countries. At the same time it contradicts the theory of women’s liberation being crucial in augmenting the level of female legislators.

The results from the regression show that a proportional election system is positively correlated with the share of female legislators, which is in agreement with the theory presented above. The explained variance for proportional elections systems is roughly 8% which is not very high.

According to Sung it is liberal values that make it easier for women to get into the official sphere. It is therefore interesting to look at whether or not there is a difference in female official representation between democratic and non-democratic states. Below, the share of women in parliament has been chosen to illustrate the difference between these two groups.

Figure 2: Spread of Women in Parliament in Democratic and Non-Democratic States (Population: HDI≤0,900)

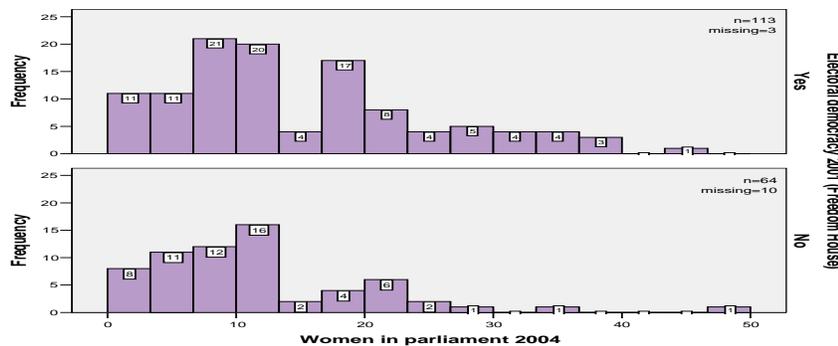


Figure 2 displays the difference in spread of the share of women in parliament in democratic and non-democratic states respectively for 2004. What is evident is the prevalence of low female representation in the legislature in both democratic

and non-democratic states, although more the democratic countries have 20% women or more in the parliament. However, an ANOVA-test shows that there is no significant difference in spread between the groups which means that the existence of electoral democracy is not decisive in determining the share of women in parliament. Sung's argument though, is that it is not democracy alone but rather an increase in liberal values which is responsible for a more "woman-friendly" public sphere (2000: 708). Furthermore he means that Freedom House's index of civil liberties cannot be used in relation to women and corruption since it includes both gender equality and freedom from corruption (ibid). For the developing countries (HDI ≤ 0,900) there is no correlation between the civil liberties index and women in parliament. These results are repeated when testing the correlation between the three variables measuring women's official representation and the variables suggested by Sung (Freedom of the Press; Rule of Law and Electoral Democracy)¹¹. This indicates that the general theory of women's liberalization leading to political representation and it being linked to a general more liberal environment is not valid for the developing countries. This latter link is not supported by the results obtained here.

Figure 3: Regression – Dependent Variable Women in Parliament 2004

Dependent variable: Women in parliament (2004)				
Population: HDI (2001) less than or equal to 0.900				
	Equation no.			
Variable	1	2	3	4
Electoral System Proportional (Y/N) 1997		0,307**	0,277*	0,317**
Ratio of estimated female to male earned income 2002	0,230*			
Adult female literacy rate (%) 2002			0,207*	
Dominating religion catholicism (Y/N)	0,195*			
Corruption (Graft) 2000-01				0,238*
Constant	4,17	9,473	5,031	10,034
Cases (n)	123	113	101	102
R-square	0,062	0,086	0,127	0,152

** Significant at the 1% -level

* Significant at the 5% -level

The regressions above show the difficulty in finding explanatory factors for the level of female political representation for the developing countries and as many of these variables are intercorrelated it is not possible to put more than a few in each regression. What can be seen is that the level of female education, the electoral system and corruption are the factors that have the highest explanatory value. However, regarding the level of female education and the level of corruption, one cannot be sure that it is not a case of reverse causality: it as

