

## ACRECREVIEW №2/2019

### **REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN'S INTERESTS** BY WOMEN-PARLIAMENTARIES IN THE PROCESS OF ADOPTING ANTI-CORRUPTION LEGISLATION IN UKRAINE



*The policy-brief is based on the results of a study devoted to the promotion of the interests of women in the process of adopting anti-corruption legislation by deputies of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of the VIII convocation.*

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## WHAT SCIENTIFIC PROBLEM NEEDS TO BE SOLVED?

One of the reasons that inhibits the increase of gender equality in the state is corruption<sup>1</sup>, because it directly affects the living standards of citizens, their rights and opportunities. Because women and men have different gender roles, they perform and meet different social practices in their daily lives, taking into account this “in the context of the position of women in society... corruption affects them disproportionately”<sup>2</sup>. As the level of corruption<sup>3</sup> and gender inequality<sup>4</sup> in Ukraine remains very high, it is clear **that there are problems which hinder the development and implementation of an effective anti-corruption policy that takes into account the interests of both groups: women and men.** Scientist’s opinions about who and how should represent women’s interests in the policy-making process differs. Supporters of gender quotas (positive actions) explain the need to increase the number of women in parliament because potentially they will better represent women’s interests. On the other hand, scholars argue that the representation of women in parliament is not a guarantee that anti-corruption legislation will be more

sensitive to their problems (gender-sensitive), accordingly, a search for additional tools is necessary. Thus, the scientific question is as follows: what is the degree of involvement of women parliamentarians in promoting the interests of women during the adoption of anti-corruption legislation in Ukraine.

State anti-corruption policy<sup>5</sup> is a set of legal, economic, educational, upbringing, organisational and other measures provided by laws and legislation, formed and implemented by public authorities, local governments and the public in order to identify and stop corruption, eliminate determinants, which personify it, restore violated rights and legitimate interests of individuals, legal entities and the state.

Gender equality<sup>5</sup> – equal rights, responsibilities, opportunities for women and men, girls and boys. Gender equality implies that the interests, needs and priorities of both groups – women and men are taken into account, recognising the differences between different groups of women and men.

1 Purushothaman S. et al. *Seeing Beyond the State: Grassroots Women's Perspectives on Corruption and Anti-Corruption* // New York, NY: United Nations Development Programme. – 2012.

2 The same source.

3 Corruption Perception Index-2018 [Electronic data] // Transparency International. – 2018. – Resource access mode: <https://ti-ukraine.org/research/index-spravinattva-koruptsiji-2018/>.

4 The Global Gender Gap Report [Electronic data] // World economic forum. – 2018. – Resource access mode: [http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF\\_GGGR\\_2018.pdf](http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2018.pdf).

5 Zabroda D.G. The concept of state anti-corruption policy / D.G. Zabroda // Law and Security. - 2012. - № 2. - P. 98-105. - Resource access mode: [http://nbuv.gov.ua/UJRN/Pib\\_2012\\_2\\_24](http://nbuv.gov.ua/UJRN/Pib_2012_2_24)

European Institute for Gender Equality. gender equality  
[Electronic data] / European Institute for Gender Equality – Resource  
access mode: <https://eige.europa.eu/thesaurus/terms/1168>.

## 2. THEORETICAL APPROACH TO THE REPRESENTATION OF WOMEN'S INTERESTS IN THE PROCESS OF LEGISLATION ADOPTION

There are different approaches to solve the issue of how ensure taking into account the interests of women during the political decision-making. The most popular are the descriptive and substantive representation of women in state bodies. Supporters of these types of representation argue that women's interests are likely to be represented by women in parliament, so it is necessary to increase the level of their involvement in the policy-making process. With this aim, gender quotas have become very popular in the world. They legally provide a certain number of people of both sexes in parliament. In contrast, there are arguments that the number of members of a certain group in parliament does not necessarily mean that the interests of that group are taken into account in the legislation itself, that's why this system is not effective enough.

