GENDER AND ITS INFLUENCE ON CURBING CORRUPTION- A CASE STUDY OF CHINA

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SWORN DECLARATION

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Abstract

Corruption has become a major social and political issue in China, since the opening-up reform in 1978 began to be implemented. It is one of the most destructive factors that threatens the economic development and growth in developing countries. Since Xi Jinping was appointed president in 2012, the Chinese government has launched the aggressive anti-corruption campaign. In the midst of this anti-corruption campaign, many corruption cases involved women, such as female cadres, mistresses and family members of male officials. In the paper, I collect some typical cases of women corruption from some social new medias, then make detail analysis linking with relevant theories. I conclude that women engaging in corruption depend on local contextual factors. In China, gender inequality can lead to women corruption. In addition, unhappy family life will promote females to commit corruption. Therefore, in China corruption has no gender differences.

Keywords: Corruption, gender, gender roles, gender identity, sexuality, Confucian, testosterone, androgen, estrogen, objectification
1. Introduction

1.1. Background

Corruption is often found in every society and in every period of history. It has, without doubts, severe adverse effects on economic growth and social development. Specially, corruption is one of the most destructive factors that threatens the economic development and growth in underdeveloped and developing countries (Gyimah-Brempong, 2002, P184). Simultaneously, corruption is also a very serious problem in many emerging and transitional economies such as China where lacks of governmental control and supervision lead to the widespread corruption (Liu et al, 2017, P602).

In China corruption has been a major social and political issue and existed in Chinese history for thousands of years, throughout Chinese slavery societies, feudal societies, republic period and the People’s Republic of China (PRC) (Liu, 2016, P5).

Anti-corruption in China ancient

In Chinese ancient time, every dynasty has a similar fate that fell into the “clean - legitimate - corrupt - demise ” cycle (Lü, 2000, P1). Therefore, to avoid falling prey of this cycle, anti-corruption became an important part of ancient Chinese legal system, and the systematization, legalization and institutionalization of the punishment of corruption first appeared in the slavery society of China (Liu, 2016, P5). During the time of Chinese slavery of societies, the judiciary enacted the rules for the emperor. When the officials were found to be committing offence of corruption, they would be punished by “tattoo their faces”(Liu, 2016, P6.). In the time of Chinese feudal societies, to insure the rules’ interest and the safety of the state, emperors from different dynasties have made continuous progress on fighting corruption and adapted substantive measures to punish corrupt officials. In the Chinese feudal society, according to the regulations, officials who misused public funds and borrowed money from local government without advance approval were considered as guilty of theft, and the punishment was based on the provision of theft. Both giving and accepting bribery were strictly prohibited. Any officials who gave, received, and helped someone keep the bribes would be dismissed or demoted (Liu, 2016, P7).
However, corruption was not able to be effectively control without leading by strong political regulations and monitored system. Firstly, officials were underpaid, and their entire income is used in paying official expense and their assistance. In addition they offered lavish treatment to higher-ranking officials. Therefore, they would have to request some money or gifts from their subordinates (Ni and Pham, 2006, P319). Secondly, in the Chinese ancient, state officials were employed through a examination system that mainly consisted of the Confucian classics (Liu, 2016, P8). The Confucianism emphasized that a state was governed by people, and people should comply with public morality which means that people should work to improve the community they live in (Cui, 2007, P519). Thus, a true and honest state bureaucrat should be guided by morality. As a result, the excesses of personal and parochial desires were not able to be effectively limited so that corruption continued to exist at a large scale in the Chinese society. On the other hand, under the long Feudal autocratic society, the opportunities of accumulating fortunes of private sector were controlled through traditional norms, politics became a way to gain personal wealth (Huntington, 1968, P66). This thought has striking influenced on Chinese people. In the heart of Chinese people, power meant interest, losing power meant losing everything you ever had, a common reaction among officials was to try to collect as more wealth as possible when they were in power (Gong, 1994, P38). And in the society, the success of a person’s career is measured by the degree of his or her official position. These views reflected the close relationship between power and wealth in the Chinese history.

In Chinese history, public authorities ignored the relationship between morality and political institutions. Political institutions are the behavioral representation of the moral consensus and mutual interest. Morality requires trust; trust means predictability; predictability asks regularized and institutionalized of patterns of behaviour to realize a state’s common interest (Huntington, 1964, P28). Simultaneously, institutionalization was the process by which a society could achieve value and stability. However, in Chinese ancient, every dynasty was dominated by royal families and various levels of bureaucrats, who had ultimate power and complete privilege to be exempted from the regulations. They also were aware of the corruption problem, and made attempts to control corruption. But the preconditions of anti-corruption were that rulers’ power and domination were not threatened. To insure the stability of the dominators’ power, they even indulged officials with corruption, wherefore every dynasty in Chinese history had
the inevitable destiny of demise.

Corruption control in the Republic of China

In the last imperial of Qing dynasty, corruption flourished in Chinese traditional society and aggravated the contradiction between people and government, thereby some rebellions were triggered throughout China. In 1919 a well-know rebellion - Xinhan Revolution overwhelmed Qing dynasty, and built the temporary government of the Republic China by Sun Yatsan. He learned anti-corruption experiences from Western developed countries and integrated them into the Temporary Constitutional Law, and for the first time set up a special anti-corruption agency in the government (Liu, 2016, P10). But because of the muddleness of warlord, the anti-corruption decree lacked grounds to be enacted. Later led by Chiang Kai-Shek, the Kuo Ming Tang (KMT) formed the National Revolutionary Army and launched Northern Expedition to end the chaos of the warlord Era, then united much of mainland China in 1928. It was the ruling party in mainland China until 1949. During the unstable time, KMT assumed the heavy responsibility of the eight-year war of resistance against Japan, and experienced the Chinese Civil War of four years against the Communist Party. After the two Wars, the economic situation deteriorated and the Kuomintang bureaucratic corruption became more and more serious. The long-time war leaded to very serious inflation. It is said that the prices of consumer goods rose three or seven times, compared with the pre-war; the bank’s deposit book became a waste paper, and the middle class has disappeared from Chinese society. Therefore, in order to fill the stomach and accumulate wealth, officials embezzled public money for personal interest. In addition, the National government were also aware of the seriousness of corruption. And within the government a monitoring institute was set up, whose function was to monitor the behavior of the government and prevent corruption. However, from 1927 to 1937, in the case of 1,800 corrupt officials, only 268 people were found guilty by the court or other legal institutions, 214 did not receive any punishment, 41 received light punishment, and only 13 were Dismissal (Yi, 2000, P 30). The impeached bureaucrats were only some low-level bureaucrats, thus the monitoring institute had no positive effect on controlling corruption. According to Chiang Kai-Shek’s diary in June 1948, he wrote that the failure of the Kuomintang was not by reason of external military invasion, but by reason of desegregation and corruption from within. Thus, corruption not only caused the incompetence of economy and damaged KMT’s government reputation, but also led to the loses of people’s
support, even collapse a state.

**After 1949 the foundation of the people’s Republic of China**

In 1949, the Communist Party, led by Mao Zedong, founded the people’s Republic of China. Similarity, many sectors of Chinese society echoed the same concerns if the Communist Party again fell in the cycle “clean - legitimate - corrupt - demise” (Lü, 2000, P1). Mao thought that corruption, pleasure seeking and serious internal political struggle were the key elements of demise of a state. In order to break the historical cycle, he believed, if you wanted to win the trust and ensure that the stability of a state must be adhered to the principle of integrity; party cadres must have professional competence, strengthen self cultivation and family harmony. Simultaneously, he also found that people were the motive force for pushing forward the advance of the state (Shi, 2014, P123). Only when people participated in monitoring the government, the cadres would become hardworking and non-corrupt, the regime would be preserved (Lü, 2000, P1.). Except from these, the Party should strengthen the management of subjective of thinking, education of party cadres’ moral-ideology to correct direction and understand their responsibility. With the development of economy, some cadres that have forgotten themselves and produced corruption, must be educated and punished timely for achieving the support of the people and the party’s progressiveness (Shi, 2014, P126). These are called the thought of Mao Zedong, which provided ideological guidance for current anti-corruption work in China.

To effectively implement anti-corruption work, the Communist Party built a special governmental organization called Commission for Discipline Inspection solely for examining and penalizing Communist Party members who violated party discipline. Besides this, there was also a supervisory committee, which is designed for supervising activities of government institutions and civil servants to ensure their honest behaviour; and which had the authority to rectify improper activities and punish those who broke their responsibilities. The People’s Procuratorate was in charge of investigating and prosecuting those who were alleged to have the crime of corruption (Liu, 2016, P12).

After foundation of the People’s Republic of China, the Chinese society became stable, in comparison with the Republic of China led by KMT which experienced two wars: the World War II and the civil War. The society resources became abound and the level of
the people’s living has improved significantly. Among officials some corrupt phenomena appeared, such as waste, bureaucratism, graft, bribery, and public property was retained by individual for private reason. To private enterprises, some corrupt behaviour was like tax evasion, theft of state assets, cheating in labour and materials. In order to eliminate these corrupt phenomena, the Communist Party of China thought only a revolutionary way could help them complete this task. Consequently, the Communist Party in China initiated first campaign with anti-corruption, anti-waste and anti-bureaucratism between 1951 and 1952 (Liu, 2016, P13). In this movement, the Communist Party encouraged people to combating corruption, thereby forming strong public opinions to threaten those corrupt officials. According to some statistics, about 80% cases were reported by masses (Liu, 2016, P13).

However, from 1957 to 1976, anti-corruption work became disordered. During the time mass campaigns were launched, such as the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution. They hindered China’s evolution from personalized rule to institutional authority and those governmental organizations dealing with the crime of corruption also stopped to operate. Hence anti-corruption work, of course, was stagnated.

In Mao’s time, all decisions were made by one or a few individuals at the top of the Communist Party. This asked the leader of the Communist Party to pursue moral-ideology of the good society, when choosing a appropriate policy to solve the realistic problems confronting the country. Chairman Mao also continued to his loyalties pursuing Marxism-Leninism, drew lessons from Chinese historical nation and emphasized that government transparent flow of information played a significant role that enhance the public’s control of politicians, consequently led to reductions of corrupt behavior. Thus, he established supervisory mechanism, including supervision by the people’s congress, which was capable of electing, criticizing, questioning, recalling and impeaching of government members; to strength the supervision of higher-level agencies to lower-level governmental agencies; the supervision of people’s organization such as workers, youth and women, who could raise criticism and suggestions to the government; the supervision of letters, which means encouraging the masses to report and expose the illegal behaviour of leading cadres; as well as surveillance by public opinions, which was to encourage the people to use the new media to supervise the government. Simultaneously, Mao required that officials of producing corruption must be timely punished, and even serious corrupt officials would be sentence to death (Shi, 2014,
Under Mao´s autocratic regimes, government members assumed various stress, making them effectively to limit their behaviour. But then ten years´ Cultural Revolution seriously damaged anti-corruption work.

The beginning of the economic reform in the Post-Mao

Deng Xiaoping took over the China´s leader position in 1977 and ended the long time delayed process of political institutionalization and economic development. In the early 1980s, Deng Xiaoping carried out the economic reforms without political reforms, which was called the socialist market economy. The socialist market economy was the predominance of public ownership combined with free competition among enterprise and market allocation of capital. After that, the economy was growing and the socio-economic standard of people improved. Between 1980 and 2010, the political economy of the Post-Mao in China appeared the two miracles - the rapid economical growth and the endemic corruption.

The first miracle is the economic development. Since the implementing of the socialist market economy model, China’s GDP grew by 8.75% on average per year between 1979 and 2010, three full percentage points more than the South Korean economy (5.56%), and about seven percentage points more than the U.S. economy (1.64%) (Wedeman, 2012, P1). From the estimation of the World Bank, the net national income per capita in China increased from 220 $ in 1981 to 3100 $ in 2010. According to the European Central Bank, To 2008 the poverty ratio had decreased to 13% from more than 80% in 1981. China’s economic development managed to raise 672 million people out of poverty during this period (Dorrucci, et. Al, 2013, P11 ). In addition the socialist market economy also brought out the rapid growth of privately owned assets and the weakening of the proportion of the public ownership. In 2005 the proportion of publicly owned assets fell to 48.8% in total social assets. In the same year the private ownership of assets rose to 50.9% (Ding, 2009, P235-241). These data showed that China has been gradually changing from being a rather underdeveloped agricultural state into a socialist modern state.

Although the system of socialist market economy made China to realize modernization, it yet brought a serious political issue - officials corruption. Under the system of socialist market economy, market currently played an important role and had some degree of
liberalization, the resources also were reallocated. However, the previous planned economy has still remained in place, the high degree of centralized power, though slowly loosened, has not radically changed. The freedom of market brought by the socialist market economy gave the persons in authority some opportunities to exploit their power and to take advantage of the commodities economy (Wu, 1997, P49). Thus, since the beginning of the socialist market economy, Chinese government has been fighting off corruption.

According to the research of Yu (2008), during the reform period it is believed that corruption intensified after 1992 and the main activities of corruption were embezzlement and bribery (Yu, 2008, P165). In the post 1992, economic reforms shifted to investment, bank, property development and insurance business. The profit potentials in these new reform areas were much greater. State-owned enterprises transformed from government management to independent economic entities with more autonomy in production and market decision. State firms had to compete like other private enterprises for capital and market, even public-funded projects at the government level. Under market and regulatory pressures, it appeared company-financed bribery, furthermore, became a common survival strategy of a state-owned company. Others of state-owned companies went bankrupt under the stress of market competitiveness, then several state properties they owned would be sold. Under this situation merchants would bribe officials in government to receive a low price of state properties. From empirical research of Sun (2004), a majority (83–85%) of annually prosecuted economic crimes were classified as embezzlement (42–37.6%), bribery (26–21.7%) and misappropriation (15.3–25.9%) from 1991 to 1999 (Sun, 2004; Yu, 2008, P165). How did the economic reform stimulate corruption? Various theories have emerged to interpreted the causes of corruption. I summarize the following three reasons as much as possible from a broad perspective.

Firstly, from a social control perspective Wang (2005) pointed out in his research “Corruption and Anti-Corruption Policy in Today’s China” that the weakening of party’s ideological controls increased official corruption in the course of China’s economic reforms. Because during the era of Mao socialism, the Chinese Communist Party would build a classless society as the greatest mission of Chinese society and eliminate all private ownership, thus, absolute state and a strict system of economic planning and management were implemented. Once corruption was exposed, corrupt officials would
face very serious punishment. Therefore, there was a low level of corruption under Mao’s regime. By contrast, since the beginning the economic reform and openness, individual ownership and the liberalization of market was encouraged, and striving to gain a personal fortune has been the most important goal of Chinese society. On the other hand, the discretionary privilege of officials can not be restricted as effectively as before (Wang, 2005, P2). Thus, politico-bureaucratic corruption has increased during the period of the China’s economic reforms.

Secondly, it is believed that economic reform provided more opportunities for corruption due to creating new sources of wealth and power. For example, in the 1980s, it appeared to profiteering officials when introducing two-track system. The two-track system was a price transition model from the planned economic system to the market economic system and considered as a primary source of corruption. Because it allowed the dual price of the same commodity, one was set by state, another by market factors, and state prices were lower than market prices. Due to the profit margins, state officials engaged in the activities of speculation for personal gains by misuse of their distributive power (Fan and Grossman, 2001, P4). In addition, officials used their monopolistic power to run a business for gaining more interest, because of high demands of industrial products. Even sometimes they had the power to make industrial products scarce, then raised the products’ prices for a high profit (Wu, 1997, P67). With the depth development of the economic reform and more opening up, the previous system of directive planning was gradually removed, which increased myriad opportunities to corrupt with the expanding demands of cadres. The more private economic sectors have been emerged, such as self-employed business, large scale private firms, and foreign-invested enterprise. Officials faced the regulatory ambiguity in exercising their power, which increased the incentives for malfeasance and created a opportunity for building a illegal cooperation between the nouveaux riches and officials of fixed and relatively low salaries. Because those merchants found that seeking officials assistance could facilitate their business or gain competitive advantage against their business rivals, and government employees of relatively low salaries could achieved money they required form these rich merchants (White, 1996, P44). In China, this relationship was described as guanxi (people network), which was actually an exchange between people with money and people with power for their mutual interests.

Guanxi has been a significant topic in the research of Chinese corruption. Many scholars
defined it as relationships or social connections based on mutual benefits, which is achieved by exchanging favors and giving social status between guanxi partners (Chi and Seock-Jin, 2017, P19). This relationship was founded on the basis of trust and reciprocation between public officials and the users of their service. If potential bribers were trustful in the reciprocation of public officials, they would expect the cooperation with these cadres (Abbink, 1999, P887-888). On the other hand, guanxi, as Chinese traditional culture, traced back to Confucianism, in which kinship and the clan system were emphasized that each individual attached to a whole family, thereupon the personal relationships and social order in China were remained by blood ties and emotion (Chi and Seock-Jin, 2017, P22). Accordingly, cadres in the government and their family members have engaged in businesses by taking use of cadres´ monopolistic power. It is reported that family members were implicated in the 50% of corrupt cases after 1992.