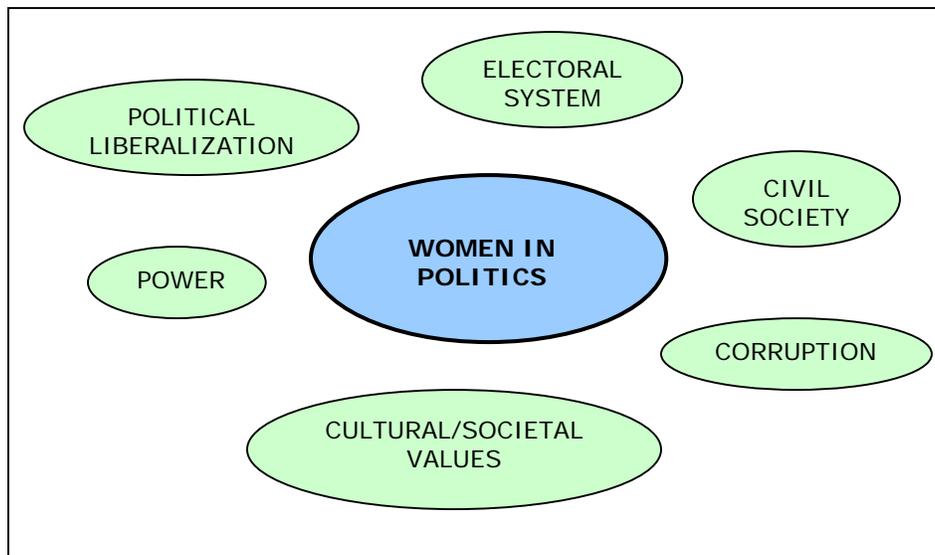
¹¹ Also, Sung's variables (Freedom of the Press, Rule of Law and Electoral Democracy) are correlated for this group of countries which makes them unusable in a regression.

logically possible that more educated women leads to more women in parliament as more women in parliament leads to more resources being spent on female education. The same goes for corruption.

3.4 Conclusion

From the results and theoretical discussion presented in this chapter the case for a reverse causation seems plausible, although neither HDI nor GNP/capita have any correlation with the share of women in parliament. What can be concluded is that female official representation is a complex issue that cannot be easily explained. Most likely there are multiple factors that affect the level of it and possibly it is also a case of a circular reinforcing relationship.

Figure 4: Factors Associated with the Official Representation of Women



The reason why the relationships for the developing countries are different than those found for other populations/cases might be that class divisions tend to be deeper in developing countries which leads to an even lesser representation of “ordinary” women in official posts. Also, in many of these countries the female right to vote and stand for election was granted at the same time as democracy was introduced or independence won, which could lead to different effects in these countries compared to the highly developed countries where the women had to fight for their rights in another way.

There is also the issue of the professionalization of politics which could offer an explanation to the lack of or weak correlation between women’s share of the

workforce and the share of women in parliament and government. If those who become politicians do so without first having another professional career, this might have the effect of a weak relationship between the share of women professionals and female politicians. Also, this could be explained by the division of labour – if women who do get jobs are confined to sectors where they don't see any possibility or need to engage in politics the share of women in the workforce might not affect the share of women in parliament and government.

In summary it has been hard to find any strong explanatory factors which indicate that a difference in liberal values or democratization causes higher female official representation but the hypothesis cannot be falsified either. The finding that the general status of women offers some explanations can be linked to corruption but there could also be no link at all. At the same time neither theory nor logic gives any conclusive answers to the causality between women in parliament and the level of corruption. In the next chapter this issue and the problem of finding explanatory factors for corruption will be further discussed.

4 Corruption and Female Official Representation

In the previous chapter the issue of what affects the level of female official representation was investigated. As there is still a correlation between the level of women in parliament and the level of corruption this matter will be further looked into in this chapter. An overview of theories which deal with the possible difference in behaviour between men and women will be given as this the main explanatory factor which might be used in relation to this issue and it is also one of the main points of divergence between the previous studies on the subject.

The first part of this chapter discusses the behaviour of men and women and whether there are any significant differences between them. As an introduction a brief deliberation on the matter of structure and agency will be given. In part three the results of the statistical analysis will be shown and discussed. In the final part alternative explanations for the results and possible spurious relationships will be discussed.

4.1 The Behaviour of Men and Women

The behaviour of men and women is the main factor that Dollar et al and Swamy et al use to explain the how women can be able to affect the level of corruption. This is not an uncontested view as it is linked to which perspective on structure and agency one takes. Therefore this issue will be discussed below and different views or theories will be accounted for.

A lot of the research that has been done on the behaviour of women in official positions is done on parliamentarians and people within the bureaucracy in the USA and the Nordic countries. The issue of corruption is seldom mentioned in these studies, probably as it is not seen as a big problem and thus not a priority for those who have conducted these studies. However, their results are interesting for this study because of their insight into the general behaviour of men and women in high positions.

4.1.1 Structure and Agency

The main issue of contestation between students of corruption is whether the explanation of the phenomenon lies within the structure of society/the bureaucracy/the organization or with the individual. This is the crucial point when discussing women and corruption – if one has a structural perspective the explanation for a lower level of corruption cannot lie with the woman alone, since she is restricted in her actions by the structure (see for example McAnulla, 2002:274ff) However, also within a structural perspective is it possible to conceive of women as a group being able to affect the level of corruption by bringing something into the structure which changes it and thereby changes the conditions for the individual as well (ibid).