The concept of representation is theorised by Hannah Pitkin, who distinguishes<sup>7</sup> four types of representation: descriptive, formal, symbolic, and “action for” (substantive). According to the researcher, the first three types of representation are limited, as they cannot

guarantee that the interests of represented people are fully represented:

**Formal** representation simply formally empowers a person to represent others without guaranteeing the quality of such representation.

**Symbolic** representation lies in the “conviction” of those who are represented that their interests are represented indeed, although they may be not. This conviction is based on the feeling that the person is represented and “does not apply to who the representatives are or what they do”<sup>8</sup>.

**Descriptive** representation, where a representative is considered as representative because of his “common characteristics or connections”<sup>9</sup> with represented people by him. This refers to the “relationship between human characteristics and actions, which is by no means mandatory”<sup>10</sup>. Descriptive representation “means that the composition of representative institutions should reflect the composition of represented persons in

7 Quotation of Pitkin H. F. The concept of representation. – Univ of California Press. 1967. – Т. 75.

8 Schwindt-Bayer L. A., Mishler W. An integrated model of women's representation // *The Journal of politics*. – 2005. – Т. 67. – №. 2. – С. 407-428.

9 Quotation of Pitkin H. F. The concept of representation. – Univ of California Press, 1967. – T. 75.

10 The same source.

Returning to the classification of Hannah Pitkin, the fourth type of representation, namely **“action for” (substantive)** lies in<sup>14</sup> the reaction of representatives to the requests of those they represent, which then manifests itself in

11 Schwindt-Bayer L. A., Mishler W. An integrated model of women's representation // *The Journal of politics*. – 2005. – Т. 67. – №. 2. – С. 407-428.

13 Mansbridge J. Should blacks represent blacks and women represent women? A contingent «yes» //The Journal of politics. – 1999. – T. 61. – №. 3. – С. 628-657.

Without excluding the diversity of women, “feminists prefer to speak in terms of the fact that women have more probabilities to “hit the target” in terms of action for women”<sup>19</sup>. In “The Politics of Presence”, the author Anne

16 The same source.

18 Laws that work for the good of men and women: a guide on gender issues in legislation [Electronic data] // OSCE / ODIHR. - 2017. - Resource access mode: <https://www.osce.org/ru/odihr/342566?download=true>.

19 Quotation of: Phillips A. The politics of presence. – Clarendon Press, 1995.

Phillips argues<sup>20</sup> this probability in view of the differences between women and men in their daily lives, connected with child-rearing, education and occupations, the distribution of paid and unpaid work, violence, and sexual harassment. Thus, exactly due to the “specific resources of knowledge and experience”<sup>21</sup> of women, descriptive representation in parliament can potentially lead to the representation of their interests in political decision-making process, i.e. to the substantive representation. The transition occurs when quantitative characteristics in the form of the presence of women in the legislature transform into a change of policy in accordance with the interests of women. **Thus, substantive representation is manifested in “voting, implementing and supporting of draft laws, speeches, expansion of the political program ... taking into account issues of special importance for women who are in the private and/or public sphere and/or aimed at feminist purposes”<sup>22</sup>.**

Researcher Jennifer Piscopo compares the results of the presence of women in the process of legislative adopting in Mexico and Argentina in the period from 1988 to 2009, namely, whether women legislators support different policies from men legislators, and how significant these differences are for policy outcomes in general. The received results show that women legislators in Argenti-

na and Mexico implement “progressive women’s reforms in the sphere of women’s interests, although some attention is paid to the traditional role of women and the welfare of children”<sup>23</sup>. On the other hand, the researcher reveals the issue concerning the influence of male legislators, which has shown the following results: male legislators also pay much attention to the interests of women, but “as a rule, this does not apply to the modernisation of gender roles”<sup>24</sup>, instead they support traditional women’s roles. The link between party affiliation and political priorities is important, namely: “In both countries, membership in the left party has a positive effect on whether the legislator will be a policy-maker with progressive gender content, and influences negatively on whether the legislator will be the author of a policy that promotes a traditional gender role.” Thus, according to the author, both women and men can represent the interests of women, but the result of this representation is different. In addition, favourable institutional system and practices in the legislature, increase the effectiveness of substantive representation of women.