The new anti-corruption campaign era of Xi Jinping (after 2012)

In 2012, Xi Jinping was appointed China´s new president, and led an aggressive anti-corruption campaign, which was the largest scale of anti-corruption movement within 30 years. Throughout Xi’s campaign, a key assistant to organizing and coordinating full anti-corruption work - Wang Qishan was designed as the head of Central Commission of Discipline and Inspection, and dispatched central inspection teams to various provinces, departments and other public institutes to investigate and analyse the local corruption. At the beginning of the movement, politburo issued the decision on eight rules regarding strengthening relations with the masses and improving the work styles, which concrete constraints on public officials´ activities in eight areas to reduce public spending on, for instance, oversized office space, luxury government cars, extravagant banquets, sightseeing disguised as official trips etc. These eight rules was also regarded as “entry point” of this anti-corruption movement to prevent this movement from becoming “empty talks”.

In the same year, the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China was held, and pointed out that anti-corruption and building an honest and law-oriented politics was not only the performance of the Chinese Communist Party facing a challenge of its own risk, but also a major political issue of concern to the people. If this problem was not solved well, it would lead to the collapse of the Chinese Communist Party and the
downfall of the state. Therefore, after the 18th National Congress, the Chinese Communist Party formulated a set of rules and regulations for clear government construction, such as the stipulations on the implementation of the responsibility system for party style and clean government construction, the rules and regulations for the discipline and inspection committee to assist the party committees in organizing and coordinating anti-corruption work, and issued the Communist Party of China’s internal supervision regulations, which was the first time to make comprehensive provisions for the party’s internal supervision. In addition, the Communist Party has also issued the regulations on disciplinary sanctions of the Communist Party of China, and the regulations on the implementation of accountability of the leading cadres of party and government. These regulations have initially formed an all-dimensional and multi-level supervision system that could hold officials accountable not only for their aggressive violation of party disciplines, such as committing corruption, but also for their passivity, inaction, negligence and dereliction in carrying out policies and programs.

The aim of the anti-corruption struggle program was to officials of high ranks and officials of low ranks. Since the 18th National Congress, the offenders that seriously violated laws, such as the tigers - Zhou Yongkang, Bo Xilai, Guo Boxiong, Xu Caihou, Sun Zhengcai, have been arrested. According to the introduction of the Director-Yang Xiaodu of the National Bureau of Corruption Prevention, until 2017, a total of 440 party members and cadres at the military level and above were examined, including 43 members of the Central Committee and the alternate Central Committee, and 9 members of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection, more than 8,900 bureaucrat-level cadres in the Disciplinary Division, and more than 63,000 cadres at the county level, have been punished. Around the masses a total of 278,000 corrupt cadres at the grassroots level were disposed. At the same time, a total of 3,453 people have been arrested from overseas. As the campaign progressed, it has amplified from central authorities to country, people could feel that corruption was effectively rectified. According to the survey conducted by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, 90.2% of urban and rural residents believed that the institutional measures of the party and the state against corruption were “very useful” and “comparative”, indicating that the anti-corruption movement was successful and has won people's heart. 

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Although the anti-corruption struggle program has achieved some success, and some rules and regulation to limit the cadres’ power, were issued, the corruption still intensified. According to Transparency International’s 2017 Global Corruption Barometer (GCB), which reflects general public perceptions on corruption, 73% of the respondents in China believed that the level of corruption was high. Corruption develops with the development of the era. In the 1980s, the character of corruption was grafts, from the late 1990s bribery became the dominant form of corruption, but in the recent years, hidden corruption, facilitated through connections and favor - exchanges is common. In China, corruption within the parity recently has the following features.

1. Corrupt officials formed political gangs and economic interest community, and showed obvious group characters. Judging from the corruption cases that have been investigated, in the process of promotion, many officials believed in the circle culture of the gangs, used all the way to pull the relationship, and analyzed who is someone, he is promoted by whom, then engaged in the networks of the relationship. Another some leading cadres liked to be paternalistic characters, hoping that others are obedient, and thought that they are good cadres who are obedient to themselves, regardless of others and masses. The prevalence of circle culture has seriously deteriorated the political ecology. The high-ranking officials of the gangs colluded with each other, politically supporting each other, and economically forming the mutual interest, which caused regional corruption and domain corruption. For example, the "oil gang" created by Jiang Jiemin, who was original Chairman of China National Petroleum Corporation and director of the State-owned Assets Supervision and Administration Commission of the State Council.

2. Some officials committed crimes within China, laundering money abroad. One way was to adapt “trade” method. Corrupt officials colluded with foreign businessmen to make profits with each other. When importing equipment and raw materials, they overstated the import price, paid foreign company in the form of high commissions, then take kickbacks from them. Another way was that corrupt officials set up a shell company abroad, and then used their powers to transform the illegal income into the shell firm in the form of foreign investment. The both ways are also called “capital flight”, which is a result of corruption, especially in emerging market countries. According a research on the ways and monitoring methods of corruption elements transferring assets abroad in China, since the mid-1990s, the number of fleeing cadres and senior managers of state-
owned enterprises, has reached 16,000 to 18,000. The amount of money carried is 800 billion RMB (this data from the report of Chinese corrupt elements transfer pathway of assets abroad and monitoring methods, 2008). The activity of money laundering has a adverse effect on China’s economy. Capital transfer can cause abnormal flow of funds, affecting the forming of the normal interest rate and exchange rate, disrupting financial markets and the country’s macroeconomic control. Meanwhile, the activities of asset transfer can make the relevant industries to not follow market rules and national industries, resulting in the abnormal development of the Chinese economic structure and economic turmoil.

3. The involvement of family members in corruption, as sons or daughters, wives has been prominent. The corruption trends to family-orientation. The officials in the government abuse their power to seek profits for their sons or daughters, wives or relatives in business project or the real estate. In China, the most famous scandal is that Bo Xilai, the former party chief of Chongqing, was arrested due to corruption, bribery and the abuse of power. A month after his wife Gu Kailai was given a suspended death sentence for the murder of a England businessman Neil Heywood. Another case is from Ling Jihua, who is formerly the vice chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference. His second brother Ling Zhengce was the vice chairman of the Political Consultative Conference in Shanxi province. Both of them were investigated for serious violations of the law. After that, Ling Jihua’s wife and his young brother were arrested due to bribery and corruption. Their family members depended on Ling Jihua’s power to expand themselves power and collect fortune for themselves. In China, it underlines that the individuals attach to the whole family, and are responsible to their whole family. Thus, in Chinese society, a thought of utilitarianism is prevalent that one person is an official, all family is profitable, which means that the official could reply on his power to realize the maximization of group profits for his whole family. This is from the ancient feudal system that the power of the China’s ancient society was dominated by a clan, the Chinese social relationship among people was tied by blood and emotion. Therefore, under the influence of the long-time feudal system, people believed that the power could help them and their family members quickly achieve the largest benefit. On the other hand, in China’s traditional culture, stability and continuation are the main purpose pursued by the Chinese society and Chinese households. Due to the emptiness of the future, which facilitates former generations to accumulate wealth and gather power for the living stability of next generations, officials
would as much as possible gather fortune in his position and create a profitable condition for the future life of their sons or daughters.

Looking back the Chinese history, we could find that corruption was one of the most destructive factors that threatens the economic development and growth in China. It not only affects a country’s governance quality, government expenditure, poverty, international flows of capital and social welfare, but also disorders policy-implementation and social culture and values of people. Therefore, anti-corruption is a onerous task for Chinese government, which is related to people ’ s trust to Chinese government and the survival of the Communist Party in China.

1.2. The research question

Up to now, many researches have shown that corruption may be related with income, education, economic and social heterogeneity, relative wage, media, fiscal decentralization, regulation, trade openness and resource abundant so on. These researches aim to help the government make effective policies to curb corruption. With the development of society, women movement of gender equality have flourished. Many feminists think that women should have equality with males to participate in political areas. They also believe that women have many strengthens such as kindness, high morality, risk aversion, and less tolerance on some violations, while men have aggression, competition, dominance and more tolerance as well as risk taking. Therefore, in most cases of corruption males play important roles. Many socialists and feminists think that if more women are willing to participate in the government, corruption may be controlled.

Resent researches find that increasing the proportion of women in political areas can curb corruption. For example, Swamy and colleagues suggested women may be brought up to be more honest or more risk averse than men, which may prevent them from engaging in criminal acts (Swamy A., Knack S., Lee Y., Azfar O. 2001, P 52). However, some researches believe that the negative relationship between women and corruption is myth. There are some unobserved factors not to be considered, such as culture and historical reasons (Debski J., Jetter M., Mösle S., Stadelmann D. 2018, P526), as well as institutional context also are associated with corruption levels. Furthermore, the women’s attitudes and behaviors in corruption are different because of
different institutional and cultural contexts. Taking into account institutional, economical and cultural factors, whether it is possible that there appears to be a significantly negative relationship between women and corruption in China and whether women equality could decrease the possibility of corruption. If women’s inclination towards corruption depend on local contexts, how is the attitudes and behaviors of women towards corruption? To explore that what effects social culture, economical and political institutions have on women, so that they engage in corruption. In the research, the method of textual analysis is applied. The cases with the involvement of women corruption are from new media such as Sina, Sohu, Fenghuang and People News. These cases is divided into three aspects, including women as officials, family members and mistresses. In association with relevant theories, the attitudes and behaviors of women in dealing with corruption are elaborated in the following texts. The first chapter is the introduction, including China’s historical background on corruption and the research questions. The second chapter explains the definition of corruption and the forms and causes of corruption in China. The third chapter demonstrates the definition of gender and roles of women in Chinese society. The fourth part mainly elaborates the effects of gender on corruption from biological, cultural, economical and political views. The fifth part summarizes previous literature. The sixth chapter describes the six typical cases to analyse the attitudes and behaviors of women in dealing with corruption and causes of women corruption. The seventh part of the Master Thesis is the conclusion.

2. Corruption

2.1. The definition and the forms

Whether in China or in the West-countries, “corruption” is an ancient problem. It is said that the term “corruption” has biblical origins. In the biblical books “corruption” can be considered as a moral issue and involves the idea of totally moral deterioration (Génaux, 2004, P20). The word “corruption” comes from the Latin words “currumpere” meaning “to ruin” and is understood as contamination, distortion or ruin of the purity of things to gain self advantages. It entails the decay of morality and efficiency of human action and social institutions (Chugozie, Chukwudi and Okechukwu, 2017, P 330-331). Hughes (2010) demonstrates that corruption is the wrongful exercise of public duty for personal interest, and that it commonly links with the dishonest or preferential use of power or position which has the result of one person or organisation being advantaged over
Corruption also causes public officials to misuse their power or position (Hughes, 2010, P37-38). Ryvkin and Serra (2012) point out that corruption is equal to bribery, where an illegal payment is made to a government official in return for some type of official, state-sanctioned, authoritative act that has a selective and tangible impact and that in the absence of secret payment would otherwise not be made (Ryvkin and Serra, 2012, P467). Nye (1967) explained corruption in detail, which was regarded as behavior which deviates from the formal duties of a public role because of private-regarding (personal, close family, private clique) monetary or status gains; or violates rules against the exercise of certain types of private-regarding influence. This contains behavior as bribery, nepotism (bestowal of patronage by reason of ascriptive relationship rather than merit) and misappropriation (illegal usage of public resources for private-regarding uses) (Nye, 1967, P419). Shleifer and Vishny (1993) considered corruption as the sale by government officials of government property for personal gain (Shleifer and Vishny, 1993, P600). Philip (2016) argues the definition of corruption with a case that when a public official (A), acting for personal interest, violates the norms of public office and harms the interests of the public (B) to benefit a third party (C) who rewards A for access to goods or services which C would not otherwise obtain (Philip, 2016, P45). Abbink (1999) emphasized that corruption was founded on the basis of trust and reciprocation between public officials and the users of their services (Abbink, 1999, P887-888). In a word, corruption is an act of secret exchange through which those in power take personal wealth and status when misusing their power.

The forms of corruption have variety and base on the institutional location of public officials involved. Two broad categories of corruption include the upper-level and lower-level corruption. The upper-level corruption involves presidents, ministers, members of the legislature, governors and other high-ranking officials, while lower-level corruption relates to civil servants (Morris, 2011, P10). Because of the distinct of the role or function of public officials and the norms of governing their behaviour, the forms of corruption thus are different.

Morris (2011) asserted that bureaucratic corruption reflected the violation of first-order norms (the written rules and laws that are the product of politicians’ decision making), while political corruption involved the violation of more nebulous second-order norms (the often unwritten guidelines determining how politicians should make decisions, such as impartiality and fairness) (Morris, 2011, P11). The former involves effects by civil
servants enriching themselves through illegal means, such as bribery, nepotism and misappropriation; the latter involves political decision-makers at the high level of political system, who use their power they hold to sustain a monopoly on power, such as vote-rigging, registration of unqualified, dead, or non-existent voters, purchase and sale of votes, and the falsification of election results (Mbaku, 1996, P3).

In China corruption mostly concentrates on the bureaucrat. There are some reasons of bureaucratic corruption. Firstly, power asymmetry, which refers to the asymmetry of public power and the power to restrict and supervise public power. Secondly, information asymmetry, which refers to the corruption and anti-corruption institutions that are caused by the hidden and sensitive characteristics of corruption. The result of power asymmetry and maximization of information asymmetry is bound to lead to corruption (Zhou and Nie, 2009, P3). Thirdly, family and kinship are dominant in Chinese society, which have greatest call on individual loyalties. Most civil servants, though are recruited on the base of merit and competence, still maintain traditional ties. When they attain any place of importance in the government, their relatives could find some sources of income or gain a “fix job” on their support. In addition, civil servants adapt the means of marriage that their daughters and sons get married, in order to sustain their power and nepotism. Another reason is administrative centralization. Since China’s reform and opening up, the government’s actions will involve all aspects of society. Various social resources are not allocated by the market, but by government officials to make decisions, that is, administrative allocation of resources, which leads to a large number of resources to be allocated in the hands of officials. This is a great temptation for some collective and individual interests, their exercise of public power to public affairs becomes private affairs.

Another form of corruption is collective corruption that a group or an organization makes unjustified use of their influence to extract resources for the benefit of the group. A conspiracy may be colleagues, partners, assistants, patrons and superiors (Amundsen ,1999, P5). The danger of collective corruption is that as corruption gets well planned and skillfully coordinated in its collusive form, it may become less forthright and therefore more difficult to detect, or more overt and increasingly legitimized as an appropriate form of economic intercourse (Gong, 2002, P85). In the collusive corruption, collaboration is dominant and divided responsibility among corrupt officials could lead to a division of the amount of the risk. Some officials carry out the corrupt action, others
provide needed information or materials, and some officials help cover up the operation or minimize the risk of detection. This corrupt phenomenon usually takes place on the low level of officials in China. For example, in 2017, general manager, deputy general manager, chief accountant of the Tarim Oilfield Company of China National Petroleum Corporation, Director of the comprehensive office of the mining division, the four staff members privately distributed the company's 21 million yuan of selling expense of liquefied petroleum gas to the branch in the name of the unit. 20 leaders of the branch issue subsidies for purchasing houses. After that, the four people were charged with the crime of privately dividing state assets.2

With the development of the society, the forms of corruption are various. The Chinese government finds it easy to crack down on general corruption, but it very difficult to find hidden corruption. The hidden corruption is a form of corruption, which emphasizes that the staffs of the party and government organs and related organization or state corporations use public powers to obtain various material and non-material benefits through hidden and illegal ways, such as sexual bribery, information bribery, performance bribery, emotional bribery, and option bribery, etc. In comparison with traditionally material bribery (explicit corruption), non-material bribery extremely concealed (not easy to find) and is difficult to detect (for defining, preventing, investigating is extremely difficult). for example, the business men give a preferential price for officials or relatives of officials in buying a house or a car. In addition, the business men exchange some profits with officials in the government through a certain amount of equity of the firms or creditor rights. Merchants arrange some recreational activities for officials and their family members, which are no direct economic benefits. Besides to these, another form of corruption is sexual bribery, which is related to human morality and emotion. These hidden corruptions are embedded in people's daily lives. Therefore, it is not easy to distinguish between normal social interactions and special corruption behaviors.