With an agency perspective it is the individual that has the power to change the structure and here the morality of the individual becomes important in explaining behaviour (Perry, 1997:72). How a relationship between women in official representation and corruption is interpreted depends on the perspective on structure and agency, which will be shown in the following theories.

4.1.2 Women in Male Spheres

Women in male spheres have been studied primarily with the subject of female leaders in different organizations. The women who do get into the official space are not necessarily leaders and therefore this research might not be completely accurate in the case of women in parliament and the bureaucracy. However, what these women have in common is being female in a traditionally male-dominated area. Through this some of the findings of those studies made on women leaders might be applicable also here.

Women have different life experiences than men do and therefore they might also look at issues differently than men do (Tamerius, 1995:97). In America it has been found that men tend to operate through closed networks exclusive to men while women tend to start their political careers in women's political organizations (Tamerius, 1995:98). This also means that they have different networks through which their view of politics is formed. There are studies which find that women are more averse to corruption and corrupt behaviour than men (see Dollar et al, 1999 & Swamy et al, 2000). These studies though, have been conducted on women in general which means that if only women in official positions were to be asked the same questions, the results might be different.

It has been found that women in leading posts "out-male" the men by avoiding stereotype female behaviour (Duerst-Lahti et al, 1995:27f). This is a strategy used to get ahead and it does not alter these women's basic values or their individual traits (ibid). Though it has been shown that women and men in top positions share more traits with each other than with persons of their gender who are further down in the hierarchy (ibid). This is consistent with the theory

that the way a person in an organization act is less related to their gender than to their position (Witz et al, 1992:14). Another way of looking at it is that gender does not really matter as it is power which is the dominant factor in determining the actions of a person (Witz et al, 1992:15). It is often men who hold positions of power to begin with and as they are socialized into preferring each other to women it becomes a vicious cycle where men choose men or women who behave like them (ibid).

When discussing general traits of women and men it is important to remember that there are other lines of division between people. For example culture is such a dividing line. It is possible to conceive of people from different cultures as being more different from one another than men and women within one culture is, which in that case would make it impossible to get any conclusive results from a world-wide survey. However, if there is still a distinctive difference between men and women in each cultural sphere and this difference is similar between the various spheres it ought to be possible to get results from a study with a culturally diverse population.

In summary, there are theories which support the idea of women being able to affect the level of corruption through a different morality and behaviour. At the same time this is contradicted by other theories which claim that it is power, not gender that determines the behaviour of a person.

4.2 Good Governance – a Gender or a Power Issue?

Governance and leadership often overlap: governance is a tool to organize political life in order to create good government and this demands leadership (Duerst-Lahti et al, 1995:11). Leadership is in its turn determined by power, which can be defined as “the ability of one person to influence or change the behaviour of others” (Dahl cited in Kelly et al, 1995:44).

Politics takes place within a context that is organized and involves for example the bureaucracy, committees and the legislative institution itself (Duerst-Lahti et al, 1995:32). This context is socially constructed and influenced by the gender norms that exist in society (Duerst-Lahti et al, 1995:32). Political posts and legislative positions are positions of power. When women make their way into these posts they have the opportunity to gain this power and use it differently than men. This however, according to many feminist scholars takes more than just one woman because the more women there are in leading positions, the more influence they gain as a group and this gives them the possibility to reinterpret the leadership role (Duerst-Lahti et al, 1995:31). Here it is thus a question of power. How do women gain and hold on to power and at what

moment does female held power become recognisable as distinct from or altering the male dominated power? This is a question still waiting for its answer but it is worth keeping in mind when contemplating over the possible impact that women might have on corruption.

Women in parliament can have two possible ways of impacting the level of corruption: first, they can abstain from demanding bribes or misusing their power. Second, they can use their power to contribute to passing laws or instituting reforms that has a negative effect on the level of corruption (see for example Swamy et al, 2000: 11). The problem here is thus if women actually gain power when they enter the official sphere and whether they use it differently than men. Very little research can be found on this subject regarding women in developing countries and when studies have been conducted it is usually on whether or not these women work for women's issues¹².

In summary it can be said that there are those who mean (in line with an agency-perspective) that women act in a significantly different way than men because they have different life experiences which have shaped their morality. However it is debatable if so, whether or not these qualities are altered by power (consistent with a structuralist perspective) and if there are enough women to make a difference.

4.3 Results - Women and Corruption

A run of correlations between corruption¹³ and the three variables (women in parliament 2004¹⁴, women in government 2000 and women's share of the workforce 2000-2003) shows that neither women's share of the workforce nor their representation at ministerial level display significant correlations with corruption. Women's share of seats in parliament shows a significant correlation only with "Graft".