Another study<sup>25</sup> was about the activities of British MPs elected in 1997. “Interviews, behaviour, signing proposals in parliament ... as well as MPs’ participation in parliamentary debates”<sup>26</sup> were analysed. As a result, the researchers con-

20 The same source.

21 Celis K. et al. Rethinking women’s substantive representation //ECPR joint sessions of workshops 2007. – European Consortium of Political Research (ECPR). – 2007.

22 Celis K. Substantive representation of women (and improving it): What it is and should be about? //Comparative European Politics. – 2009. – T. 7. – №. 1. – C. 95-113.

23 Piscopo J. M. Do women represent women?: gender and policy in Argentina and Mexico : diss. – UC San Diego, 2011.

24 The same source.

25 Childs S. The complicated relationship between sex, gender and the substantive representation of women //European Journal of Women’s Studies. – 2006. – T. 13. – №. 1. – C. 7-21.

26 The same source.



cluded that "the relationship between descriptive and substantive representation of women is straightforward, but complicated by their identity and the political institutional context in which they operate"<sup>27</sup>.

Sue Thomas researched<sup>28</sup> the influence of women's presence in the legislature on changing policy priorities. The study was conducted in the United States in 1988 and combined the results of women's representation in the lower chambers of the legislature from twelve states. The results showed a clear link between the number of women and the level of support for laws concerning the interests of women, children and family issues. In addition, it turned out that women are more inclined to promote the interests of women, children and families when they are supported by either MPs in general or groups of women MPs. Such results highlight the importance of the institutional context in which there is support for gender equality, which is reflected in support for draft laws related to women's interests by deputies.

For example, the Beijing Platform of 1995 states that “equal participation of women in decision-making process is not only a requirement of common justice or democracy, but also a necessary condition for taking into account the interests of women”<sup>29</sup>. This statement confirms the view that the interests of women will

be taken into account if the number of women in the legislature increases.

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27 The same source.

28 Thomas S. The impact of women on state legislative policies // The Journal of Politics. – 1991. – T. 53. – № 4. – С. 958-976.

29 Quotation from: Beijing +15 and Ukraine: International Commitments and implementation practices / compiler O. Suslova - Kyiv: SPD Moskalenko O.M., 2010.

### 3. CRITIQUE OF THE APPROACH OF SUBSTANTIVE REPRESENTATION, OR WHY WOMEN-DEPUTIES DO NOT ALWAYS REPRESENT WOMEN'S INTERESTS.

Sarah Childs and Mona Crook single out<sup>30</sup> problem issues that could hinder to represent women's interests by women in parliament:

- ▶ the legal context may facilitate or prevent the transition from descriptive to substantive representation in order to change policy in such a way that will take into account the interests of women. It can do it through institutional norms, government restrictions, party ideology, and the political will of legislators;
- ▶ the interests of an individual politician may prevail over the gender interests of that person, on the other hand, the interests of a woman legislator may coincide with the interests of a man legislator;
- ▶ there is no consensus on what means the term “women’s interests”. Feminists define it as a change of women role of in society and the advancement of their rights, from the other point of view, “women’s interests” can be considered as strengthening of the ex-

isting “traditional interests” in the family and society;

- ▶ the process of forming political decisions itself, as well as external and internal influence on the legislative process can affect the effectiveness of substantive representation.

In order to measure the effectiveness of women's substantive representation, two main questions are identified: "what do women do to change the situation; and do they have ability to change the situation"<sup>31</sup>. According to another researcher, the main problems that cause an inefficiency of the approach are as follows:

1. "Most women were socialised in a traditional patriarchal society"<sup>32</sup> and thus, during the process of decision-making, they integrate these traditional values, which makes impossible for them to change the status quo;
2. "Women have different socio-economic and cultural values and

30 Childs S., Krook M. L. Analysing women's substantive representation: From critical mass to critical actors // *Government and opposition*. – 2009. – Т. 44. – № 2. – С. 125-145.