In addition, according to the report from the United Nations Collaborative Initiative on Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD), the forms of corruption also include bribery, cronyism and nepotism, embezzlement, extortion, fraud and state capture. Bribery refers to a act of giving or receiving money, service, or
something of values in exchange for others in return. Cronyism and nepotism refer to the
the favorable treatment of friends or family and associates in the distribution of
resources and positions, regardless of their objective qualification. Embezzlement refers
to misappropriation of public funds legally entrusted to someone in their formal position
as an agent or guardian. Extortion refers to the unlawful demand or receipt of property,
money or sensitive information to induce cooperation through the use of force or threat.
Fraud refers to an intentional misrepresentation to obtain an unfair advantage by giving
or receiving false or misleading information. State capture refers to individuals, groups,
or firms influence the formation of laws, rules and regulations to serve their own private
interests.\(^3\)

2.2. The causes of corruption in China

In the international literature, many plausible theories on corruption have been
elaborated from culture, economy and political system. Thus, cultural, economic and
political causes of corruption are essential. One wide assumption is that the level of
corruption corresponds negatively with democratisation, in other words, the level of
corruption is decreasing with increasing levels of democracy. From the consideration of
economy, various statistical presentation demonstrate that a country grows richer, the
level of corruption decreases. In addition, some scholars assert that culture is also a
significant dimension that affects corruption, such history, social norms and values.

Iwasaki and Suzuki (2011) in their research analyse almost all transition economies
(former socialist states) and concluded that a centralized administrative system can
become a hotbed of corruption, and the stronger the institutional inertia of the
Communist regime is, the more serious the corruption is in a country, meanwhile,
thinking that fundamental structural reforms were very effective in preventing corruption
in transitional countries (Iwasaki and Suzuki, 2011, P55). Chinese political system is
communism that Chinese communist party holds a permanent monopoly on power.
Under the socialist system, administrative power is configured according to central
instructions. Such power has the monopoly nature of economic resources, which will
generate monopoly rents; the exercise of power can easily be converted into monetary

income (Iwasakiand and Suzuki, 2011, P56). In the early days of China’s economic reform and opening up, although the state monopoly has weakened, it still controlled most of the political and economic resources. Officials also continued to hold a large number of redistributive powers; the development of the private economy often depends on the relationship between itself and the power masters. When doing business with government, it is the best business strategy for the private sector to earn some monopoly rents from the "dual track" characteristics of the system (the both price of the same commodity, one was set by state, another by market factors, and state prices were lower than market prices). Whether the state power provides them with shelter and charity can largely determine its profit. For example, throughout the 1980s, the contract system was widely implemented. Some economic resources could be allocated the private sectors. This policy gave officials the power to bargain on behalf of the state with the contractor. To some extent, it is actually that the officials could decide who will get the contract. Another example is rent-seeking that public officials, through granting a license or monopoly to private sectors, created “rents”-extra earnings obtained by virtue of a restricted market, private sectors have privilege to assess a monopoly (Lü, 2003, P12). In the process of forming the interdependence between officials and private economic power, wealth is increasingly becoming a factor of power. Bribery as a way by which the private sector could gain permits and approval from incumbent officials, contains lavish gifts and expensive meals bestowed to officials, privileged opportunities offered to officials or their extended families to acquire corporate shares, stock, and real estate. Therefore, the way in which officials' powers intervene in economic activities shifts from direct control of resources to the use of resources. Officials’ powers can only be involved in the distribution of interests, if they are combined with private money forces.

Because of weakness of the rule against corruption, the corruption of “money led” has begun to affect China’s political culture. One of its manifestations is that money has become the most important resource for bureaucratic competition. The political competition of the centralized bureaucratic political system has always been closed, and the degree of political system is low. The decisive factors of bureaucratic competition before reform are mainly political origin, family and factional background. The effectiveness of officials’ power comes from the political and economic resources controlled by their position. Since the reform, the economic foundation of official power has changed. The resources from officials positions are not sufficient to serve as the
basis for their power. Only those officials who could “operate” economically are actually entitled. This is the “entrepreneur basis” of official power (Goodman and Hooper, 1994, P64-79). With this kind of substantive change, a new form of bureaucratic competition has emerged; and money has become the most important non-professional factor in determining the outcome of bureaucratic competition. In the case that "guanxi" (relationship) plays a key role, running relationships, pulling relationships, The success of being an official depends on the money that he or she has, and the career path is covered by money. It has become a common practice within the bureaucratic system to achieve the purpose of promotion by bribing the main leaders of organizational departments who have the power to appoint and dismiss. In some places, the "price" of different levels of positions has even formed spontaneously. The worst thing is that officials accumulate enough money capital and even use money to control the power outside the bureaucracy to crack down on competitors in the officialdom.

Many observers believe that the party insists on its own supervision, rather than accepts supervision from outside, thus, this may be part of the reason that corruption has flourished (Lawrence and Martin, 2013, P19). The party’s corruption-fighting agency, the Central Discipline Inspection Commission, conducts investigations of the corruption, however, they are set up within the government and prosecution, not independent. Moreover, critics think that the Inspection Commission may sometimes be politically motivated and may appear to be a black box to the public. Furthermore, some officials, after accepting disciplinary penalties for breaching rules, even will again work as officials, due to the lower level of institutionalization of bureaucracy system and weak supervision. For example, in May 2001, Yin Guangli was sentenced to 10 years in prison by the Fuyang Intermediate People's Court for accepting bribes in the secretary of Anhui Yinan County Party Committee. After the parole, he re-joined the work in the state-owned enterprises and promoted step by step to the deputy general manager, in 2017, he was again approved by the procuratorate for arrest. This means that the Chinese government is not able to effectively make positive measures fighting against various forms of corruption and discipline penalties for breaching rules are insufficient, which induces that people increasingly feel indifferent to the phenomenon of corruption, although ordinary people can perceive the rapid increase in corruption, even the corruption is largely tolerant by the public and accustomed by society. The surveys find that less than 20% of the respondents are willing to do so, despite the Chinese government strongly encourage people to report corruption currently (Gong and Xiao,
2017, P177).

In China, there is a special culture-collectivism. According to Hofstede’s view, he finds that collectivism-culture in which people from birth onwards are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups, often extended families (with uncles, aunts and grandparents) that continue protecting them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty, and oppose other in-groups (Hofstede, 2011, P11). The Chinese collectivist culture also contains “Strong and cohesive in-groups” and “protection”, for example, within the Chinese political system there are multiple coalitions and factions, despite China is a one party state. And political mentorship, place of birth, the affiliation of one’s parents and common educational or work history lead individuals to build political and profit alliances (Lawrence and Martin, 2013, P17). However, the last point- loyalty seems not to correspond with Chinese collectivism, because individualism in Chinese culture actually exists, but the ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after him/herself and his/her immediate family. For example, some officials in the government use their power in position to benefit themselves and their family members. Through collective cooperation in the government, officials find it is more efficient than individualism to add wealth of everyone and achieve the desire to each individual. The Chinese people’s preferences to individualism or collectivism depend on the context. A Chinese person may be very responsible for the internal affairs of his own group, obeying authoritarianism and morality in the collective, but behaving completely differently in an unfamiliar environment. Context affects some key concepts such as “mian zi” (face), relationship (networks) and even benefit.

“Mian zi” (Face) is a special cultural tradition, in which personal behavior or value is recognized by society, and self-satisfaction (it refers to self-image, prestige and dignity) arises from social exchange. In the context of social interaction, the more resources individuals control, the greater their "face" and the more likely he is to have a dominant position in dealing with others and get what he or she wants. The Chinese people's face culture has a long history. It deeply penetrates the Chinese people's thoughts and behavior habits and becomes the starting point for explaining many social phenomena. "Face culture" does not matter whether it is good or bad, but if people regard face as a tool for exchange of money and seeking improper benefits, it will lay a hidden danger for unhealthy practices and corrupt behavior. When officials take part in public welfare, charity and various disaster relief activities, they like to indulge in ostentation,
extravagance and super standard reception, causing serious waste. These behavior also destroys political ecology and social atmosphere.

Another cause is discussed that economic variables (such as income, productive factors and economic development that is measured by GDP per capita, the degree of economic freedom and the extent of openness of trade) have influence on corruption. Previous literature show that the higher level of income inequality are associated with the higher level of corruption, because when poverty is widespread and people underpaid, the incentives to pursue wealth (even in an unfair and illegal way) increase and with them corruption (Policardo and Carrera, 2018, P100-101). Some studies argued that if options in the productive sectors are sufficiently low, citizens may be more likely to engage in corrupt activities to enhance their limited incomes. In China, the rapid economic development in the last decades accompanied with a large income gap across regions, which is mainly because of the differences of physical and human capital, technology and preferential policies and availability of resources, fiscal expenditures as well as urbanization, therefore, with them corruption flourished. For instance, the local leaders in some Chinese regions would gather some limited resources, or some government’s resources and land right are sold to briber, which caused unequal distribution of social wealth and residents income. Some Chinese scholars argued that the “grey income” is earned through corruption by a small proportion of privileged people, such as government officials and the high-income groups (Wu and Zhu, 2011, P438). Thus, restricted productive factors and low income can cause corruption, then is also very likely to bring about dissatisfaction of public resentment and social unrest. Other previous studies confirmed that corruption declined with economic development, this is because with economic development the wage rate increases and makes private rent seeking costs higher, thereby, discouraging corruption (Dzhumashev, 2013, P202). During the Chinese economy transition process, although economic development increase corruption, it is likely to depress corruption after the transition is completed, because some scholars have found out that the increased degree of economic freedom could reduce corruption, as the quality of institutions gradually improves, such as the security of property rights, freedom to exchange, market regulation, accountability, rule of law, political stability and bureaucratic capability are important elements for reducing corruption (Zhu and Wu, 2011, P439).

At the same time, some studies have also proved that corruption indirectly impedes real
economic growth (D’Agostina, Dunne and Pieroni, 2016, P190). However, in China corruption does not seem to affect economic development and investment. Because foreign investors are likely to bribe government officials as a way of doing business, in order to gain unrestricted access to the large internal market and a large pool of labor in China. Therefore, many researches showed that corruption had a strong influence on economic growth and could promote investment (D’Amico, 2015). At the same time, Egger and Winner (2005) investigated 73 developed and less developed countries and found out that corruption was a stimulus for foreign direct investment (Egger and Winner, 2005, P932).

3. Gender/Sexuality system

3.1. The definition

Gender is often used as a contrasting term to sex. In order to distinguish both concepts, historically, many politicians made helpful explanations. The term “gender” began to define the male/female distinction from the emergence of the “second wave” of the feminism in the late 1960s (Nicholson 1994, P79). In 1995, the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing, first pointed out the implication of gender and that the gender role in social context was culturally constructed, which was far-reaching meaning for proponents of women equality (Scott, 2010, P9). Nowadays, gender increasingly becomes be an important topic like racism and class, it has gradually developed into an important tool in Western academic research to analyse various problems on policy, economy and social culture. In the recent usage, gender is a synonym for “women”, which could be vaguely used in the political acceptability of the field (Scott, 2010, P9).

The term “sex” is often confused with “gender”. Sex refers to the biological characteristics distinguishing male and female. It underline reproductive systems, and other physiological components (Lindsey, 2015, P23). Sex makes us male and female. Gender makes us masculine and feminine. Many feminist think that gender is not seen as a replacement for sex, rather a supplement for sex and sex is essential in elaborating the meaning of gender. Sex provides a site on which gender is constructed. The body seems to be like a supporter on which people would form different personality and behavior through intervention of the social culture, time and place. Gayle Rubin in the
article “The traffic in Women” expounds that a sex/gender system is the set of arrangements by which a society transforms biological sexuality into products of human activity, and in which transformed sexual needs are satisfied (Reiter, 1975, P159). For instance, kinship system is a relationship based on decent or marriage and a nature of human society and forms the basis of social, economic and political structure. Simply speaking, people are linked together by biological connection that forms the basis of kinship system. At the same time, psychoanalysis also describes that kinship is the culturalization of biological sexuality of individuals as they are encultured (Reiter, 1975, P169).

Many scientists emphasize that gender is a system of social processes in society that constitute people as different in socially significant ways and organizes relations of inequally on the basis of the difference (Ridgeway and Smith-Lovin 1999, P192). In other words, it refers to those social, cultural, and psychological traits linked to males and females depending on particular social contexts. Because the social context shapes not only personality, but also behavior, and the ways in which the body appears. The performance of “female” body and “male” body are seen through social interpretation. According to the historian Joan Wallach Scott’s view, gender included a whole set of analytic problems on how and under what conditions different roles and functions had been defined for each sex; how the very meaning of the categories “man” and “woman” changed depending on time, context and place; how regulatory norms of sexual were created and enforced; how issues of power and rights played into definitions of masculinity and femininity; how symbolic structures affected the lives and practices of ordinary people; how sexual identities were forged within and against social prescription (Scott, 2010, P9). Thus, gender is the knowledge that builds meanings for bodily differences (Nicholson, 1994, P79).

According to the feminist Nicholson’s thought, she argues that the characteristics of gender originate from modern Western thought: the material basis of self-identity (sex identity) and the social constitution of human character (gender roles) (Nicholson, 1994, P82). Sex is determined by childhood, and depending on birth. It is divided into “men” and “women” at the time of birth. Of course, men and women are different because of the bodily structure, not like day and night, earth and sky, but they are closer to each other from the standpoint of nature. For example, although men are on the average taller than women, some women are taller than some men. Within the society due to the effect
of culture and context, these natural similarities would be suppressed: in men, of whatever is the local version of “feminine” traits; in women, of the local definition of “masculine” traits. Therefore, the division of the sexes has the influence of repressing some of personality and behavior characteristics of virtually every one, men and women (Reiter, 1975, P179-180). On the other hand, sex identity is considered as common across cultures. Therefore, people often falsely generalized socially specific features of human personality and behaviour, associated with biological sex causes, into human societies (i.e. stereotypes) (Nicholson 1994, P89-90). The stereotypes, in generally, include the negative traits that are used to discriminate against the members of a given group. The social personality and behaviour of male and female are stereotypes because of biological makeup. Especially, women are stereotypes as unreliable, because they possess uncontrollable raging hormones that fuel unpredictable emotional outbursts (Lindsey, 2015, P3). Due to the negative stereotypes for females, in comparison with males, the women are more likely to have less power inside and outside homes, less prestige, and less pay (Lindsey, 2015, P3).

Another definition-gender role is defined that a person says or does to disclose himself or herself as having the status of boy or man, girl or woman, respectively (Money, 1973, P397). Gender role presents the overt and different behavior of males and females in the society. No matter in the preindustrial or contemporary society, men play a leading role. Moreover, gender relations are determined by androcentrism tendencies. The males are frequently away from homes and support their lives around their responsibility of bringing food and money to their families, as well as do professional works. The women played a domestic role and are assigned to not only look after children and households because of the limitation of pregnancy, childbirth, and nursing, or they do part-time jobs near the homes, but also provide emotional supports. For example, in China, women spend 44.6% of their total work time on unpaid work such as taking care of their family, compared with 18.9% for men, according to Global Gender Gap 2017.4 In the contemporary Chinese society, personality possibilities of self-expression, self-realization and freedom to choose self-behavior and life have more possibilities, in compared with the preindustrial society, and the women are more egalitarian than the men. However, androcentrism on individual consciousness play a major role, because men and women in their self-evaluation are attracted by masculinity traits (Lopukhova,

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Especially, in the political and economic field, the status of men and women clearly have very power imbalance, women are often marginalized. In many countries, women hold a majority in the workforce, but they are paid less, and accept unequal access to a higher position. For example, Malaysia’s economic success depends on institutionalising gendered and racial inequalities. The economic rise was possible by employing female migrants with lower social capital and a lower wages (Griffin, 2007, P727). In addition, in the political leadership position women trail men and have little effect on the national level decision making. For instance, according to Global Gender Gap 2017, Chinese women account for only 9.4% of the company's board level. In the larger politburo, there are very little women participants, but currently, there is no exact data. Saadia Zahidi, head of the Education, Gender and Employment System at the World Economic Forum, said: Gender equality is both a moral need and an economic need. Furthermore, gender equality is a symbol of democracy. Therefore, eliminating gender gap requires the joint effort of the whole international community.

### 3.2. Roles of women in Chinese society

For thousands of years, Chinese women have been oppressed, carrying the shackles of feudal morality. Until the founding of New China, Chinese women were liberated and, like men, were equally empowered and indispensable for social development. The transformation of Chinese women’s role from traditional society to modern society has played an important role in social civilization and progress.