There might be several different explanations for these results, other than that women's official representation has no effect. Two related explanations are: first, it could be that women's participation has to reach a certain level before having any influence on corruption and in these countries it is generally still relatively low. Second, women that reach to higher levels of power or are part of the workforce, might only be able to function there if they abide to men's rules, thus

¹² Women's issues in this context usually refer to the right to abortion, legislation on equality or women's rights or status etc.

¹³ For the dependent variable (corruption) "Graft" for the years 2000-2001 and "CPI" for 2004 have been used. Graft is the most comprehensive index in terms of countries included and therefore this is mainly used from this point on.

¹⁴ The reason for choosing figures from 2004 is that the previous data is from 2000 and since elections take place at different times in different states, this earlier data might be less accurate in showing the actual number of women in parliament at any later point in time than when it was collected.

rendering the “female qualities” useless.¹⁵ Also, it is possible that the variable used for women’s share of the workforce, for some reason is not representative of the share of women in civil service or lower government.

Trust and an intimate relationship between the official and the third party is an important part in a culture of corruption (Rose-Ackerman, 1999:97ff) and it might be that women are not as easily let into these circles and therefore are not aware of them or cannot affect them. One has to be aware of the different levels here: the possibilities to have an impact (consciously or not) at the parliamentary level can be very different from the governmental level or the single civil servant/bureaucrat. There are also different kinds of corruption and it does not look the same everywhere. Rose-Ackerman distinguishes four different types of corrupt governments: the kleptocracy and the bilateral monopoly, where the corruption is at the top of government, competitive bribery and mafia-dominated state, where the corruption lies at a lower level of government and involves more people (1999:114f). Therefore it is difficult to draw any definite conclusions without more in depth knowledge about the different types of government/states.

4.3.1 The Democracy Factor

Democracy and liberalization are factors which are often connected to the level of corruption. This view is supported by an ANOVA-test on the significance of the difference in corruption levels between democracies and non-democracies which shows that the level of corruption in non-democratic states is significantly higher than in the democratic states. This merits an investigation into possible different results if non-democracies are excluded. A correlation between corruption and the three variables for female official representation here, show some different results from the previous analysis. The correlation between corruption and women in parliament is much stronger for this population than when the non-democratic states are included. But there is still no correlation for the other variables¹⁶.

When running the correlation between women in parliament and corruption, controlling for geographical region, there are two results worth noticing: only in Eastern Europe and in Sub-Saharan Africa is there a strong correlation¹⁷. The reasons for this might be that within these two groups the conditions that are related to the level of women in parliament and the level of corruption are more alike than for the other groups. For example it is not inconceivable to think that the former communist countries may share many traits as they share a past of communism and domination by the Soviet Union as well as a regime change at

¹⁵ When I talk about female and male qualities here I do not mean to imply that these differences are biological or genetically determined. Rather it would probably be the case of social gender, which is created through socialization.

¹⁶ See appendix (figure 2) for an account of the data.

¹⁷ See appendix (figure 3) for an account of the data.

fairly the same point in time. The countries in Sub-Saharan Africa are very diverse in respect to political freedom and stability, former colonization, year of independence etc. At the same time they share problems with poverty, ethnically diverse populations and very often high levels of foreign aid. Though there is no correlation between the level of aid received and corruption (or the variables for female official representation). For future research it would be interesting to take a closer look at these findings as they might give a clue as to what the common denominators for the countries within the groups are and through that get an insight into the factors affecting the relationship between women in official positions and the level of corruption.

4.4 Alternative Explanations

The results shown above indicate that it is the highly developed countries which mainly stand for the relationship in the previous studies.

Figure 5: Correlation between Corruption and Women in Parliament Grouped According to HDI 2001

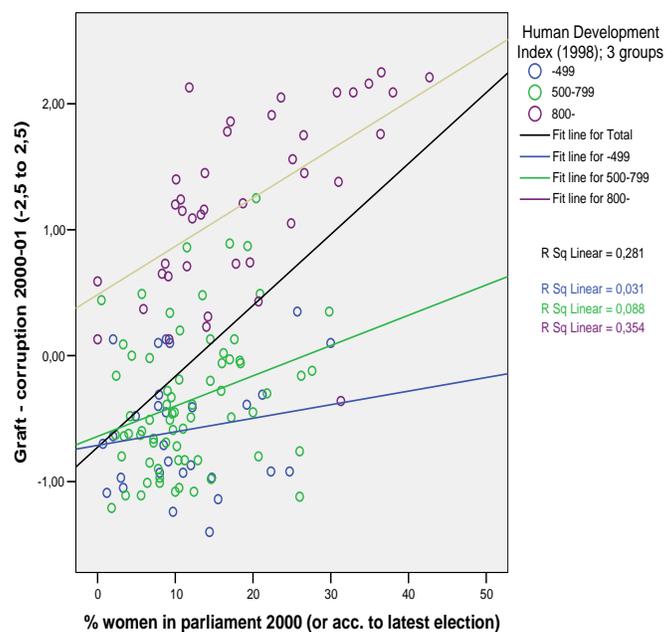


Figure 5 shows that the relationship between women in parliament and corruption is much stronger for countries with a high HDI-value and that it is those who stand for a large part of the correlation for the whole population.