31 Miranda R. L. Impact of women's participation and leadership on outcomes // Prepared for the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA), Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW), Expert Group Meeting on 'Equal participation of women and men in decision-making processes with particular emphasis on political participation and leadership - 2005 - T. 24.

32 The same source

conomic classes, races, religions, ethnicities”<sup>33</sup>, etc., which reduces the likelihood that women in parliament will represent or even have common interests with those women who have a different socio-political status;

3. In order to widen an electoral circle and strengthen their status on the political stage, women do not prioritise the problem of gender inequality, but instead focus on general issues which concern the population more;
4. "Receiving the authority creates almost absolute potential for corruption"<sup>34</sup>, especially "for people who were previously marginalised, subordinated and oppressed"<sup>35</sup>. Thus, women who mostly did not have access to power for a long time will potentially be inclined to join to the established corruption practices. Considering the influence of corruption practices more detailed, in conditions of the low level of civil society control concerning the realisation of election promises, women in parliament can use their powers "to serve personal, family, party and philanthropic interests rather than the interests of the wide range of population or the general public"<sup>36</sup>.

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33 The same source.

34 The same source.

35 The same source.

36 Miranda R.L. Impact of women's participation and leadership on outcomes // Prepared for the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA), Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW), Expert Group Meeting on «Equal participation of women and men in decision-making processes, with particular emphasis on political participation and leadership. - 2005 - T. 24.

Therefore, in order to ensure the effectiveness of substantive representation, it is also necessary to increase the capacity of civil society to control and impose sanctions for non-fulfillment of political promises by officials, as well as to reduce the general level of corruption in the state. Another obstacle to women's effective participation in political decision-making is giving them access to political decision-making only in matters relating to the family, culture, education, etc., and limited access to the spheres of "economic, international relations, justice and defence"<sup>37</sup>.

In a study<sup>38</sup> on the substantive representation of women in the Canadian Parliament, Manon Tremblay pays attention to the topic of parliamentary debates concerning the rights of women, children, the family (including health, abortion, violence, human trafficking, social status, etc.). In the result of the study we see a conclusion that “women try to shape the legislative agenda and legislative discourse in such a way that it can allow them to promote women’s issues more than men, but their activities in favour of women’s problems remain quite limited in numerical terms”<sup>39</sup>. Also, the important conclusion is that issues about women’s interests are raised by both women

37 The same source.

38 Tremblay M. Do female MPs substantively represent women? A study of legislative behaviour in Canada's 35th Parliament // *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue canadienne de science politique*. – 1998. – T. 31. – № 3. – С. 435-465.

39 Tremblay M. Do female MPs substantively represent women? A study of legislative behaviour in Canada's 35th Parliament // *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue canadienne de science politique*. – 1998. – T. 31. – N<sup>o</sup> 3. – C. 435-465.

and men in parliamentary speeches, but the number of such speeches remains so small that it has almost no effect on the general political discourse and the outcome of political decisions. Therefore, although women are proportionally more involved in discussing topics which are connected with their interests, this difference does not affect the overall outcome.

A study<sup>40</sup>, comparing the political context of developed countries with those that are in the process of development, found that in both cases women preferred to support drafts of law that related to the women's interests. However, in contrast to more developed countries, for example, in Honduras, women do not promote the interests of children and families more than men. Thus, in some cases it is possible to trace the influence of cultural and political context in women's political activities and priorities.

The “UN-Women” international organisation analysed, in its report<sup>41</sup>, the involvement and influence of women on the process of discussing and signing peace agreements between different countries. The study found that there was no dependence between the number of women present at the negotiating table and the number of signed peace agreements, but how they participated played a significant role. That is, the position of women, as well as their coherence, per-

severance and status in the negotiations, were important. Also, considerable is the fact that, "the chances of reaching and implementing agreements were much higher, when women had a strong influence on the negotiation process, than when women's groups had moderate, weak or absent influence"<sup>42</sup>.

One of the determining factors of influence is the factional affiliation, which very often determines the priorities of the legislator, thus making impossible the substantive representation of women.