Early in history, Chinese traditional society has been male-centered, while women were deprived of all rights and mainly subordinated to men. Their roles must be a filial daughter, a dutiful wife and a good mother, which is a female’s highest life value and standard moral excellence (Danya, 2000, P25). By doing so, they would gain admiration from patriarchal society. In the family community, women had no ownership of family property, in the mother’s home there were arranged marriage or sold to other males as family assets. After marriage, they still remained hidden behind their husband or behind their adult sons when their husband died, and complied with the traditional family model:
Men outside, Women inside. They not only shouldered most of heavy housework, such as preparing clothes and food, but also lost their independent personality and became the appendant of males, because they cannot be financially independent. In contracts, men are the providers of family economy and have the power of decision-making and domination and construct states. Hence the role orientation of "man runs the country, woman runs the family", follows thousands of years, has formed extremely stubborn social concepts in Chinese traditional society, and has fettered generations of women. This is because Confucianism advocates the concepts of male superiority over women. Confucius emphasizes that the family must be put in order and family member must know precisely what position they stand in the family, and fulfil duties of their roles. Female children are considered as bad economic and emotional investments, once they are married and become the members of their husbands’ family. They are known by their husbands’ surnames. Hence women have no rights to control and dispose of and inherit the family assets. After girls are married, they will bring dowries to their husband’s family, which is used to help men better support and protect their families, or which may provide an element of financial security in widowhood or for their children. Simultaneously, women need to be cultured that their first duties are to look after their husbands’ parents, then they are responsible to their husbands and foster their sons to serve their fathers. If they fail their domestic roles of supporting and protecting their families, their husbands have rights to divorce them. But they have no rights to divorce their husband. Once divorced, women are considered as a kind of shame for their father’s homes and themselves. Thus, the power imbalance of men and women is viewed as fundamental within the harmonious family.

In addition, Confucius asserts that women and small minded men are hard to deal with. If you’re close and familiar with them they lose all humility. If you keep your distance, they’re resent. He suggests that women are born to be stupid and difficult to interact with. Thus, for the perpetuity of the family and the stability of the social relationship, men should be granted more authorities than women to gain domination position, and to control the whole family’s material wealth. At the same time, under the influence of Confucianism, there is a popular saying to depreciate women that the women’s incompetence is a kind of virtue. In Chinese traditional society, women should do housework and should not be allowed to accept education, it is thought that women have only good looks, but are stupid and tender in nature, having no capability to govern people, only need to manage and manufacture materials required for the family’s
consumption of clothing and food. In order to limit the women activities and keep them within the family, women are bound feet. These views reflect that the subordination of the women, is based on the patriarchal clan system and the gendered division of labor in the household. With the development of culture, these practices of prejudice against women have permeated the Chinese characters, several with women´s radicals have the meaning of derogatory sence and imply the inferior status of women. For example, “nu” (奴), refers to slaves; “ji” (妓), “biao” (婊) and “chang”(娼) mean prostitution woman; “fang” (妨) means impede; “fu” (妇) comprises the women and broom, which means that housework such as sweeping the floor, washing and cooking is what women should do; “qu” (娶) implies that women like things and objects, can be used freely. In ancient times, a woman is like a man's object. She can not only be bought and sold, but also be given away. Many scholars find that in the Chinese traditional culture, it is thought that the world´s nature processes like day and night, winter and summer, birth and death, are constructed by the interaction of yin and yang. Yin represents soft, passive, inferior, and referring to female, whereas yang represents tough, active, superior, and referring to male. Therefore, women were determined as dependent roles and were secondary to men (Danya, 2000, P25). Furthermore, the Chinese traditional society have a deep discrimination against women, and until today, a dutiful women is still common psychological expectation of men who get married (Danya, 2000, P26).

In 1912, the government of the Republic of China issued edict that outlawed the foot-binding of women. However, the foot-binding practice did not cease until the end of the Sino-Japanese war. After the establishment of the Republic of China, some western thoughts were introduced into China, apart from the democratic social system, such as free love and marriage, gender equality, educational opportunities for women, as well as labor force participation of women. Among the course of Chinese society’s transformation, the women´s movement, named May Forth Feminism, was motivated. It is a cultural revolution, in which “progressive Women Youth” appeared, which noted that young women started to expect different things from life and hoped to achieve more respects and social rights with men. Many intellectuals found out that the China’s weakness and main problems were the Chinese family structure-women’s lack of education and liberalization, foot-binding, which hindered them from raising a healthy and strong Chinese society and prevented China from modernization (Li, 2000, P31). Thus, they began to focus on women´s rights to participate in politics, receive an
education, women’s economic rights and interests, especially, addressed women’s rights to employment, meanwhile, many literature on researching women’s legal status and benefits, were published. Consequently, many historians asserted that May Forth Feminist movement was a core practice and activity of women who struggled for gender equality and confirmed that the enlightening significance of the movement (Li, 2010, P39).

After May Forth Feminist movement, the women’s ideology-struggling for women’s liberation and gender equality, was inspired. Progressive women everywhere established women’s organizations that promoted women’s emancipation and equal rights with men. Meanwhile, in the society, cries for “gender equality” and “equal rights” were full of the whole society. At that time, the concept of the “New Women” was mentioned that rejected the traditional Confucian values for women, and that initiated the women’s liberation of the economic and cultural ideology. With the development of the economy and the disenthralment of thought, firstly, on the aspects of the women’s clothes there was a large change. “Qi Pao” (cheongsam) appeared and indicated that women began to become very confident and release their own nature, pursuing a variety of aesthetics. In big cities like Shanghai, the image of women could appear in the public places, such as magazines covers, advertisement, and newspapers. During the period, many girls entered school to achieve education with boys. Some progressive women with education had their own independent personality, had their own voice, not only could freely love and choose themselves spouses, but also began to be employed, and participated into the national, economic, military, and political activities. Because democracy and equality are the foundation of the establishment of the Republic of China. Moreover, the government proposed the institutionalization of gender equality and legalization of women with property inheritance rights. In 1931 the items of women with property inheritance right was issued, which ruled that a spouse was given the first rank in order of succession to a legacy, a widow thus had the right to inherit her husband’s property; both the husband and wife had equal rights; daughters and sons enjoyed the same inheritance rights (Li, 2010, P38). This indicated that women first achieved legal equal rights with men. Increasingly, the rules was accepted within public values. However, in reality, it is not throughly implemented, because in the Chinese society there are the large differences between urban and rural regions, as well as enormous gap between social classes. In the rural areas, women mainly do agricultural work, domestic handicrafts, and housework, through which their incomes can not be ensured.
Simultaneously, women’s benefits from works are not able to be legally protected by laws and are deprived of proprietary rights (Li, 2010, P40). These reflect that women’s economic rights are sequentially unequal. Furthermore, in the rural areas, because familial and economic functions and processes are inseparable, agrarian crisis means that peasants will find it difficult to sustain family life, let alone to ensure the women’s rights (Stacey, 1980, P). Most poor lower-status women in the rural areas are still oppressed according to the old traditional customs. Although the laws on women’s rights was implemented, in the universal family, the traditional customs can not disappear right away. Thus, in the traditional family, the daughters still are exposed to arrange marriage by their parents. After women marriage, the ideas of women staying in household and helping their husband, looking after their sons, being dutiful wives and good mothers were unchanged and promoted. Because the society believes that, if a woman is educated, she will instill virtue, piety, and patriotism in her children and is able to play a good role of looking after her family.

In 1949, the Communist built the People Republic of China. The leader of founding the People Republic of China-Chairman Mao, stated that women is the great human resources, exploring such resources is the requirement of building a great socialist country, and we must mobilize women to passively participate into social production, realizing the same remunerations of men and women. Thus, the Communist party began to loose women’s traditional attachment to the family households and encouraged women to participate into social production, meanwhile changing the image of women from that of weak persons to superwomen.

Firstly, the People Republic of China confirmed the human rights of women and eliminated the institutional factors that created the inequality of gender. After 1949, the Communist party enacted a set of laws and pointed out that women had equal rights with men in politics, economy, culture and education, and all aspects of society; arranged marriage was absolutely prohibited; there is freedom of marriage between men and women, realizing monogamy. Afterwards, through several movements, the equality of gender was penetrated into actual production and social life. In the early days of the new China, a series of sports such as land reform, the war of anti-US and aid North Korea, anti-five movements, production cooperation, industrial and commercial social transformation, the Great Leap Forward, the people's commune, the government at all levels regarded gender equality as a working principle. Besides to these, the media
widely spread the laws and regulations on equality between men and women, criticized the consciousness and behavior that men were superior to women, and promoted the vivid deeds of women maintaining their rights, creating a good social atmosphere for the implementation of equality of men and women. In a lot of places women’s organizations encouraged the women to learn new technology and to passively devoted into male-dominated industries. The Chinese women began to become confident and have great enthusiasm to do socialist production. Since the 1950s, some women have devoted themselves to production and work, including machinery, transportation, post, finance and trade, and defense industry. According to statistics, at the end of 1952, the total number of women in all sectors of the ownership system was 1.848 million, accounting for 11.69% of the total number of employees. From 1953 to 1957, the average annual growth rate of female employees was 23.8%. In 1960, the number of female employees in all sectors of the ownership system reached 10.87 million (data from Chinese year book).\(^6\) In addition, in the business and service industries, the government has adopted the policy of replacing men with women through administrative intervention, and in the approving of the employment plan of enterprises would use male-female approach to pledge the employment ratio of women. Therefore, The People’s Republic of China depending on legislation, ideology, educational and administrative intervention, not only makes the policy of gender equality popular and makes it embodied in every aspect of society, but also provides women’s participation with the legal background. No matter in family or in the society, the status of women has gained obvious advance and has arisen new women image.

With the development of economy and the progress of the society, the roles of Chinese women have further changed regarding economic, political, cultural and family aspects. Since the Chinese economic reforms opened, Chinese government regarded the gender equality as a fundamental national policy and announced that women should achieve not only the equality of dignity and value with men, but also the same development rights, development opportunities and development resources as men.

In the educational fields, Chinese government carried out free compulsory education in the whole China, in order to shrink the gap between men and women’s education. This leads to the ceaselessly rising of the proportion of girls in school at all levels. In addition,

since 1999, China's colleges and universities have carried out large-scale enrollment expansion, which has increased opportunities for women’s access to ordinary colleges and universities. In Chinese colleges and universities, the proportion of women is almost balanced with men, and sometimes even more than men. According to the analysis of the Chinese scholars, female undergraduate students increased from 38.31% in 1998 to 50.86% in 2012, and female masters grew from 35.40% in 1998 to 50.36% in 2012, and female doctoral students rose from 20.36% in 1998 to 35.48% of 2012. The proportion of women in the total population of China was 48.37% to 48.75%, which remained basically stable (Liu and Ye, 2012, P68-69). It can be seen that the proportion of female college students who have enrolled in general colleges is close to that in the total population of the country. This reflects that women’s quality and ability are constantly improved and women are continuously seeking the realization of the self-development and self-value.

In employment, the scale of women’s employment continues to expand. According to the Chinese statistics, in 2017, the proportion of female employed persons in the whole China was 43.5%. The number of employed women in urban units reached 65.45 million, an increase of 16.84 million over 2010, accounting for 37.1% of the employed persons in urban units. At the same time the proportion of women registered in urban unemployed was 43.1%, down 1.2 percentage points from the previous year.7 From the perspective of industries, the employment structure of women has gradually become more reasonable. From the research on Chinese women’s employment, the number of female employees in the primary industry (it refers to the departments direct from the natural sectors) has declined, the growth rate of employees in the secondary industry (it refers to the departments that reprocesses the primary products) has slowed, and the tertiary industry (it refers to the department that provides various services for production and consumption) has become the main channel for female labor forces (Liu, 2007, P24). And more and more women are entering computers, communications, finance and high-tech fields. Although women employment shows an increased trends, they still are confronted with many problems in employment. Firstly, in labour market, supply is over demand, which makes employers raise the conditions of the employment and the gender restrictions. For example, most sectors, no matter in the firms or government or school or university, are required to be under the age of 35. If the female age is between 35 and 40, no one will hire them. Secondly, due to physiological factors, the employers  

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think that the cost of female labour is higher than males, for example, women are required to provide corresponding protection during pregnancy and lactation. Hence, male employees are more preferable for many firms. Women, who have access to employment, have to delay the time to reproduce the next generation in order to obtain better careers or to save their existing jobs, even give up the responsibility of proliferating the next generation. Recently, the Chinese government adopted the Two-child policy, which also aggregates the stress of female employment. Thirdly, the women are vulnerable to be confronted with sexual harassment in the workplaces, which gives women stresses in the employment and their careers’ development. In other words, although the women’s employment has increased from the new China to now, they are still confronted with great discrimination in employment and workplaces. Especially, the issues of fertility remains a major obstacle to women’s employment.

In the political areas, the Chinese constitution have identified the legal political status of women, which increased awareness of women’s participation in politics. Since the New China was created, the proportion of women in National People’s Congress deputies and Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference members has been slowly increasing. The National People’s Congress is the national legislature of China, and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference is a political advisory legislative body. The Chinese statistics presents that the 13th National People’s Congress has 742 female representatives, accounting for 24.9% of the total number of representatives, with 2980 members in 2018, and an increase of 1.5 percentage points over the previous congress. The 13th Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference comes to 2,158 members, including 440 female members, accounting for 20.39% of the total number of representatives, and an increase of 2.55 percentage points over the 17.84% of the 12th Conference.8

However, the proportion of women at all levels of leadership, especially at the top, is still low. For example, the Standing Committee of the Central Political Bureau of the Communist party of China that is to conduct policy discussions and make decisions on major national issues, almost has no women members to participate and always is dominated by males from the New China to today. From the macro perspective, female cadres are mostly concentrated in those traditional areas and positions that are

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considered suitable for women, but cannot enter the mainstream of decision-making, and most middle- and high-level female leaders are responsible for education and social work such as health, the environment, protection of the rights of women, children, and disabled people, while male leaders are in charge of national security departments with relatively large resources and powers such as finance, construction, energy, diplomacy and so on. Because there are still discrimination and prejudices against women in social culture, such as the belief that women’s leadership is not as good as men, because female leaders lack courage and the capability of making decision, which affects women’s evaluation in leadership. Despite that gender equality has been established as a fundamental right in the constitution, in practice, it looks rather different. It indicates that there are biological differences between men and women. It is thought that women are still the weak part of the society no matter in physiology or in psychology. Apart from these, age also restricts the development of female officials. In China, it is ruled that the retirement age of national civil servants is 60 years for men and 55 years for women. Exceptionally, female cadres who are at the middle and high levels can maintain normal work, and at their own discretion, their retirement age can be extended to 60 years of age, while male officials at the provincial and ministerial levels in general reach 65 years, in reality, most of them really leave the power department at the age of 68. The retirement age of male officials at the state-levels would reach 70 years or about 75 years of age. These rules obviously are disadvantages for women’s development.

Recently, in the Chinese family, women play both the traditional and the modern roles. They not only look after the household, the children and their parents, but also are successful in their careers. In addition, some women still stay in their home, taking care of all the household and having no own time. Even so, they still are satisfied with their status in the household, because in many ways, particularly in terms of education, economic remuneration, reproductive health, the control of their fertility, and participation in making important decisions within the family, their overall situations have been improved (Attane, 2012, P7). From Wu’s data analysis in her article “Is Gender Equality in Chinese Society? Cognitive Differences and Construction of Gender Inequality”, in the happy family or the household that is dominated by wives, it is believed that women are equal with men. Because in the happy family, most females have autonomic rights of personal affairs, are independent on economy and participate in the important decisions that are related to the whole household, such as investments, bank loans, buying a family home, control of fertility and so on. In the research she found that, if women may
benefit from their family and work environment, they may believe that gender is equal. However, in family, if a women holds a low degree of autonomy of personal affairs or has been subjected to the domestic violence of her spouse, she will tend to be gender inequal (Wu, 2017, P66-71). Therefore, the satisfied degree of the roles of women is related with their family experiences.

Although, women are satisfied with their status of the households, women still face hard struggles. In contemporary Chinese society, the patriarchal Confucian principles still affect the family definition of every Chinese people and social culture. Long time, the features of women are considered as irrational, gentle, maternal, dependent, emotional, subjective and lacking abstract thinking, while the males are regarded as rational, brave, aggressive, independent, rational, objective, and being good at abstract thinking. Due to these stereotypes of men and women, on the people’s social concepts, women themselves believe that they should have obligations to taking care of households, husbands and children. Once divorced with men, they will receive sympathy from others who think that a woman without a man is incapability to live a social life. In comparison with other women from other Asian countries, Chinese women have their own careers and more liberation, but they still are dependent on the males in psychological terms. For example, the Chinese feminist Li Yinhe once interviewed a woman with a strong career that expressed her ambivalence in relying on men or self-reliance, by stating: I don't like women’s adamancy, but I feel that gentle and weak girls are good. I know such a girl, she does nothing to do, everything is arranged by men. I sometimes feel that their life is particularly happy, especially envious of them, but I can not stand myself to become like this. However, for the males, they want women to understand that they know things, but if women look better than them, they will feel uncomfortable, especially with them for limited opportunities. So nowadays, when many girls are looking for boyfriends, most women have to pretend to be gentle and seemingly not so strong. This is also the strategy for many independent and strong women to survive in male society.