Research has shown that there are several factors that can be related to lower levels of corruption. Some of these are: the dominant religion, former colonial rule, electoral system, and non-federal states (Azfar, 2001: 52, Treisman, 1999: 4ff). Some of

these are also associated with higher female official representation (Reynolds, 1999). Therefore it might be that some of the causes that are linked to lower corruption are also independently linked to higher female official representation, thus creating a spurious relationship between corruption and women. This possibility gives cause for a closer look at the relationship between corruption

and these factors. A run of correlations between corruption and women in parliament against variables for religion shows that there is a correlation between the share women in parliament and the percentage of Catholics or Muslims in the population, but there is not correlation for the level of corruption¹⁸. In chapter two it was shown that the electoral system has an effect on the representation of women in parliament but an ANOVA-test shows that there is no such relationship with the level of corruption. For the former colonial rule and non-federal states there are no indications that they would cause a spurious relationship.

According to Sung (see 2.3), liberal values and democracy are strongly related to both lower corruption and increased female participation (2003). This creates a spurious relationship between female representation and lower corruption (ibid). The results show that there is in fact a strong correlation between corruption and democracy and political rights¹⁹. There is also a strong correlation between HDI and corruption although it is weaker than the correlation between corruption and GNP/capita. This could be a case of reversed causality: where corruption is high there is little chance of social and economic development. However, the regressions cease to be significant when GNP/capita is excluded. This points to a dual relationship and causality between these two variables. Also, the correlation between women in parliament and the level of corruption stays significant even when controlling for HDI and GNP/capita.

Many developing countries receive some kind of foreign aid and anti-corruption strategies by international donors usually focus on institutional reform (Doig et al, 1999). For example has it been attempted to use institutional design such as simplifying administrative procedures and controls, render complaint procedures more effective and public awareness training to counteract corruption (ibid). These measures are all related to the issue of accountability. There are two kinds of accountability: horizontal, which is the checks and controls between the executive, judiciary etc and vertical, which is the publics, the mass media's and the civil society's efforts to ensure correct conduct by officials (Schedler et al, 1999:3). Where there is corruption, these channels of accountability are weakened, but the relationship can also be the reverse: where accountability is not enforced, the likelihood of corruption increases (Schedler et al, 1999:1ff).

To look into these different factors I ran partial correlations between corruption ("Graft") and women in parliament (2004), controlling for rule of law; freedom of the press and electoral democracy²⁰. The rule of law variable is representing the prevalence of horizontal accountability, since a well functioning judiciary should be able to act as a check on executive and legislative power. Freedom of the press represents vertical accountability. These two together with

¹⁸ See appendix (figure 3) for an account of the data.

¹⁹ For these variables I use Vanhanen's Democracy Index for 2000 and Freedom House's Political Rights Index for 2000.

²⁰ This is a dummy variable constructed from Freedom House's classification of states into parliamentary electoral democracies, presidential electoral democracies and non-democracies (2001)

electoral democracy can be seen as an indicator of the degree of liberalization (Sung, 2003:710). According to Sung, the relationship between corruption and women in parliament should be considerably weakened when controlling for these “liberalization” factors. For this population the reverse is the case: when controlling for these factors the correlation is actually strengthened (from R^2 0,038 to 0,07)²¹. The reasons for this are not possible to find within the scope of this study but it indicates that the highly developed and the less developed countries are fundamentally different in respect to liberalization, democratization and therefore also corruption and women in parliament. In the developing countries, many of these factors occurred simultaneously which could have very significant effects on the conditions for these factors to evolve. This indicates an unfeasibility in putting these two groups into the same population.

A correlation between women in parliament and corruption with the population limited to democratic states (still $HDI \leq 0,900$) also shows that the relationship is stronger for this selection. This indicates that there could be circular reinforcing effects: the better the “score” for one factor, the better conditions for the other to improve which leads to better conditions for the latter to improve further and so on.

²¹ See appendix (figure 5) for an account of the data.