Summing up, we can say that the approach of substantive representation of women is criticised mainly because, firstly, differences between women are ignored within the frameworks of the approach, instead women are attributed with certain interests different from men's interests; secondly, the possibility of representing the interests of women by men is excluded; thirdly, the interests of the women's group in parliament may not coincide with the interests of all other women in society. Also, the relationship between descriptive and substantive representation does not answer the question: "why (on what basis) should women representatives act for women?"<sup>43</sup>.

40 Taylor-Robinson M. M., Heath R. M. Do women legislators have different policy priorities than their male colleagues? A critical case test // *Women & Politics*. – 2003. – T. 24. – № 4. – С. 77-101.

41 Paffenholz T. et al. Making women count-not just counting women: Assessing Women's Inclusion and Influence on Peace Negotiations. – UN Women, 2016.

42 Paffenholz T. et al. Making women count-not just counting women: Assessing Women's Inclusion and Influence on Peace Negotiations. – UN Women, 2016.

43 The same source.

#### 4. DO WOMEN-PARLIAMENTARIANS REPRESENT THE INTERESTS OF WOMEN DURING THE DEVELOPMENT OF ANTI-CORRUPTION POLICY IN UKRAINE?

Based on the analysed arguments and counter-arguments regarding the substantive representation of women, several hypotheses can be put forward concerning the representation of women's interests in the process of drafting and adopting anti-corruption legislation in Ukraine. Firstly, male parliamentarians in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, the same as women or even more often, raise issues and make proposals related to women's interests in the sphere of fighting against corruption (a hypothesis that rejects the gender difference in the representation of women's interests). Secondly, women parliamentarians in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine raise more issues and make more proposals that benefit the "interests of women" than men. Thirdly, the number of mentions of "women's interests" by deputies is influenced by their party/factional affiliation in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine.

Thus, we can mark the following research hypotheses:

*H1: Men talk about “women’s interests” the same amount of time as women or even more.*

H2: Women raise issues and make proposals that meet the “interests of

women” more often than men during the formation of anti-corruption policies in the Verkhovna Rada.

*H3: Mainly, “women’s interests” issues are announced by deputies who belong to the same factions in parliament.*

### Data collection:

The content analysis of the speeches of the deputies of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine connects each deputy with the number of mentioned selected for analysis keywords, which were said during the plenary debate in the process of adopting anti-corruption legislation. The content analysis is performed in order to assess the impact of gender and party/factional affiliation on the number of mentions of women's interests by deputies of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine during the adoption of anti-corruption legislation.

### Data analysis:

The data were analysed using the statistical data processing program SPSS.

1. The T-criterion was used to compare the average values of the variables of the two groups (women and men-legislators). The T-criterion was used to assess the probability

that the identified differences were statistically significant based on the sample data.

2. Dispersion analysis ANOVA was used to find statistically significant values of the difference between several groups of data. The value of the Fisher criterion indicates the absence or presence of differences between groups, in other words, indicates the average values equal to each other in all groups (parties/factions).

The methodology of the study was adapted to the Ukrainian context on the basis of the study: "Quotas and substantive representation of women: data from the analysis of the content of the plenary debate in Uganda"<sup>44</sup>. It is necessary to substantiate the expediency of this borrowing and usage of it in the research. Thus, in this paper<sup>45</sup> researchers substantiate the use of content analysis of the speeches of deputies during plenary sessions in parliament as follows:

In particular, it investigates whether the gender approach influences on the articulation of women's interests in plenary speeches. This is done by analysing a data set consisting of almost a complete record of all plenary speeches in the Uganda Parliament from 1998 to 2011. Since 1989, Uganda has secured seats for women lawmakers, but women are also allowed to compete with men for

“vacant” seats. The study corresponds to the popular methodological approach of representing women’s interests through legislative speeches (using the text as «big data»). The content of the deputy’s speech during the plenary debates is an indicator of the main representation of women’s interests.