In conclusion, while the Chinese constitution has mandated legal and equal rights for women, the implementation of the laws, in reality, still is not able to ineffective ensure women’s equality in employment and participation in politics. Because Chinese laws indicate protective legislation premised on biological differences between men and

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women. Such legislation rooted in patriarchal and hierarchical Confucian principles that determine a woman’s first task as the perpetuation of the family, or producing and wisely raising descendents (Woo, 1993, P145). The roles of Chinese women still are inferior to men, due to deep women stereotypes. Once women married, they have to return their family life-looking after the households, their husbands, children and parents. At the same time, once the women have children, they will receive the pressure from their parents and husbands, to have to sacrifice their careers for the children. Therefore, the consciousness of Chinese women that fight for their own rights, still is weak.

4. Gender and Corruption

In recent years, various national governments and international communities try to increase the proportion of women in the public life. Because gender equality is the sign of strengthening democracy all over the world. Meanwhile, some scholars think that once the proportion of women in the public environment reach a threshold, they may change the political culture, practices and results. Famous is the view of the scholars Anand Swamy that women are more honest or more risk averse than men, which may prevent them from engaging in corruption. Therefore, increased female participation may reduce the level of government bureaucracy, hence restraining corruption. However, some scholars consider that the view is myth, because there are some unobserved factors not to be considered, such as culture, historical factors, social system and economic factors that are strongly associated with corruption.

In China, from ancient times to today, corruption has always been problems for people. It threatens not only China’s economic development but also the progress of the society. With the development of the Chinese economy, the members of corruption cases have involved with the women, such as female officials, wives, daughters, and mistresses of male officials. The corruption may be related with the Chinese gender system, including gender intrinsic properties and Chinese gender culture and Chinese gender roles and gender equality. The women have inherent differences with men. With the growth of the mankind, the men and women would form gendered interaction, psychology, behaviour and personality under the influence of biological system, social culture and other aspects of the Chinese society. Therefore, women may show different behavior and attitude on corruption. I will investigate gender attitude and behaviour in dealing with corruption from intrinsic properties, culture, economy and politics.
4.1. The immanent properties of two sexes

From the ancient to contemporary times, it is no doubt that there are some obvious behaviour and psychological differences between genders because of the biological character. According to evolutionary psychologists, the essential attributes responsible for sex-differentiated social behavior are the sex-specific psychological dispositions that presumably were built into the human species through genetically mediated adaptation to primeval conditions ((Buss & Kenrick, 1998; Wood and Eagly, 2002).

In most societies, it is believed that men are stronger than women. Males like more power, challenge and higher intensive sports, while females are more willing to choose low risk sports. Because the human’s body strength is related with the bone mass and muscle strength. The physiologists Jones and Dwyer investigated eight years children’s bone mass, physical activity, height, weight and body composition, and concluded that males and females are similar in term of height and weight, but males had higher levels of sports participation, muscle strength, and lean body mass, but lower fat mass compared to females. The males are willing to participate power and high risk movements due to males significantly higher bone mineral density in femoral neck (Jones and Dwyer, 1998, P4278-4279). In addition, the scholar Keller also illustrated that with the development of children, males had less fat mass and larger muscle size, contributing to males strength, in comparison with females (Keller, 2008, P66). On the other hand, post-pubertal vertical jump height increases in boys with little change, while girls are easy to have the higher risk of anterior crucial ligament injury at this time, because boys may experience greater neuromuscular maturation, in order to effectively decrease landing force. By contrast, girls have no changes in the muscular. For example, boys perform better in the broad or standing long jump (Keller, 2008, P66). Therefore, young males have good motor performance and like running, jumping and throwing, more power and aggressive sports, while females like remaining peaceful, and are easy to choose low risk exercise, because they are afraid of injury. After adulthood, males still have greater strength than females due to larger fibers. Women tend to have a lower proportion of their lean tissue distributed in the upper body (Miller, MacDougall, Tarnopolsky and Sale, 1993, P261). Thus, male adults have greater and wider shoulder, contributing to the upper bodies’ strength, which become a sign of male strength. This also indicates that males play some dominant and competitive sports, using their own bodies, such as USA football, wrestling and basketball. These sports may be related
with males androgen.

On the other hand, the hormonal changes are implicated in the performance of social roles. Androgen is an important steroid hormone, by which the male-gender characters are form. At the same time, androgen will induce gender behavior and differences in brain morphology and function (Imperato-McGinley, Gautier and Peterson, 1979, P1236). In men, testosterone is the primary androgen, which will produce more masculinity and fewer femininity. If less enough with testosterone, males will show female characters; if more enough with testosterone, females will show male characters. Some scholars believe that the high levels of testosterone circulating in the bloodstream may affect competitive and dominating behavior by activating receptors in organs or the nervous system (Mazur and Booth, 1997, P354).

The scholars Mazur and Booth (1997) summarized in their article “Testosterone and Dominance in Men” previous researchers’ experiments that examined the testosterone’s change of male athletes before competitive matches, and showed athletes’ testosterone rises shortly before their matches. This indicates that the athletes are more willing to take risks, improve coordination and cognitive performance for victory. For one or two hours after the match, testosterone levels of winners are high relative to those of losers, because the high level of testosterone is related with emotion of athletes. By contrast, women have no change of testosterone before and after matches (Mazur and Booth, 1997, P354-363), which induce females to discourage. Another researcher Oliveria (2014) in the article also verified the Mazur’s views that the testosterone response competition between human performed a high level of variability through biological model (Olivera, 2014, P19). The scholar from the university of Harvard and his colleges made questionnaire for 98 males and measured their competition. In this experiment, subjects are asked to self select into either a piece rate scheme or a tournament, in a maze solving task. In conclusion, out of 93 males participating in the task chose competition. Interestingly, men who lose competitive interactions but experience a rise in testosterone relative to those, who lose and experience an decrease in testosterone are more likely to demand a rematch (Mehta & Josephs, 2006, P687). Therefore, we could conclude that the testosterone appears in physical competition, and risks taking is also associated with high testosterone. However, from the researcher Zethraeus (2009) demonstrates that the testosterone and estrogen have little impact on women’s economic behavior (Zethraeus, 2009, P6535).
In addition, high testosterone may induce men to seek dominance or to compete for high social status, such as occupation, income and education. Because as mentioned above, the stronger and larger bodies that is foundation to do high strength activities, will make males more confident to contest with other people. If a male has no good quality of the body (weight and height), he will stand in a weak status, even receives discrimination in male group. Further, because testosterone is a major influence for male behavior features, and will increase male competition relative to females, in order to gain partners, territory, power and social status. Therefore, under the influence of testosterone, males will try to press other people in the competitive activity, until their accepting the lower rank. Males, thus, have dominant characters. Dabbs (1992) investigated 4,462 military veterans in six U.S. census occupational groups, and in his article demonstrated that there were negative correlation between education and testosterone, occupation and testosterone, income and testosterone. Low educational workers had higher levels of testosterone than professional and technical workers. Testosterone was higher in blue-collar than in white-collar workers. The unemployed had the highest level of Testosterone (Dabbs, 1992, P815). On the other hand, Dabbs also mentioned that high testosterone trended to antisocial behavior. Mazur and Booth (1997) also discussed that when military, school, or legal authorities require the behavior of subordinates to conform to rigid norms or laws, those people in subordinate roles who are motivated to act dominantly are likely to do so by breaking these norms or laws, because rising testosterone encourages actions conventionally regarded as rebellious, antisocial, or even violates. For this evidence, the scholar Booth and his colleges (1999) examined a sample of 4393 men who served in the army from 1965 to 1971, and found that men with high average testosterone are more likely to engage in antisocial and risk behaviors that increase depression (Booth, Johnson and Granger, 1999, P363). Of course, not only biological factors, but also environment aspects affect people’s social behaviors.

Estrogen is the female sex hormone, which manage female reproduction and secondary sex characteristics. Similarity with androgen, estrogen is an important biological factor to affect species’ behaviors. Many researchers have found that estrogen could affect animals’ behaviors, such as aggression, communication, sexual behavior and learning, and mood. In human, it is believed that females with high estrogen are more risk averse. Zethraeus (2009) made a experiment that two-hundred healthy postmenopausal women aged 50–65 years were randomly allocated to 4 weeks of treatment with estrogen,
testosterone, or placebo. Then he found out that estrogen increase risk aversion and trust, while testosterone increases risk taking and decrease trust (Zethraeus, Kocoska-Maras and their colleges, 2009, P6535). Some researchers used empirical analysis to verify that men are more willing to taking risk than women, but had no explanation from biological factors or other social factors (Charness and Gneezy, 2012, P50). On the other hand, some researchers, investigating 98 males, found that men with more masculinized facial features are more likely to make riskier financial decisions, and men with high testosterone are engaging in more risky investment than others with average testosterone. In other researches, we find that females with lower estrogen levels are easy to develop mood disorder and depression, particularly in the premenstrual, postpartum and perimenopausal period (Wharton and his colleges, 2013, P247; Payne, 2009, P280). However, aggressive behaviors have no relationship with estrogen.

Due to sex hormone, sexual differences strongly exists between men and women, thus, males and females would remain strong sexual attractiveness. Men are more willing than women to engage in sexual relations in the absence of emotional involvement and marital potential and are more likely to seek sexual relations with a variety of partners for the sake of variety (Townsend, 1997, P172). Male sexuality is more focused on the genitals and orgasm than is female sexuality (Townsend, 1995, P174). When a human being is choosing sexual or marital partners, they are more likely to consider the cost and risks in the low investment copulation. Because their reproductive risks and opportunities differs, males and females evolved complex, dimorphic, emotional-motivational mechanisms to recognize and look after their own interests. Without these mechanisms, people’s sexual behavior would be prohibitively open exploitation and random environmental variation (Townsend, 1995, P174). Women’s minimum possible parental investment is vastly greater than men’s, selection favored a more selective process of mate evaluation in women with more emphasis on partners’potential for parental investment-social dominance, prowess, nurturance and less emphasis on physical attributes that serve as cues to fertility (Townsend, 1995; Townsend, 1997, P172). Women’s emotional mechanisms therefore motivate to seek out and detect partners’ability and willingness to invest, to evaluate the quality of investment (Townsend, 1995, P175). Males have fewer risks and costs of the investment in reproduction, natural selection favored them who were stimulated by physical attributes and signaled fertility. Therefore, men emotional-perceptual mechanisms motivate them to spread investments among several females when circumstances permitted, and to
evaluate coital acceptability largely on the basis of physical attributes (Townsend, 1995; Townsend, 1997).

Therefore, from biologistic views, we can conclude that women are different from men. Women are not only weaker in the body than men, but also have more tendency to averse risk, have less aggression and competition and anti-social activities, in addition, women have more emotions and more consideration about their later generations. These different biological factors may determinate the social roles of men and women.

4.2. The attitudes and behaviors of women and men in dealing with corruption

The sensitivity of hormonal processes to the demands of social roles has been demonstrated by studies showing that testosterone levels and stronger body make males and women correspondingly present physical and psychological sex differences. These physical and psychological distinctions, in association with cultural, economical and political conditions, influence the roles held by men and women, as well as their different attitudes and behavior within a society. Therefore, not only gender intrinsic characters and temperatures, but also the different roles in society between males and females determine the different behaviors in dealing with corruption. In recent years, the media has reported that many women were involved in corruption scandals as officials, wives, daughters and mistresses. But they show some partly similar and partly different attitudes and behaviors in dealing with corruption, in association with contextual factors.

Many researches showed that women are risk aversion, thus are not willing to engage in crimes. The evidences are presented by biologists. Due to sex hormones, males with high testosterone are more likely to participate into antisocial and risk activities, especially, the low social status or low incomes of males are willing to attend competition, in order to satisfy their psychology of dominance, while females with high estrogen increase risk aversion and decrease to make risky decisions. Thus, within a society, females may be less likely to be corrupt, breaking the social norms and laws. However, exception from biological characters, environment factors, such as family, culture, institution, economy and political system and so on, also may affect human attitudes and social behaviors. For example, when confronting the temptation of economic interests
and sex desire, no matter males or women may take risk to do the behaviors of corruption. In addition, women with unhappy families, have no emotional dependence and lack of the sense of insurance, so that may divert their emotional to their children. Thus they may illegally take public resources to exchange with economic interests for their children. Because the happiness of their children and a large of money make them feel safe. We could conclude that rupture of marriage for female cadres may cause their changes of psychology, thereby result them in committing corruption. In addition, corruption may be related with the probability of discovery and the degree of punishment. In China, social culture tends to collective. In this cultural traditions, people can obtain their personal maximum of profits. Like collective corruption is very hidden, the probability of discovery is very small, in this matter, women attempt to take risk to do corruption with other officials. Therefore, under the influence of the environment, women may take risk to commit some crimes, despite that female sex hormone could induce them to oppose risk. 

Male power over women often revolves around female sexuality (Wood and Eagly, 2002, P701). Women use sexual attractiveness as a sexual capital exchange with male money or social status. Because the cost and risk of the investment in reproduction for women are greater than males, which induces that women focus on more partners’ economic condition and social status for choosing sex partners. For short-time partners, attractiveness with high social status is essential for women, by which women could attain some resources, such as jewelry and fashionable clothes and social status. Gangeststad and Simpson (1990), using their socio-sexual orientation inventory, divided women into “restricted” and “unrestricted”. Unrestricted women require less investment of affection and resources from their partners as a prerequisite for coitus, provided that the partners meet their standard for dominance/social status and physical/sexual attractiveness (Gangestad and Simpson, 1990; Townsend, 1995, P176). Thus, the social status and wealth of a potential partner are important elements for women’s corruption. By contrast, men, as previously mentioned, could engage in sexual relationship without emotional involvement. In general, for males, attractiveness is very important for choosing mates, because the cost and risk in reproduction are less, which leads to males sexual relationship stimulated by physical attributes. Therefore, males with social resources always exchange with women’s sexual capitals. Especially, within a patriarchal society men’s orientation to participate in dominance contests, women’s orientation to choose partners who could meet their finance desires and social status. In
China, in order to gain more power, higher status and more wealth, some females exchange with sexual capital, actively cooperating with male corruption crimes. This is because of China’s economic transition, in which private ownership and the conception of market freedom are introduced in China. After that economic and social resources become abundant. But due to gender inequality, a large number of economic and social resources flow towards the rich and high powerful males. Besides to this, while Chinese economy reforms and opens up, simultaneously, sexuality also follows this trend. The oppression of sexuality is loosed. Therefore, females could adapt their sexuality in exchange for economical and social resources, while males will gain sensory gratification.

Many scholars found that women have less tolerance towards dishonest or illegal activities than men, therefore, increasing the proportion of women in the government may control corruption. For this point, the biologists indirectly proved that because of high testosterone males have the characters of dominance and competition. When the social laws and institutions take a dominant position, some males with high testosterone may be very impetuous and have anti-social activities without rational sense. For a woman, the probability of transfer or bribe is lower, because women have more self-control and women are more sensitive to others' losses (Rivas, 2006, P32). The results only are presented in the democratic countries. Owning to complete and serious laws and supervisions on illegal behaviors of officials, female cadres assume more pressures from the laws and accountability, before to take corruption. Because there is a relatively high accountability system, which will put high pressures on officials. Therefore, they are not willing to take risk, and will be less-inclined to engage in corruption when accountability is high. However, in non-democratic countries, there is a different situation. Because corruption is popular within non-demoncratic states and may change culture and values of people (Esarey, 2015, P25). In China, under the influence of cultural factors, women also may comply with implicit rules of the corruption. If women stand in the networks of corruption, they would follow corruption. Because for a long time, women have been excluded outside the male reciprocal network, and are minority in the political areas. Hence, in order to avoid risk that is rejected by male colleges, they will integrate into corruption networks. Another possible reason is that women’s tolerance of corruption may be related with the public tolerance. If corruption is a universal fact within a society, in turn, becomes the default of the social practice in the minds of people. Furthermore, people become numb and blind, even cover up for corruption. Under such
an environment, women’s tolerance of corruption become high, as the negative psychology of the public- numbness and blindness of corruption. Therefore, women’s corruption may mostly be affected by the political, social and cultural environment.

In addition, with the development of the economy in China, women become vanity. They satisfy themselves vanity psychology with buying luxurious things such as clothes, bags and cars, in order to attain other women’s admiration. Or in order to perpetuate their youth, some female officials have become irresistible in the face of beauty, seeking improper interests to invest in beauty, leading to beauty corruption. Compared with men, women’s desire for consumption in beauty, jewelry, clothing and other luxury goods is stronger, especially in today’s commercial market, women are socialized to pursue in these activities, such as make-up, clothes and beauty. Because the present patriarchal society is structured in such a way that women and girls seek male approval, focus on their beauty, and act passively (Johnson, 2010, P57). On the other hand, money worship and hedonism spread in all corners of society. Many officials have fallen under the money. Among them, female officials are more likely to be promoted by psychological comparisons-vanity, which makes them indulge in comparison with other women, and think that glamorous looks, expensive clothes, and extravagant jewellery are able to match their social status, thus showing their high quality of life.