Figure 6: Regression – Dependent Variable Corruption

Dependent variable: Corruption (Graft 2000-2001)				
Population: HDI01 less than/or equal to 0,900				
Variable	1	2	3	4
Women in parliament 2004	0,153*		0,152*	0,167*
Human development index 2001	0,363**			
Mean pol. Rights/ civ. liberties 2001	-0,311**	-0,207*	-0,193*	-0,237*
GNP (PPP)US\$/capita 2001		0,607**	0,606**	0,606**
Catholicism is the dominating religion (Y/N)				-0,152*
Constant	-0,960	-0,413	-0,607	-0,478
Cases (n)	120	118	116	114
R-square	0,36	0,525	0,544	0,559

** Significant at the 1%-level

* Significant at the 5%-level

From the regression it can be seen that the share of women in parliament does contribute somewhat to the explanatory model, but the main factors are political and civil rights together with GNP/capita. It also shows a small impact of the dominant religion²². Thus women in parliament might have a beneficial impact on the level of corruption, but it would be very small. The conclusions which can be drawn from this will be discussed in the final chapter.

²² Here it would have been beneficial to also test for the impact of other religions but there were not enough cases where this data could be obtained for an inclusion of this to be possible.

5 Conclusion

The question I set out to answer in this paper was:

- *Is there a relationship between female official representation and the level of corruption in developing states?*

The results obtained from the quantitative analysis show some ambiguities that will be discussed further here. The first part of the chapter is a discussion on the issues of causality and spurious relationships. Last is a final discussion of the results and their interpretation.

5.1 The Issues of Causality and Spurious Relationships

When interpreting the results of the quantitative analysis it is important to remember that a correlation this does not say anything about the causality. From the results of my analysis I can say that there is a weak connection between women in parliament and the level of corruption but it could be an instance of a spurious relationship and I cannot say for sure which way the causation runs.

To interpret the result one has to resort to logic and previous theories. In this case the theories suggest that the causation can run either way. Logic says that for example the high correlation between GNP/capita and the level of corruption is explained by the improbability of an extremely corrupt system to be able to produce a higher degree of economic welfare for the whole of the country.

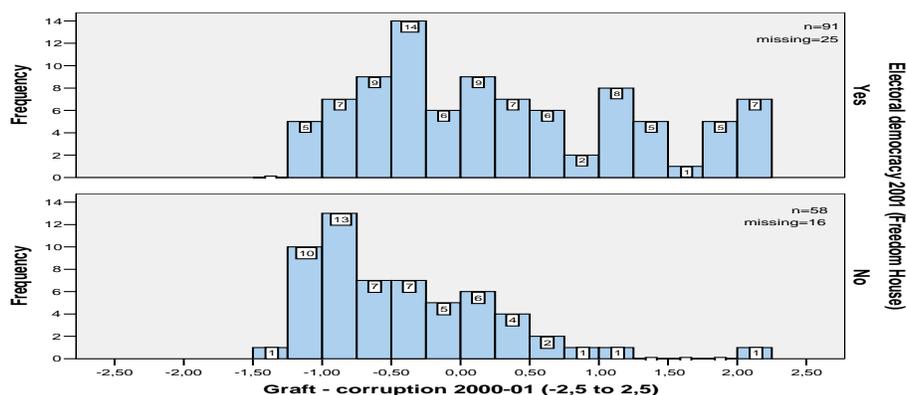
The risk of spurious relationships is always present when conducting a quantitative analysis. In this case there is a possibility that other factors such as the general level of development, the economic development or political aspects are the main explanatory factors which creates a spurious relationship between the level of corruption and the share of women in parliament. I have tried as far as possible to take this possibility into account and to control for it. The results show that causality between women and corruption basically could go either way but there is little risk that this relationship is caused by other factors such as development level or liberalization.

5.2 What Can Be Said?

The results showed that corruption is only related to the share of women in parliament. There are several ways of interpreting this: it could be because the share of women in the workforce is not representative for the share of women in the civil service. One explanation for the lack of correlation for the share of women in government could be that they are not let into areas where corruption is high and therefore are not able to have an impact. Here, I will focus on the relationship with women in the legislature as it is here that a statistical significant relationship was found.

The effects of women in legislatures, executives and in the workforce have not been subject to much investigation. Therefore it is difficult to find theories that could put my findings into a broader context, other than gender specific attitudes. Intuitively it seems plausible that states where women are less discriminated against might also be more open and fair in other areas. This is further substantiated by the results from the correlations run with other explanatory factors. In countries with lower development levels, political freedom, accountability and liberal values seems to be having the strongest influence on corruption levels. From the figure below the difference in spread of corruption values between democratic and non-democratic states can be seen. It shows that in the lower end of the scale, there is not much difference between the two groups, whereas there are almost only democratic states that make it to the higher end of the scale. These results show that democracy (and the liberal values that often goes along with it) can have a negative effect but that it is not enough to curb corruption.