The borrowing of the methodology with its adaptation to the Ukrainian context is explained by the fact that the research investigates the influence of the gender approach on the articulation of women's interests in plenary speeches during the development of anti-corruption policy in Ukraine. Also, in Ukraine, as in Uganda, there is a system of gender quotas, which affects the number of women elected to parliament. This system was approved by changes to the Law "On political parties", which states "the size of quotas, which determines the minimum level of representation of women and men in the electoral list of candidates for deputies of Ukraine from the party in the federal constituency ... must be not less than 30 percent from total amount of candidates in the electoral list"<sup>46</sup>

The analysis of the substantive representation of women in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of the eighth convocation, namely the content analysis of their speeches in the process of developing anti-corruption policy includes the following set of words which are referred to women's interests in the fight

44 The same source.

45 Clayton A., Josefsson C., Wang V. Quotas and women's substantive representation: Evidence from a content analysis of Ugandan plenary debates // *Politics & Gender*. – 2017. – T. 13. – № 2. – С. 276-304.

46 Law of Ukraine «On Political Parties in Ukraine» dated April 5, 2001. № 2365-III [Electronic data] / The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. – Resource access mode: <http://portal.rada.gov.ua>

against corruption sphere: “woman”, “gender”, “equality”, “girl”, “family”, “mother”, “daughter”, “rape”, “violence”, “wife”, “child”, “sexual”, “pregnancy”, “childbirth”, “maternal”, “marriage/divorce”, “baby”, “abortion”, “sex trade/slavery”, “child care”, “social”, “refugees”, “state aid”, “health”, “discrimination”. The full list of keywords also includes all variants of these words, as well as cases when the words are included in the phrase.

The keywords defined as “women’s interests in the fight against corruption sphere” are derived from international researches and statistics concerning the influence of corruption on women’s lives and opportunities in Ukraine. In all of these studies, researchers identify women’s interests and provide examples of words and phrases that can be used in policy-making as an attempt to attract attention and take these interests into account in legislation.

Also, the speeches of those who chairs the Verkhovna Rada sessions are excluded from the analysis. Regarding the influence of party/factional affiliation, it should be noted that leaving a faction or transferring to another faction is also taken into account. The number of deputies at the time of the research carrying out was 423<sup>47</sup>, which coincided with the number of deputies whose speeches at the plenary sessions were analysed during the study. To assess the influence of group/factional affiliation, the speech-

es of the corresponding number<sup>48</sup> of deputies were analysed:

- ▶ Faction of the “PETRO POROSHENKO’s BLOC” political party – 135 deputies;
- ▶ Faction of the political party “NARODNIY FRONT” – 80 deputies;
- ▶ Faction of the political party “OPPOSITIONAL BLOC” – 38 deputies;
- ▶ Faction of the political party “Association “SAMOPOMICH” – 25 deputies;
- ▶ Oleh Lyashko’s Radical Party Faction – 21 deputies;
- ▶ Faction of the “All-Ukrainian Union Batkivshchyna” political party in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine – 20 deputies;
- ▶ “Volya narodu” Group – 18 deputies;
- ▶ “Vidrojenya” Party” Group – 25 deputies;
- ▶ Deputies who are not members of any faction or group – 61 deputies.

During the study, 673 speeches of people's deputies of Ukraine of the VIII convocation were analysed to find out mentions of the women's interests (which were identified in the methodological frameworks of the study) in the

47 People's deputies of Ukraine [Electronic data]// Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine. – 2019. – Resource access mode: [http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/site2/p\\_deputat\\_list](http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/site2/p_deputat_list).

48 VRU. Deputies' factions and groups of VIII convocation  
[Electronic data] / VRU – Resource access mode: [http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/site2/p\\_fractions](http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/site2/p_fractions).

process of adopting anti-corruption legislation for 2014-2019. Content-analysis connects each deputy with the number of identified keywords that he or she has included to the plenary debate on each anti-corruption law selected for analysis.