Therefore, from the biologists’ angles, women’s biological factors induce their attitudes and behaviors in the society different from males. However, women’s biological character in association with contextual factors may present same behaviors with males. Corruption is a criminal activity undertaken by a person. Due to women’s intrinsic characters, such as risk aversion, kindness and high morality, they may engage in corruption or have less tolerance for others’ corruption around them. In association with contextual factors, such as social culture, economic institutions and political institutions, women may have high tolerance for corruption.

4.3. The effect of social culture on women

Although biological factors arise sex differences, social environment is also an important element to enhance gender differences. Gender is a socially constructed status that is distinct from biological sex. Gender differences originate from disposition in the
placement of women and men in a given social structure and mediating processes. In other words, gender differences are artificial distinction, and are caused by gender roles and socialization experiences. by gender roles, people of each sex are expected to have psychological characteristics that equip them for the tasks that their sex typically performs (Wood and Eagly, 2002, P705). The psychological characteristics that are required to carry out sex-typical tasks become stereotypes of women and men. For example, women have more emotional expression than males, such as kindness, love, teamwork; while men have stronger quality of the body, and are more willing to join in the competitive activities and to dominate with other people, and to taking risk, have more creativity and open-mindedness. Therefore, to the extent that women more than men occupy roles that involve domestic activities (e.g., cooking, provision of emotional support), the associated skills, values, and motives become stereotypes of women and are incorporated into the female gender role. To the extent that men more than women occupy roles that involve economically productive activities (e.g., resource acquisition, construction of goods for exchange), the associated skills, values, and motives become stereotypes of men and are incorporated into the male gender role (Wood and Eagly, 2002, P714). These roles’ characters then will guide human social behavior. Therefore, women and men differ in their social roles, which may lead to different attitudes and behavior for participating in corruption.

In China, although women could have their own careers, they still play an important role in the households, looking after their children, husbands and their parents, as well as other domestic activities. This is a long-time female stereotype. Under the influence of Confucian, women have negative images and are considered to be unreliable and unpredictable, the males in Chinese households take up a dominant position and have more control over their wives, and women should stand behind their husband. This is also the expectation of society for the roles of women. If female cadres have higher social status than their husbands, this will deviate from the expectation of society, which may hurt their marriages, even be likely to make them become the target of their husbands’ aggression. Due to their psychology of contradiction of work-family, female cadres will have to help their husbands increase wealth and interest through their power, so that reach a equal status with their husband, for avoiding divorce.

From the long feudal autocratic society to the contemporary one, corruption has been one of the serious problems in Chinese society. The China’s ancient regime
emphasized that a true and honest state bureaucrat should be guided by morality, but without any institutions’ restricts. However, the opportunities of accumulating fortunes of private sector were also controlled through traditional norms (Huntington, 1968, P66). Public authorities’ behaviors were not able to effectively controlled, which induced to the prevalence of corruption in China’s society. Even to insure the stability of the dominators’ power, they even indulged officials with corruption. Thus, long-time corruption influences on social culture and people’s values. In Chinese society, the belief that politics is a way to gain personal wealth, is embedded in the Chinese people’s ideology. Some scholars even argued that the higher levels of exposure to corruption in daily life may promote a tolerance and acceptance of corruption that is reflected in norms of behavior (Alatas, Cameron, Chaudhuri, Erkal and Gangadharan, 2008, P664). Thus, people even think that corruption is not a violation of morality and law, and they have high tolerance and acceptance of corruption. In contemporary times, although women are able to participate in the political areas, the belief that achieving the political power means to gain wealth, also remains in women’s minds. Once having opportunities, women officials would adopt the behaviors of bribery, graft and embezzlement for individual interests and social status.

On the other hand, the Confucianism has deeply affected on every aspects of Chinese society. Under the influences of the Confucianism, kinship and the clan system were emphasized that each individuals attached to a whole family, thereupon the personal relationships and social order in China were remained by blood ties and emotion. The loyalty to a family leads people to provide favors and preferential treatment to relatives. If one person is an official, all family is profitable, which means that the official could reply on his power to realize the maximization of group profits for his or her whole family. Officials would as much as possible gather fortune in his or her position and create a profitable condition for the future life of their relatives, breaking administrative rules and laws. At the same time, their wives are also keen to increase the family fortune by utilizing the power of male officials. Many corruption cases show how a couple entered into corruption as a joint project, with the wife as the collaborator and driving force behind it (Wang and Min, 2015, P9). In addition, officials’ wives help lesser officials and entrepreneurs to come into contact with their powerful husbands and then demand money in return for doing so; they may also encourage or compel their husbands to take bribes in order to increase the family’s welfare. Because many of them store and manage the money for their husbands, and finally they may also ‘capitalize’ on their
positions as wives by directly eliciting money and gifts from the subordinates of their husbands (Wang and Min, 2015, P9).

China’s cultural tradition emphasizes collective cultures, in which people are integrated into strong, cohesive in-groups that could protect them. Within the collective cultures, social connection and loyalty among people are very important and based on mutual benefits. Within the Chinese political system there are multiple coalitions and factions, despite China is a one party state. And political mentorship, place of birth, the affiliation of one’s parents and common educational or work history lead individuals to build political and profit alliances (Lawrence and Martin, 2013, P19). In this situation, collective corruption is formed. The form of corruption is good planned and skillful coordinated, hence it may be very difficult to be detected. In the collusive corruption, collaboration is dominant and divided responsibility among corrupt officials could lead to a division of the amount of the risk. In this environment, due to less risk and the hidden characters, women may be relative willing to take up corruption and are also not willing to be except from the collective culture.

In addition, actually, society is the network contacts of human beings. Some researchers find that although men and women interact frequently, only a minority of these interaction occur between men and women, who, except for gender, are otherwise peers in the power and status associated with their social roles and positions. Males and females are willing to tend to network connections of being same-sex rather than cross-sex (Ridgeway and Smith-Lovin, 1999, P194). At the same time, women are more likely to belong to small groups organized around social and religious activities, whereas men belong more to large, work-oriented groups, even more heterogeneous groups (Ridgeway and Smith-Lovin, 1999, P195). However, high-status women can have contacts with high placed people (mostly males) or with other women (mostly lower status than themselves), but both simultaneously (Ridgeway and Smith-Lovin, 1999, P196). For female cadres, they stand in the high status in Chinese society and in a political environment dominated by males. These interaction pressures on women in high positions may lead women to have the characters of masculinization, such as dominance, aggression, competition and risk taking. Thus, they with high status may have similar attitudes and behaviors of corruption with males, such as embezzlement, bribery and graft. In high levels of positions, women needed strong ties to strategic partners in the organization to advance quickly (Ridgeway and Smith-Lovin, 1999, P197).
Thus, female cadres in the government may construct their social networks, and bribe to officials of higher status for their careers. Because they find that close ties to superior can sponsor them for advancement, these ties are often with men, they may exchange better careers with sexuality.

4.4. The effect of economy on women

Since the economic reforms began in China, corruption is thought to have spread. Because firstly, the dual track system in 1985 was implemented, so that both prices of goods appeared-plan price and market price; secondly, the income of officials increased slowly; thirdly, the allocation of resources was imbalance; fourthly, the increases of foreign investments created graft opportunities; fifthly, weak regulatory allowed corruption to spread. During this period, women’s corruption also increased, especially centered on power, appearance of beauty and sexuality. Some scholars think that since the Chinese plan economy translated into the market economy, a “romantic reform” has swept China, leading to a greater degree of sexual opening up than ever before. Promiscuous sexual behavior is now increasingly being tolerated, and a mistress culture has set in, becoming a celebrated norm of masculinity. For corrupt male officials, to possess a mistress or several mistresses is as much about sexual pleasure as it is a status symbol (Wang and Min, 2015, P8).

The scholars Wang and Min (2015) mention that sexual capital or erotic capital which is not only a major asset in mating and marriage markets, but can also be important in labour markets, the media, politics, advertising, sports, the arts, and in everyday social interaction (Wang and Min, 2015, P8; Hakim, 2010, P499). Women generally have more erotic capital than men, such as the appearance of beauty, charm and interaction skills and so on. Erotic capital has greater value when it is linked to high levels of economic, cultural, and social capital (Hakim, 2010, P500). Many women, in general, use their own erotic capital achieve economic and political benefits from high status males. When China stand in the period of economic transition, the numbers of economic capital flows toward rich businessmen and male officials of holding power. In addition, gender discrimination in society make women unequally allocate economic resources. And gender discrimination also hinder women employment, inducing that the incomes of women are lower in relative males. Therefore, they will be forced to gain economic interests and social resources as male officials’ mistresses.
In the period of economic transition in China, the behavior that women use their sexuality in exchange for interests, implicates that women treat their sexuality as a good. When a woman’s body or body parts are singled out and separated from her as a person and she is viewed primarily as a physical object of male sexual desire (Szymanski, Moffitt and Carr, 2011, P8). This suggests that women’s bodies are materialized. The scientist Nussbaum (1995) defined seven features on women objectification theory (Nussbaum, 1995, P257):
1. Instrumentality: The treatment of women as a tool of his or her purposes.
3. Inertness: The treatment of women as lacking in agency, and perhaps also in activity.
4. Fungibility: The treatment of women as interchangeable (a) with other people of the same type, and / or (b) with people of other types.
5. Violability: The treatment of women as lacking in boundary integrity, as something that it is permissible to break up, smash, break into.
6. Ownership: The treatment of women as something that is owned by another, can be bought or sold, etc.
7. Denial of subjectivity: The treatment of women as some one whose experience and feelings (if any) need not to be taken into account.

Some women treats their bodies as interchangeable with males power and money, and sometimes their experience and feelings need not to be taken into account, which suggests that the characters-fungibility and denial of subjectivity. For example, some male officials force their wives to do sexual interaction with upper officials for their career advancement. Male officials never consider women feelings, as if they are silent, lacking the capability of speaking. Sometimes, these male officials even do not consider how women look. This appeared situation-women objectification also attribute to the media. With the development of economy, the media is a part of human social life. However, the mass media is full of stereotypes that misrepresent reality. The attendant consequences of the production, distribution and consumption of these media goods with explicit contents are the mistaken antipathy about women (Oladejo and Agwanwo, 2015, P5). In media, the depiction of women is linked with negative languages, money, and luxurious goods, as well as portrayals. The media have helped to fan the ember of women subjugation and devaluation through overt, unbridled hankering for profit (Oladejo and
Agwanwo, 2015, P5). Therefore, men will present negative attitudes towards women, and discriminate women, to think that women are controlled through mass economic interests.

As Chinese economy continues to deeply reform, the economic resources become abundant. Extravagance is widespread. Female cadres begin to divert public money to luxury consumption. One aspect is to present their social status and high quality of life, reaching their psychological gratification; another is to improve their competition against same sex rivals for mating. From many cases, not only female cadres but also male officials’ mistresses are preferable to buy luxurious goods. Because luxury is often linked with extravagance, opulence, high society, wealth, defining a certain type of personality and a certain social status. From the psychological views, luxury goods are considered to be products that nobody needs, but everybody wants (Zaharia and Milena Zaharia, 2015, P202-203). In other words, luxurious consumption are also regarded as conspicuous consumption, respective the purchase and display of certain products to suggest wealth, welfare or to attract attention over owns richness or welfare (Zaharia and Milena Zaharia, 2015, P203). In addition, luxurious consumption also reflects that women have an inferiority complex and need to purchase luxurious good to compensate themselves, attaining the desire to be admired, to be envied, to be associated with success, elegance, self-assurance.

In current industrial and postindustrial economies, women are more likely than men to assume domestic roles of homemaker and primary caretaker of children, whereas men are more likely than women to assume roles in the paid economy and to be primary family providers (Wood and Eagly, 2002, P721). Of course, the some perception also appears to China. Because in the process of industrialization, money increasingly become a sole criteria for status and to force a separation of the home and the workplace (Barthe, 1977, P1171). For a long time, women were inferior to men and had lower wages, due to gender stereotypes. Some scholars think that in the postindustrial countries, women suffer the trauma of industrial closure, redundancy and job loss, and coping with a new economy shaped by low pay and insecurity (Bennett, 2015, P1287). Although women officials are not likely to face the risks of job loss in the government, they suffer low pay and the difficulty of promotion, which also induce them to stand in inferior positions. With the quick development of economy, the prices levels in traffic, schooling and buying houses are rising. But they always take up the unimportant
position, thus gaining less wages. Therefore, their low wages even are difficult for supporting their family. In comparison with males cadres, it seems that they are not able to see prospect of career. Therefore, for psychological compensation, they may seek economic fullness. For example, some female officials may divert public resources to businessmen for gaining economic interests.

4.5. The effect of political institutions on women

In the world, political institution included democracy and socialism. For democracy, some researchers have argued that increasing the proportion of women in parliament is able to curb corruption, because women are more honest than men and have less tolerance for corruption behaviors. For communism, some scholars explore the high incidents of corruption in former socialist countries and find that the high incidents of corruption is because the allocation of economic resources depends on the administrative decisions, hence, bribes, payoffs, and kickbacks were therefore a means of influencing those decisions. At the same times, Communism also affected culture and values. Indeed, after decades of communist rule, bribes, kickbacks, and other forms of graft almost certainly became ‘culturally embedded’ (Sandholtz and Taagepera, 2005, P114). However, these theories do not involve the definition of gender. So to a say that rising the proportion of women in the government may be a effective strategy to curb corruption.

China is also a socialist country. In 1978, Chinese command economy began to transit into a market economy. What is socialist? We know that in a socialist country, the government controls the sufficient economic resources and has the ability to realize economic outcomes. One traditional definition of socialism is public ownership of the means of production and have capability to control assets and income streams through taxation and regulatory authority (Naughton, 2017, P3). However, it seems that China is different with traditional socialist countries. China’s government relaxed its control of production assets and means of production. Its model is relatively close to early Western capitalist states.

From the world sense, socialist countries have some “women friendly” policies that improved the material conditions of ordinary people’s lives (Ghodsee and Mead, 2018,
P105). These socialist countries encourage females qualified employment, while capitalist countries, in general, encourage a system in which women either stay in the home after having children, or are distributed into part-time employment after an extended break (Campa and Serafinelli, 2018, P4). In China, “gender equality” is regarded as a foundation policy of the nation that encourage women to have autonomic rights outside their roles as mothers. In comparisons with some industrialized countries in Asia, the social status and autonomy of Chinese women are much higher than those of South Korea, Japan, Malaya, etc. With the deep development of Chinese economy, most Chinese women rise the ideology of gender equality, and seems to attribute to the importance of work, because money and power are believed to be benchmarks that measure their social status and are able to bring them the sense of insurance. In the socialist institution, women not only play multiple social roles, but also face various presses. Firstly, socialism requires women to be independent, like men, to study, work and assume the dual responsibilities of family and society. The society puts forward higher requirements for women´s family roles than men´s (such as requiring women to be virtuous, to look after their husbands and children). In the workplace, women also have to face the brutal competition, sometimes unfair competition. Secondly, Social inequality leads to more pressure on women in modern society. I summarized the following women´s pressures:

1. Employment pressure caused by employment discrimination
From physiological views, women have to face the "four stages" test, namely: menstruation, pregnancy, childbirth, lactation. Some units of employment oppose the social significance of women´s physiological value to economic benefits, refusing to recruit women, or secretly stipulate that men are more than women in the quota of employment, which in fact infringes on women´s equal employment rights.

2. The traditional marriage standard of "high male and low female" makes women with high educational and high income background face the psychological pressure of choosing a spouse. When choosing a spouse, people still stick to the traditional marriage standard, which makes it difficult to seek mating, inducing to suffer them social discrimination. Therefore, the belief that it is hard to be a woman, and it is harder to be a successful woman, is popular in society.

3. Women with high ability make males feel threatened intensively, even facing divorce
with their husbands. Therefore, in the socialist institution, Chinese society still has less tolerance on successful women.

In Chinese political areas, that is a male society. The quota of women still is lower than men, and present a “Pyramid” model: the closer to the power center, the lower the participation rate; the farther away from the power center, the higher the participation rate. And most of them are responsible for education and social work such as health, the environment, protection of the rights of women, children, and disabled people. One aspect is that due to women stereotypes, women are thought to be emotional and are not able to quickly and exactly solve problems and make decision (Guo, 2013, P6). Another is that Chinese laws assume differences between males and women, such as the age of retirement, women are at the age of 55 years, while men are at the age of 60 years. On the other hand, women have long be excluded from national decision-making, so that form a unconcerned to power. For example, up to now, only one Chinese woman entered the decision-making level in China. Wu Yi was a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and the Vice Premier of the State Council. But she has no marriage and children. From the Chinese scholar Guo’s investigation (2013), 77.6% of women set their career expectations at the county level and below, while the proportion of men is 73.3%, and the difference between the two genders is not disparate at this level. Among the higher-level job expectations, only 12.2% of women’s job expectations are in the city (office) level, while 24.7% of men have such job expectations (Guo, 2013, P9).