Figure 7: Spread of Corruption in Democratic and Non-Democratic States
(Population: $HDI \leq 0,900$)

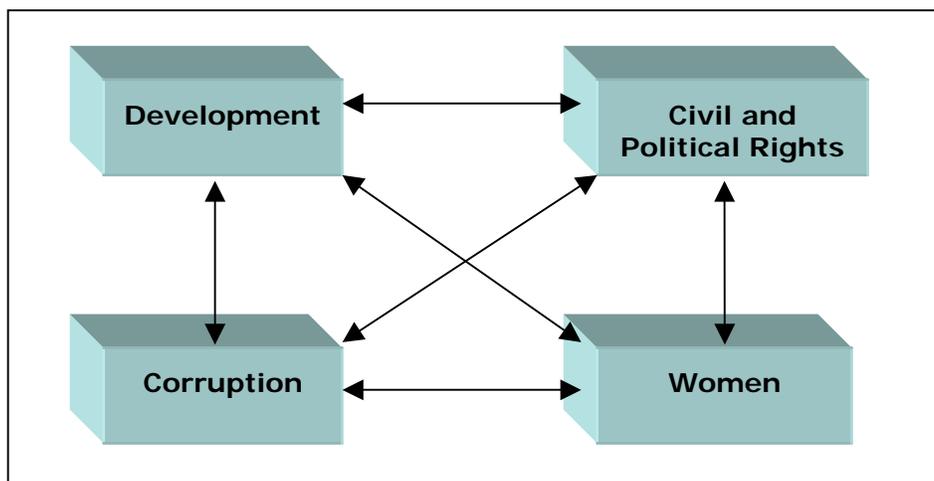


Perhaps women can have an additive positive effect within this context, but from the results that have been shown here it is too soon to say. When it comes to causality this is even harder to prove and a study on a micro-level might better answer this question. From the results shown here it looks like the most probable

answer is not what could be expected: that more liberalization leads to more women in parliament as well as lower levels of corruption. There are no common denominators for the countries which have a high proportion of women in parliament among the developing countries except for the tendency that there are more democratic countries which have 20% women or more in their parliament. The strongest correlated variable with the share of women in parliament is the level of corruption. This might indicate that it is the level of corruption that has an impact on the share of women in parliament.

However, since none of the other factors associated with lower corruption is significant in explaining the share of women in parliament it might be an indicator that it is women who influence corruption rather than the other way around. Although the impact of women is minor in comparison with GNP/capita and political freedom/civil liberties. One possible explanation is that the level of corruption, the number of women in the official sphere, political freedom and the openness of a country are all interrelated and affect each other simultaneously. This could also mean that they are mutually reinforcing, creating a stronger relationship the better a country fares in all these aspects.

Figure 8: The Connection between Corruption and Other Factors



The previous studies presented in chapter two run the risk of oversimplifying a very complex relationship at the same time as they generalize on women as a group. In reality women have very different backgrounds, agendas and ethics and it is questionable if any general theories can be constructed on the basis of gender alone. Corruption is a complex issue, as are development, women's official participation, democratization and liberalization. Probably all of these are interrelated which makes it difficult conducting a purely quantitative analysis on

the issue and one has to be very careful with the inferences made. The reasons why the relationships seem to be stronger for the entire world than for the group with $HDI \leq 0,900$ can be many: it can be because the population is larger which makes relationships easier to find. There can also be an incidence of a threshold or mutually reinforcing effects, which creates stronger correlations the better the scores of all indicators are as a convergence can be seen the better a country fares on all of the indicators. However it could be that on this issue, the developing states cannot be compared to those who are highly developed.

If one strongly believes in women's negative effect on corruption it can be argued that the population is too diverse for any comparison to be possible. The different political settings are extremely varied and the different kinds of corruption and the ways to curb it can differ between these settings. The problem is that there are too few cases for any significant results to be obtained from a statistical analysis if the different political settings were to be taken into consideration. Furthermore there are few reliable data on the different types of corruption within different sectors of countries. To answer these questions a more qualitative comparative study is probably better suited.

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Figure 1: Intercorrelations among variables