Therefore, the results of the study were analysed using the statistical data processing program SPSS. To compare the average values of the variables of the two groups of women and men legislators, the T-criterion was used to assess the probability that the identified differences were statistically significant based on the sample data (Table 1). Since, the value of the criterion F and the level of its significance Sig. are above 0.05 (Table 1), the null hypothesis about equality of dispersions is accepted, and it is possible to use the values from the table in the row "Equal variances assumed". Sig. indicator (2-tailed) indicates the level of significance of the t-criterion, which is equal to 0.343 (Table 1), which is more than 0.05, so the null hypothesis about the equality of average values in subgroups of women and men among legislators in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine is accepted. The average value indicator ("mean") of women's interests mentions (Fig. 1) is different (0.26 and 0.13, respectively) for women and men, but, as noted above, this difference is not statistically significant ( $p = 0.343$ ) or in other words, does not affect the level of representation of "women's interests" by legislators.

Therefore, according to the results of the analysis, it is possible to accept the first hypothesis of the study (H1) and

reject the second hypothesis (H2). Such results allow us to conclude that in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine the involvement of women deputies in the process of drafting and adopting anti-corruption legislation is not a guarantee that the interests of women will be represented and taken into account. Although the results of the study showed that women mentioned women's interests more often than men in their speeches, but this difference is so insignificant that it would be erroneous to claim that there is a stable connection.

### T-Test

Table 1 "T-test comparison of average values of variables of two groups of women and men deputies of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of the VIII convocation"

Group Statistics					
	gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
law	man	369	1.301	.80379	.04184
	woman	50	2.600	1.46817	.20763

### Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances			t-test for Equality of Means				95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	Lower	Upper
law	Equal variances assumed	3.715	.055	-.950	417	.343	-.12992	.13675	-.39872	.13889
	Equal variances not assumed			-.613	53.049	.542	-.12992	.21180	-.55474	.29490

Regarding the third hypothesis of the study (H3), the difference in party/factional affiliation of legislators also does not affect the number of mentions of women's interests during the adoption of anti-corruption legislation in the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine (Fig. 1). We used the group difference indicator (ANOVA), which is used to find statistically significant values of the difference between several data groups, to test the third hypothesis and it is equal to 0.862

(Table 2). This result gives the opportunity to affirm that the difference between parties/factions is insignificant and therefore has no real influence on the number of mentions of women's interests by deputies in the process of developing anti-corruption policies..

## Oneway

## ANOVA

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	3.879	9	.431	.518	.862
Within Groups	340.240	409	.832		
Total	344.119	418			

Table 2 "Dispersion analysis of the difference between the parties/factions of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine of the VIII convocation