In addition, in Chinese bureaucratic system, female cadres’ promotion is difficult. Chinese bureaucratic system is a hierarchical organization, officials position are appointed by superiors and promotion is associated with personal connection. If an official wants to gain promotion, he or she needs to be recommended by superiors and his loyalty to superiors also needs to be examined. In bureaucracy, loyalty is an important criterion that senior leaders screen political colleagues. For their own political security, senior leaders are more willing to select officials, who will not pose a threat to themselves and who will gain reciprocity. Of course, bureaucratic transactions also applies to private sectors. For female cadres, it seems that they are more difficult to gain advancement in their careers. There are both objective aspects. Firstly, the higher level positions basically belong to male, women have few opportunities, and opportunities of
promotion are limited to a certain percentage. The higher the position, the less likely it is to gain through competition. Secondly, in general, female officials have been positioned at the level of deputy, and it is difficult for the main leadership positions and the real power departments to turn to women. Even if they have the ability, the superiors will rarely promote women. This has become a common consensus among female cadres (Guo, 2013, P9-10). Besides to these, women contemplating running for office are strongly affected by the biological factors and stereotypes. They have a pregnant period, leading to stop working, and after having children, they need to look after the households. It is difficult to effectively balance the relationship between family and work. On the other hand, due to women stereotypes, most male cadres think that women are emotional and are able to ineffectively and quickly make decision. Therefore, they always fall into the predicament of gender role expectations. If female cadres want to gain promotion, they must adapt some other ways, such as family-relationship and sexual bribery. For example, a female cadre Xu Wei, from Hunan Province, was born in September 1985. In December 2012, she was elected deputy magistrate of Xiangtan county. In March 2013, Xu Wei was exposed to rotated for 5 years and 7 times. She was promoted to a deputy magistrate of Xiangtan country for one and a half years. Because her father was the former director of the Standing Committee of a certain district of Xiangtan City, and her mother was the deputy chief procurator of a district procuratorate.

Imperfect supervision mechanism and punishment can lead corruption to flourish and may make corruption no gender differences. Some researches have found that complete supervision can effectively curb and punish corruption (Esarey and Bayer, 2015, P25). Exception from national supervision, there should be the mass and media supervision, enabling the citizens to have the capability to control governments’ behaviors. In democracy, accountability is believed to be a effective mechanism in curbing corruption. Accountability allows citizens and their representatives to hold their government to account, by either rewarding or punishing them, are often seen as the cornerstone of representative democracy. Meanwhile, accountability arrangement can constrain political power, thus preventing government’s exercise from turning into abuse (Jelmin, 2011, P7). Democratic accountability can be exercised through various ways: elections, parliaments to monitor executive power, judiciary, citizens, civil associations and the media. In China, the government’s behaviors are monitored by the people’s Congress. Currently, the Central Commission of Discipline and Inspection led by the nation is used to investigate corruption, and anti-corruption movement is launched by Xi Jinping. These
departments and movement aim to capture corrupt officials and achieve some success. However, the problem of corruption is not essentially solved. Because the appearance of corruption roots from the vulnerability of political institutions. In comparison with democratic countries, Chinese political institutions lack of social supervision, which may be a powerful supplement for national supervision. Social supervision includes the mass and media. In China, the media lacks freedom, because it is controlled by the government. The high levels officials with a certain power may control the opinion on public affairs. In addition, the mass lacks the consciousness of supervision, and believe that the officials’ behaviors are unrelated with them. Therefore, due to these factors, for corrupt officials, only their behaviors of corruption are hidden, they are difficult to discover. the moral cost of corruption will be relatively low. In such an institutional context, there are no gender differences. In comparison with democratic countries, incomplete supervisions in China are likely to assume less pressures of women to do take up corruption.

4.6. Conclusion

Studies in biologic, social and political sciences prove that different gender implicates different attitudes and behaviors when it comes to corruption. From biological views, we found that men are always stronger than women, inducing that they have more confidence to confront their counterpart. In addition, due to sex hormones, testosterone determines males more masculinity and fewer femininity, leading them to be more aggressive, dominant and risk-taking characters. Under the influence of testosterone, males are more willing to participate intensive and competitive activities, even are likely to engage in antisocial and risk behaviors. By contrast, estrogen is female sex hormone, bringing females more risk aversion, more emotion, strong sexual attractiveness and altruism. These different factors between males and females determine their different social roles. To the extent women more than men occupy domestic roles, including looking after their family members and emotional support, while males men more than women occupy economically productive activities, paying more economic resources for their family. In Chinese society, Confucianism like religion deeply affects the belief of Chinese people. Confucianism emphasizes that males are superior to women. Females’ first duties are to look after their husbands’ parents, their husbands and to foster their children. Sex biological characters in association with social experiences form women’s stereotypes, so that women’s discrimination exists in every aspects of Chinese society.
up to now. Despite that the people Republic of China have granted females legitimate social status and encourage females to passively join in social construction, the roles of women are still considered to be good mothers, dutiful wives and filial daughters.

In modern society, females suffer more pressures than in ancient times. A woman not only plays the role of a good wife, but also manages her own career. Due to employment discrimination, they have less opportunities of promotion and are not able to fairly compete with males to gain economic interest. In order to remain their social status and economic benefits, they have to dependent on males or to commit some crimes, such as corruption. Not only social inequality and our impression of stereotypes on women, but also economic and institutional elements, affect women’s psychology and attitudes and behaviors of corruption. In industrialized countries, money and power are criterion of measurement of social status. In order to achieve economic interests and social status, women sexuality is materialized, which means that women exchange some benefits from males with sexuality. In addition, the Chinese politics is dominated by males. When females reach high positions, they may become masculinity, presenting male characters such as aggression, dominance, competition and risk taking. In dealing with corruption, they may show more tolerance, even also may engage in corruption with males. Therefore, only taking account in biological factors, females may have less tolerance for corruption, and have higher morality not to participate in corruption. However, in association with social culture, economy and political institutions, women have a lower social status. Gender inequality may induce women to engage in corruption.

5. Previous literature

Corruption is a very common social phenomenon and also a very serious problem in the world. Corruption, defined as an abuse of trust and power or position for private gain, can be considered a major detrimental force for human societies. Many researches have shown that corruption is one of the most destructive factors that threatens the economic development and growth in developing countries. Based on the research of Lambsdorff (2005), corruption further affects a country’s governance quality, government expenditure, poverty, international flows of capital, social welfare, goods and aid. Causes of corruption concentrate on the absence of competition, policy distortions,
public system, public salaries, examination of colonialism, as well as gender and cultural dimensions (Lambsdorff, J. G. 2005). Beside to these, some researchers investigated micro-economic determinants of individual attitudes towards corruption and corrupt behaviour, such as gender effects, which pointed out that different genders may lead to different experiences of corruption, resulting in different attitudes toward corruption (Alatas, et. al. 2009).

In recent years, for the research of the relationship between gender and corruption, there is a consensus, and a large of evidences from many regions, that there is a positive link between higher representation of women in public institutions and lower levels of corruption. For example, Swamy and colleagues (2011) suggested women may be brought up to be more honest or more risk averse than men, which may prevent them from engaging in criminal acts (Swamy A., Knack S., Lee Y., Azfar O. 2001). Therefore, increased female participation may reduce the level of the government bureaucracy. Dollar, Fisman and Gatti’s study (2001) also showed that women may have higher standards of ethical behavior and are more concerned with the common good, which can be effective in promoting honest government. These corresponding studies demonstrate three different mechanism to explain this gender difference: differences in treatment and opportunities between men and women; women exhibiting higher overall integrity for either biological or cultural reasons; and gender differences in levels of risk aversion (Hietikko M. 2016). Meanwhile, it is proved that the derived relationship between women and corruption is usually based on cross-country variation, rather than within-country variation, which has been severely limited. Because there are some unobserved factors, which are not to be considered, such as culture (Debski J., Jetter M., Möslle S., Stadelmann D. 2018) and historical reasons (Alesina et al., 2013), as well as institutional context and social value of women (Branisa, B., and M. Ziegler , 2011) that are strongly associated with corruption levels.

In China, after the launch of economic reforms in 1978, there was a rise in corruption. It has spread into government administration and every part of society, involving politics, economy and social life. Up to today, corruption has generated much literature in sociology, political science and economics (Dong, Torgler, 2012; He 2000; Wang, 2014). These researches have identified possible causes of corruption, including economic and social heterogeneity, income, education, fiscal decentralization and trade openness as well as regulation and gender. (Dong, Torgler,2012). However, few studies explore the
causal relationship between gender and corruption. Rather, the majority of extent studies on the link between gender and corruption are cross-country investigation, few studies employ within-country data set. Qi Wang (2014) in his research displayed that women do participate in corruption through seeking private interests and personal gains by manipulating the power in China. Additionally, women in the vicinity of power look for the maximization of their economic and career-wise benefits either through familial relations or by sex-power exchange (Wang Qi, 2014). Thus, “the more women, the lesser corruption” seems to be an illusion in China. But this investigation adopted descriptive analysis and theory explanation that women in government would not affect corruption.

Previous western literature can be divided in two camps: one is the “idealistic” group, the other one is “realistic” group. The idealistic group considers females are more ethical than men, further suggests that both gender equality and liberal democracy lead to lower corruption (Sung H., 2012). In Swamy ‘s research (2011), Using the World Value Surveys (WVS) they find that women are less tolerant towards dishonest or illegal activities than men. Thus girls may follow laws to a greater extent than boys. Furthermore, It is shown that corruption has a lower level where women hold a larger share of parliamentary seats and senior positions in the government bureaucracy. (Swamy A., Knack S., Lee Y., Azfar O. 2001). In addition, Paweenawat’s finding (2018) based data from a panel of Asian countries is also consistent with Swamy’ research (Paweenawat S. W. 2018).

Meanwhile, Rivas (2012) states the same finding that women are indeed less corrupt than men. In this research, the author made a laboratory experiment to observe whether women and men, facing the same situation behave in different way or the same way. In this experiment, field data was used. A research by Alatas, Camero, Chaudlhri, Erka and Gangadharan (2009) examines the gender differences in behaviour when confronted with a same bribery problem. They conduct the experiment in Australia, India, Indonesia, and Singapore. This experiment presents that women in Australia are less tolerant of corruption than men, while there are no significant gender differences in India, Indonesia and Singapore. They also find that there are larger variation in women’s behavior toward corruption in all four countries, while the behavior of the males towards corruption is quite similar (Alatas V., Camero L., Chaudhuri A., Erka N., Gangadharan L. 2009).
On the other hand, the scholar Goetz (2007) thinks that “the women tend to be less corruption than men” is a myth (Goetz A. M., 2007). This research implies that the causal relationship between women and corruption is associated with gendered opportunity structures in corrupt exchange. Women will not passively conform to the essential notion of their higher moral nature when they have families to feed, and if there is money to be made from public office. If women show exhibit preference for less corrupt behaviour, that may be because they have been excluded from opportunities for such behaviour. The author also finds out that there are more women in public office and workforce of liberal democracies, therefore these states show less corruption than poor less liberal regimes.

Another study by Esarey J. and Chirillo G. (2013) finds that link between gender and corruption differs by institutional context. Only in countries with liberal democratic institution, females disapproval of corruption is greater than men’s disapproval of corruption. The author thinks that this result may be because female attitudes depend on society’s political norm: the more that society disapproves of corruption, the more women refuse corruption actions. In contrast, autocracies may present a different consequence. Because recruitment into a autocratic government requires contact with and personal loyalty to people who are already involved with the government, then these contacts and loyalties may provide an entree into corruption networks where these networks exists. Thus, women engaging into these governments have equal opportunity to commit corruption as male. Besides to these, they also argue there are other mechanism to interpret the relationship between gender and corruption. In this study, the authors mention gender discrimination, which may inhibit the women’s ability to affect change in government. Women participation in government is unrelated to corruption in high-discrimination states. In the Hietikko’s research (2016), he demonstrates that the likely reason behind women less likely to engage in bribery is a difference in the way public officials treat women and men. Higher gender-based discrimination may be linked with lower propensity of women to engage in bribery.

In the Sung’s study (2012), he shows also the observed link between females participation in government and declines in corruption is caused by the context of liberal democracy which, as a political system, encourages gender equality. In this study, results of multivariate regression analyse implies that the relationship of female participation in government and lower levels of corruption is not causal. But a more
liberal institution can impact on the trend of corruption. Esarey and Schwindt-bayer (2017) reexamine the positive relationship between the female participation and low levels of corruption. The authors achieve a same conclusion that the relationship between more women’ representation and the low levels of corruption have stronger connection, as electoral accountability gets higher, that is, where voters can identify corrupt officials and punish them at the ballot box. However, this results is not consistent across countries. But the author find little reason to suspect that changing the proportion of women in government will change perceived corruption levels in countries with low electoral accountability.

Another study by Stensöta, Wängnerud and Svensson (2001) also examine the positive effect of women representatives on low levels of corruption is greater in the electoral than in the bureaucracy arena. The authors point out the gendered experience on group-level, but not essential features between gender, the impact on the relationship between gender and corruption. Although the differences of these experiences are likely to be similar within one country, the relationship between the group of women and levels of corruption depends on whether the institutional arena examined is legislative or bureaucratic (Stensöta H., Wangnerud L., Svensson R., 2001).

In addition, different from Swamy´s research (2001), Debski, Jetter, Mösle and Stadelmann (2018) produce a new finding that there is a negative relationship between more women and lower levels of corruption, both in terms of statistical significance and magnitude, taking into account the specific heterogeneity. This means female participation rates in politics and labor market are not directly related to lower corruption. Therefore, culture is an important dimension to explain the connection between gender and corruption.

Debski and Michael´s (2015) article points out, if neglecting differences across countries, there is a positive connection between the involvement of women in society and the absence of corruption. However, once country-fixed effects are acknowledged, the link between share of women in the labor force and the absence of corruption becomes negative. This is because there are differences between countries in terms of culture, history and geography. However, in African states, the share of female employers remains a positive predictor of consumer price index, indicating less corruption. (Debski J., Michael J., 2015).
In addition, some scholars make corruption experiment to look for gender differences in behaviour. Fiscar, Kubak, Spalek and Tremwan (2016) elicit action and beliefs in a framed corruption experiment enabling them to find women are less likely to engage in costly punishment of corruption and believe corruption to be more prevalent within women. Firstly, the authors observe belief and action are cor-relational. Beliefs could be important in two different ways in impacting behaviour in a corrupt environment. There is a tendency to “consistency” between beliefs and actions. People who believe that a corruption is often taken or that corruption is often reported to do likewise to act in line with the perceived social norm. Another is that beliefs about the behaviors of people in other roles will affect one’s own action. The authors find that for men, the inclination to offer corruption is positively related to their beliefs that the corruption would be accepted, and the inclination not to be corrupt is negatively related to their beliefs that their actions would be reported. But these relationships are absent for women. This is identified as men experience a greater psychological cost of rejection and social sanctions in this environment. Therefore, in sensitivity to beliefs, males are more likely to offer bribes, while females are less likely to conform to a norm of bribe-giving (Fisar M., Kubak M., Spalek J., Tremewan J., 2016).

6. Methodology

6.1. The research question

In the research, I will explore women’s attitudes and behaviors to corruption, as well as the causes of women corruption through some cases from new media, such as Sina, Sohu, Fenghuang and People News. For this research, the method of textual analysis is applied, as it can effectively reflect how female attitudes and behaviors are in dealing with corruption. Meanwhile, textual analysis also can explore the reasons why women participate in the behaviors of corruption, and what forms of corruption there are for women, as well as how the female psychology is constructed. From media reports, women-related corruption mainly involves three aspects: firstly, the subject of corruption is female cadres; secondly, the derivative body of power include mistresses, spouses and daughters involved in corruption. Women’s corruption may involve some possible factors, such as biological factors, Chinese culture, historical stereotypes, economic and political institutions. The research problems include:
1. Gender inequality increase female insecurity, so that they are engaging in corruption.
2. Unhappy family life will promote females to take up corruption activities.
3. Corruption has no gender differences.

6.2. Collection and Selection of cases

For a long time, the main body of power was dominated by men, and power was considered as a male game. With the development of economy and society, more women are engaging in politics. According to current reports, the most cases of women’s corruption concert on money, power and sexuality. The behaviors of corruption involve women mainly include bribe, embezzlement, power-sexuality trades, and family corruption. I have collected six cases on women’s corruption from 2013 to now. Because in this period of Xi Jinping, he launched the biggest movement of anti-corruption, and many officials with high status are punished. At the same time, among them there are some female cadres, which caused the widespread concern of the people, in comparison to the Mao era and Deng Xiaoping era. These cases are from four major Chinese media, namely, Sina, Sohu, Fenghuang and People News. Sina, Fenghuang and Sohu are important news medias that report various news from the world and they are also significant channels that transports information to Chinese people. People News is a Chinese official new website that reports China news.