Intercorrelations among variables								
Population: HDI01 less than/equal to 0,900								
	Women in parliament 2004	Women in government 2000	Women's share of the adult labour force 2000-2003	Democracy Index (Vanhanen) 2000	Mean of pol rights/civ liberties (FH)	Human Development Index 2001	GNP/capita 2001	Corruption "Graft" 2000-01
Women in parliament 2004	...							
Women in government 2000	0,241* (0,013) n=106	...						
Women's share of the adult labour force 2000-2003	0,181 (0,101) n=83	0,325** (0,009) n=64	...					
Democracy Index (Vanhanen) 2000	0,018 (0,834) n=143	0,002 (0,983) n=110	0,357** (0,001) n=85	...				
Mean of pol rights/civ liberties (FH)	-0,132 (0,116) n=143	-0,217* (0,023) n=110	-0,435** (0,000) n=85	-0,750** (0,000) n=151	...			
Human Development Index 2001	0,069 (0,411) n=143	-0,029 (0,760) n=110	-0,94 (0,394) n=85	0,511** (0,000) n=151	-0,382** (0,000) n=151	...		
GNP/capita 2001	0,075 (0,391) n=134	0,014 (0,0885) n=104	-0,054 (0,637) n=80	0,470** (0,000) n=138	-0,444** (0,000) n=138	0,756** (0,000) n=138	...	
Corruption "Graft" 2000-01	0,196* (0,031) n=121	0,116 (0,257) n=97	-0,087 (0,442) n=81	0,296** (0,001) n=127	-0,459** (0,000) n=127	0,482** (0,000) n=127	0,701** (0,000) n=119	...
Corruption "CPI" 2004	0,119 (0,206) n=114	0,062 (0,566) n=88	-0,159 (0,156) n=81	0,262** (0,004) n=118	-0,411** (0,000) n=127	0,567** (0,000) n=118	0,772** (0,000) n=110	0,859** (0,000) n=113

Figure 2: Correlation between women in parliament/women in government/women's share of the labour force and corruption

a)

		Correlations			
		% women in parliament 2000 (or acc. to latest election)	Women in parliament 2004	Women in government at ministerial level 2000 (%)	Women's share of the adult labour force (%) 2000-03
Graft - corruption 2000-01 (-2,5 to 2,5)	Pearson Correlation	,183*	,196*	,116	-,087
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,049	,031	,257	,442
	N	117	121	97	81
Corruption 2004 (TI)	Pearson Correlation	,172	,119	,062	-,159
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,075	,206	,566	,156
	N	109	114	88	81

Population:
HDI01≤0,900

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

b)

		Correlations			
		Women in parliament 2004	% women in parliament 2000 (or acc. to latest election)	Women's share of the adult labour force (%) 2000-03	Women in government at ministerial level 2000 (%)
Corruption 2004 (TI)	Pearson Corr.	,233	,291*	-,039	,190
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,054	,015	,768	,164
	N	69	69	59	55
Graft - corruption 2000-01 (-2,5 to 2,5)	Pearson Corr.	,369**	,372**	-,021	,183
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,002	,002	,873	,186
	N	68	69	58	54

Population:
HDI01≤0,900
Electoral Democracy 2001 (FH)

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Figure 3: Correlation between women in parliament and corruption for regional groups

Population: HDI01≤0,900 & Electoral Democracy 2001 (FH)

		Correlations		
		Women in parliament 2004	% women in parliament 2000 (or acc. to latest election)	
Country Groups				
Eastern Europe & ex. Soviet Union	Corruption 2004 (TI)	,397	,438	
	Pearson Correlation	,103	,069	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	18	18	
Graft - corruption 2000-01 (-2,5 to 2,5)	Pearson Correlation	,445	,490*	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,064	,039	
	N	18	18	
Sub Sahara	Corruption 2004 (TI)	,437	,483	
	Pearson Correlation	,104	,068	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	15	15	
Graft - corruption 2000-01 (-2,5 to 2,5)	Pearson Correlation	,618*	,539*	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,025	,046	
	N	13	14	
Asia	Corruption 2004 (TI)	,027	,043	
	Pearson Correlation	,949	,919	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	8	8	
Graft - corruption 2000-01 (-2,5 to 2,5)	Pearson Correlation	-,157	-,159	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,711	,707	
	N	8	8	
Latin America & the Carribeans	Corruption 2004 (TI)	,040	,116	
	Pearson Correlation	,859	,609	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	22	22	
Graft - corruption 2000-01 (-2,5 to 2,5)	Pearson Correlation	,183	,169	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,403	,442	
	N	23	23	

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Figure 4: Correlation between corruption, women in parliament and share of religious denomination in the population

		% protestanter i bef	% katoliker i befolkningen	% muslimer i bef
Graft - corruption 2000-01 (-2,5 to 2,5)	Pearson Correlation	,003	,041	-,118
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,977	,725	,304
	N	78	78	78
Women in parliament 2004	Pearson Correlation	-,060	,284**	-,233*
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,583	,008	,032
	N	85	85	85

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Figure 5: Partial correlation: women in parliament and corruption, controlling for liberalization

Control Variables	Variable	Statistics	Women in parliament 2004
Rule of law 2002 (-2.5 till 2.5); Electoral democracy (Y/N); Index Press Freedom 2000 (FH)	Graft - corruption 2000-01 (-2,5 to 2,5)	Correlation Significance (2-tailed) df	,265^a ,004 116

^a. Significant at the 0,05 level