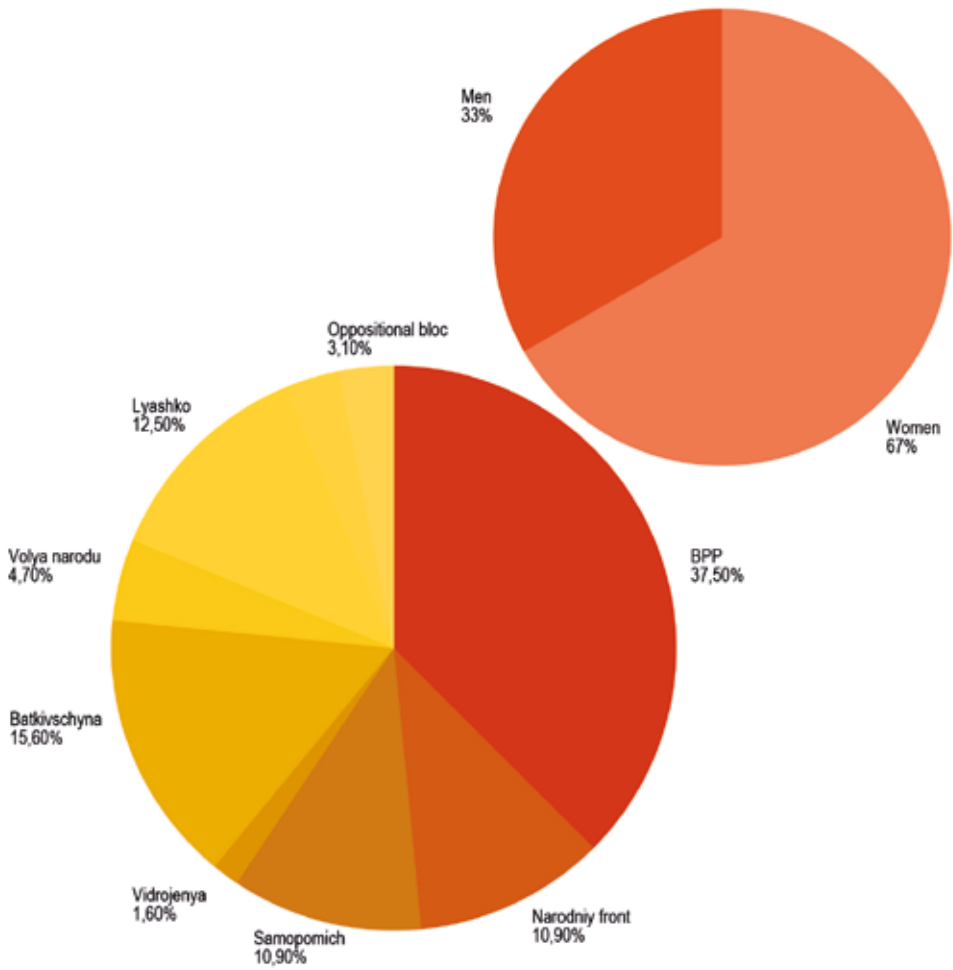


Fig. 1 "Representation of "women's interests" and party/factional/gender affiliation".

**PROPOSALS CONCERNING THE CHANGE OF THE PROCESS OF PREPARATION, DISCUSSION AND ADOPTION OF ANTI-CORRUPTION LEGISLATION IN ORDER TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE INTERESTS OF WOMEN FURTHER**

First of all, it is possible to make an assumption on the basis of the analysed literature and Ukrainian experience of promoting the interests of women during the process of adopting anti-corruption legislation concerning the reasons for the low level of representation of their interests by deputies of the Verkhovna Rada:

- ▶ a **personal factor** that motivates a woman parliamentarian to promote her own personal interests as a priority, rather than the interests of other women, if these interests do not coincide;
- ▶ negative impact of **the legislative process and the institutional context** in which political decisions are made according to their interests;
- ▶ the influence of **cultural factors**, such as stereotypes towards women, public demand for change, control by civil society, etc.

Therefore, based on the low representation of women's interests by members of the Verkhovna Rada in the process of adopting anti-corruption legislation, the following steps are necessary:

- ▶ to carry out mandatory **gender and legal examination** of anti-corruption legislation at the stages of its development, implementation, monitoring;
- ▶ to introduce information campaigns among **the deputies of the Verkhovna Rada in order to raise their awareness of the problems and interests of women** in the sphere of fight against corruption;
- ▶ introduce regular **gender-disaggregated** sociological and statistical surveys in the field of anti-corruption;
- ▶ to introduce incentives for deputies of the Verkhovna Rada **concerning taking into account by them the results of gender-disaggregated sociological and statistical surveys** in the process of developing and

- adopting anti-corruption legislation;
- ▶ to introduce wide applying of the principle of **gender budgeting** in the field of anti-corruption;
- ▶ create incentives for **political parties** which **support raising of gender equality level** in Ukraine in the process of their political activity as well as certain sanctions for parties which don't;
- ▶ to introduce **cooperation between the Verkhovna Rada and the Ukrainian media** in order to inform the population about the problems and interests of women and men, about the condition of gender equality in the country and especially the issues related to corruption and anti-corruption activities. All the mentioned things should be done in the framework of joint efforts;
- ▶ Introduce mandatory **informing of the civil society**, starting with school educational establishments, about their rights and opportunities;
- ▶ encourage **representatives of non-governmental women's associations**, who are potentially better acquainted with problems and interests of women in the field of anti-corruption, to the cooperation in the process of drafting anti-corruption legislation;
- ▶ pay more attention to **regional peculiarities and problems faced by women in everyday life and take into account these peculiarities and problems in anti-corruption legislation.**

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