6.3. Description of cases

In the following six typical cases are described here:

Case 1: The female official was punished for her husband’s business.

Tao Shuju is a promising minority female cadre. She was born in 1962. She was only 27 years old when she became the deputy secretary of the Baotou Municipal Committee in 1989. She has held leadership positions in Inner Mongolia and other important towns such as Baotou, Chifeng and Erlian hao te. After five years of Wu lan cha bu, she was a leader at the department. In April 2016, Tao Shuju was dismissed. After investigation, it is found that she and her husband together commit corruption. She used her position to
help others to undertake projects and seek benefits, and together with her husband illegally accept other people’s property equivalent to more than 25 million yuan. One of the highlights of Tao’s case is that she allows and condones her husband’s business activities that may conflict with the public interest and seeks private gains in the area of her jurisdiction. The illegal possession of the property of her work unit is for personal use. At the same time she illegally possess public resources.\(^\text{10}\)

**Case 2: A official’s wife corrupted:**

Ling Jihua was formerly the vice chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference. In November 2003, his wife, Gu Liping, founded the public welfare organization YBC. She served as the Director General. She used YBC as the main platform to expand business friends. From the YBC official website, many well-known companies make cooperation with YBC. Through such a platform, Gu Liping has established close ties with a number of officials and businessmen, gaining amazing benefits. In the official-business group, some businessmen have sponsored to Gu Liping, and there were more illegal transactions to close. This organization was also considered as a platform on which they can receive funds from various channels, helping businessmen to evade taxes and cover power-money transaction. On the other hand, they engaged in real estate in the name of public welfare. The scale of the organization involved over 3 billion yuan in Shanghai. After a year, Gu Liping has benefited from real estate investment in Beijing, Wuhan, Shanghai and Anshan. Gu Liping and her son bought two villas of worth 380 million U.S. dollars in Kyoto, Japan.\(^\text{11}\)

**Case 3: Due to unhappy family, female cadre are more willing to take risk to do crimes for her son and daughter’s benefits:**

Guo Baoyun, former deputy chief procurator of the Chongqing Municipal Procuratorate, used to be a woman who had a glorious career. She walked step by step from the ordinary technicians to a leader at the department level. Her husband also had a successful career and was the director of the Chongqing Iron and Steel Company's


Northeast Office. Then, the couple began a life of separation between the two places. Her husband was in the Northeast all the year round, and their relationship was increasingly alienated. Her daughter went to university and returned home once a year. After her son went to Thailand, she always had no information of her son. Hence she always kept worried. Later, having a opportunity of promotion, Guo Baoyun had to divorce with her husbands for the advancement of his career. Due to the broken family, she was very depressive and thought that her son was her mental support. Guo Baoyun began to consciously create conditions for her son. In order to her son’s economic interest, she took risk to help her son bribe and embezzle more than 930,000 yuan, in violation of the law and discipline for the children account to benefit nearly 30 million yuan. For the so-called "mother love", she became a prisoner at the age of 60 years.12

Case 4: Corruption of luxurious goods:

From 2012 to 2015, Zhu Fangyun, serving as a deputy director of the Environmental Protection Bureau of Yucheng County, Hunan Province, used her power in charge of finance and equipment procurement to seek illegitimate interests for suppliers. Then she would receive the benefit fee-a total of 320,000 yuan provided by the supplier. Most of the illegal money was used to buy fur fashions, high-end cosmetics, luxurious watches and bags.13

Another case is that Liu Lingling was a deputy director of the Commercial Bureau of a certain district of Yantai City, Shandong Province. She liked to buy imported products and luxury goods. However, her salary was not high. High consumption made her joy and painful. Thus she began to borrow money to buy luxurious items. Due to the number of debts, Liu Lingling finally wanted to embezzle public funds. In order to collect money, she often found friends to collect some invoices, and falsified the name of the Director of department of Commerce. In the end, Liu Lingling embezzled more than 383,000 yuan of public funds, and misappropriated public funds of 177,000 yuan, and most of which have been used for high consumption.14

Case 5: Female cadres make sexual transaction for advancement of career. Some women are willing to be as male officials’ mistresses for social status:

The former deputy secretary of the Nanjing Municipal Committee and the mayor of the city Nanjing, Ji Jianye, once disclosed a number of mistresses. A typist, who was originally a municipal government office, under the promotion of Ji Jianye, served as deputy director of the Economic Development Bureau of the Yangzhou Chemical Industry Park Management Committee and deputy director of the Yangzhou Chemical Industry Park Management Committee. Later, she was promoted to the Yangzhou Development and Reform Commission, charging fixed assets investment and competitive bidding. Another mistress was the waiter of the guest house, who was later promoted to the local Xi Lake Scenic Area Management Committee. The third mistress was a female official Jin Qiufen, who was originally the head of the Shuangqiao Township in the suburbs of Yangzhou, the secretary, and then was promoted by Ji Jianye to the environmental protection director of Yangzhou City. In 2014, she was dismissed from the Director of Yangzhou Environmental Protection Bureau. In 2015, Jin Qiufen corrupted about 1027,000 yuan, and was arrested.15

Case 6: Officials’ corruption involving daughters:

Changlin Chengren, the former district of Wanzhou District, Chongqing, arranged his daughter Li Guo in the communication office in Wanzhou District during his tenure. According to insiders, Li Guo studied abroad and did not go to work all the year round and also got salary every month as usual.16

6.4. Analysis from the case perspectives and linking with the theoretical framework

For case 1, the female cadre was punished for her husband’s business. This case


shows that there is no essential difference between women and men´s greedy. Female cadres also use their power to benefit their partners, like male cadres. As the economy increasingly reforms and opens up, Chinese economy system changes from public ownership to private ownership of the means of production and the operation of profits. It is called capitalism, the characters of which includes private property, capital accumulation, voluntary exchange and competitive markets. For businessmen, they suffer the pressures of increasing profits, market share and competition with other enterprises, they need to seek cheaper inputs and avoid tax for maximum of profits. If businessmen’s relatives are officials, they would seek officials’ help to gain enterprises and themselves benefits. In the case of imperfect power supervision mechanisms, officials are likely to take risk to abuse their offices for personal gain, because they have a fluky psychology. Therefore, when the privatization of property is introduced into the family, no matter male cadres or female cadres in the same position would show the same behaviors of corruption. On the other hand, in this case, the female cadre and the business are the relationship of spouse. In the Chinese culture, Confucian stresses that women are to serve their husbands. At the same time due to the conception of kin, everyone is loyal to its family. Women are loyal to their family and their husbands. For their husbands’ benefits, they are willing to take risks to commit some crimes.

For case 2, the officials’wife committed corruption. In comparison with case 1, their common characters are family corruption, while the different characters are the roles of women: one is an official, another is a wife. In case 2, the wife draws support from their husbands as officials to take business activities for their gains and social status. Because in labor market, there is still gender inequality, and various obstacles limit females to gain a satisfied income and a good social status. Women cannot achieve equal opportunities through normal economic mechanisms and fairly competitive mechanisms. Therefore, women would adapt other strategies in exchange for the economic benefits they should have acquired in the labor market. As officials’ wives, they need not be supervised by the government, they could take power-money transaction with other officials and businessmen, with the help of their husbands. Through such a way, they would receive sufficiently economic interests and high social status.

For case 3, due to unhappy family, female cadre are more willing to take risk to do crimes for her son and daughter’s benefits. In the case, the family of the female cadre
was broken, inducing her to fall in depression. This is because females still dependent on males in spirit, in spite of having independent economy. When divorced with their husbands, they lack spiritual support, then divert their loves to their sons. Meanwhile, they consider that the happiness of their sons are the happiness of their lives. On the other hand, in Chinese society, once divorced with men, women will receive sympathy from others who think that a woman without a man is incapability to live in the social life. At the same time, for a women, the happy marriage and family still are signs of a woman’s happiness, not a successful career. Therefore, the female cadres are for their children’s happiness, more willing to take risk to engage in corruption.

For case 4, females are willing to commit corruption for high consumption. This is because women have more vanity than men. On one hand, luxurious goods could present their high social status and gain other people’s admiration. On the other hand, women concentrate more on appearance of beauty than men. Because in a patriarchal society, women are inferior to men. Women need appearance of beauty to attract men’s attention. Women with luxurious items could not only satisfy their vanity, but also show their high social status and high quality of their life. High consumption may lead them to rational psychology, taking risk to embezzle public interests.

Case 5: Female cadres make sexual transaction for the advancement of their career. Some women are willing to be as male officials’ mistresses for social status. One aspect is gender inequality in the society. As capitalism is introduced into China, money is a sole standard for measurement of social status. In Chinese people’s ideology, a man with power holds money. Power is a way that people gain wealth. Confronting various disadvantages for women, they would adapt other ways to gain economic interests and social status. Sexuality is like a capital that could make exchange with other interests in the market. This is also one of the fastest ways to gain interests. Therefore, no matter female cadres or normal women are forced to use sexual capital in exchange with male cadres that hold power and money. In addition, in the Chinese political areas, there is no advantageous women’s promotional institution. The higher level positions in the government basically belong to male, women have few opportunities, and opportunities of promotion are limited to a certain percentage. For women officials, the higher the position, the less likely it is to gain through fair competition. Even if having more ability than men, women are also less likely to be promoted by superiors. Because gender discrimination still exists in Chinese political culture. Therefore, they are forced to
sacrifice themselves to gain advancement of careers.

Case 6: Daughters’ corruption. This case shows that the officials helped their daughter occupy a position in the government through their power and people networks. On one hand, currently seeking a job for a graduated students is very difficult, due to a large of populations. On the other hand, due to the lack of taxpayer supervision, people are not able to know that they pay tax in exchange for what benefits. The government lack transparency. In China, between the government and the citizens there are less interactions. The citizens are less likely to participate in supervision. The public ideology on supervision of government behavior is weak. In addition, power is too concentrated. Once power is too concentrated, those appointments and dismissals of the civil servants, fiscal revenues and expenditures may be in the hands of certain people. Even power can change the system. Therefore, due to lack of supervision by public society and concentrated power, taxpayer can only watch their hard-earned money go into other people’s wallets, like the case.

6.5. Findings

From these cases, we find that women’s corruption mostly belong to family corruption. Women’s corruption is associated with their husbands and their children. This suggests that in the modern society women are not able to escape from traditional roles. To the extent women play a role to serve their husbands and sons. Although having economical independence, they still attach to their husbands and sons in spirit. Once divorced with husbands, they will fall in depression. In addition, because of women’s characters of altruism, they are more willing to take risk to help family members to gain economic interests through their own power. On the other hand, women still confront discrimination in the employment and workplace. Especially, in the government, women’s promotion is limited a certain percentage. Women have less opportunities to gain advancement. From former cases, we find that most female cadres are deputies of departments in the governments, and it is very difficult for them to advance to upper levels. In addition, superiors are willing to promote male cadres, because they think men are less emotional and make decision faster than females. Due to various obstacles for women, they cannot fairly compete with males, leading them to gain less payment and lower social status than males. For high income and social status, they may adapt other ways. They will be force to use sexual interaction in exchange for the interests they want. Therefore,
gender inequality increases women corruption. At the same time, we find that unhappy family make females lose spirit supports, diverting their loves to their sons. For the happiness of their sons, they will take risks to help their sons to pursue economic interests by abusing their power.

On the other hand, institutional factors also affect women’s corruption. In China, people have less possibility to participate in supervision of governments behaviors. Only the deputies to the people’s congress carries on the behaviors of supervision government. Thus government lacks transparency, leading to the boost of corruption. In addition, because of centralized power, appointments and dismissals of the civil servants, fiscal revenues and expenditures may be in the hands of certain people. Even power can change the system, which also can increase corruption. Besides to this, with the development of economy, economic resources become rich. Some female cadres start to consume luxurious items, in spite of low income. From psychological views, women have more vanity, and are more willing to look for admiration of others than men, thus focus on more appearance of beauty. Luxurious goods are unique and represent high social status and high quality of life. Therefore, in order to satisfy themselves vanity, they even corrupt to compensate their high consumption. Therefore, we could conclude that historical, social, cultural, economic and institutional factors have a influence on women corruption. From the analysis of those cases, one can state that corruption has no gender differences in China.

6.6. Discussion

From previous studies, many researchers argue that women have a negative effect on corruption. Because women have less tolerance on corruption than men, and are less willing to take risks to commit some crimes. Women’s disapproval of bribe-taking is higher than men disapproval, but only in countries with democratic institutions (Esarey and Chirillo, 2013,). In democratic countries, accountability may increase the pressure of women, making them less willing to take risk to engage in corruption. By contrast, in other non-democratic countries, many researchers show that there is no significant relationship between women and corruption. This may be related to local historical, cultural, economical and political institutions. From the former cases, we analyse that corruption has no gender differences in China, due to the influence of cultural, economic and political institutions. And Chinese women’s corruption mostly concentrated on
sexual corruption and family corruption. Due to gender inequality, women cannot fairly achieve economic interests and social status through their abilities. Another aspect is that Confucianism is deeply rooted in the social culture, women always play roles of appendant. No matter where in the minds or in the economy, women depend on males. In the social and political environment, women stand in disadvantageous position, inducing them ineffectively to gain certain incomes and social status corresponding with their capabilities. Therefore, because of social and family pressures, they may be forced to commit corruption for economic benefits and high social status.

On the other hand, in comparison with democratic countries, incomplete supervision mechanism and punishments may mainly increase women corruption. Because not only western scholars but also Chinese scholars have verified through data analysis that women are risk aversion. Other researchers have demonstrated that complete supervision can effectively curb and punish women’s corruption (Esarey and Bayer, 2015, P25). In the Mao era, exception from the high pressures’ ideology, not only the deputies to the people’s congress, but also people’s organization such as workers, youth and women could raise criticism and suggestions to the government. At the same time, Mao encourages citizens to expose the illegal behaviors of cadres. In the period, Once corruption was exposed, corrupt officials would face very serious punishment. Therefore, in Mao era, corruption could be effectively curbed. However, after the economic reforms, the Chinese government focuses on more economic growth rates, but ignores perfect supervision mechanism and loose the administrative management for officials, leading to the boost of corruption. In the Xi Jinping era, the central government constructed the discipline and inspection committee to assist the party committees in organizing and coordinating anti-corruption work. The anti-corruption work in the movement achieved some successes. However, there are still the lacks of supervisions of public society and media. Therefore, the citizens and media’s participation in supervision over government behaviors should be effectively supplement to assist the supervision of the people’s Congress, thus effectively controlling corruption. Therefore, to strength and perfect supervision mechanism and punishments could put pressure on women, making them risk-averse.
7. Conclusion

As a kind of improper behavior, the public seriously dislikes corruption. Because of the historical gender discrimination, women have a relatively low level of political participation for a long time. For the movement of gender equality and the establishment of a good government image, many countries have called for increasing women’s political participation and also achieved substantial progress. In democracies, many scholars have suggested that increasing the proportion of women in politics can improve the quality of government governance. But the developing countries with serious corruption problems have found insignificant differences in gender corruption. From the analysis of biological factors, I find that gender has obvious differences in social preferences, and women are more willing to be risk-averse than men. Women are rarely aggressive and dominant in an organization. Their level of competition is lower than men. These characteristics suggest that they have less opportunities to engage in corruption. But from my research, it is found that the differences in women’s social preferences seem to depend on specific contexts. Under the influence of a specific culture, in a period of economic transition and imperfect institutions and punishment, the lower moral costs of corruption lead women to commit some crimes.

In the research, I find that women-related corruption mainly involve both aspects: firstly, the subject of corruption is female cadres; secondly, the derivative body of power include mistresses, spouses and daughters involved in corruption. Women’s corruption mainly concentrated on family corruption and power-sexuality transactions. This mostly is because of long gender stereotypes and long gender inequality. Due to the pressures of society and family, women have high tolerance on corruption. In the political areas, in general, less women participate in politics. Most women officials stand in middle and low -levels positions. Therefore, women are generally discriminated in a male-dominated political culture, women have little access to important resources, making them remove in disadvantageous position. In addition, male corruption spreads around them. In such a political culture, women are quickly assimilated and give up their self-worth into the organization of a male culture. Therefore, when women have been educated in such a male dominated cultural organizations, their attitudes and behaviors in corruption are not much different from men and they have high tolerance on corruption.

On the other hand, in China women´s corruption mostly is related with power-sexuality
transaction. It is also considered as sexual bribery, which refers to the fact that national officials use the economic benefits brought by power and power to sexually interact with other females to meet their physiological desires and emotional needs; while the females directly sell their sexuality for illegitimate interests. It is also the product of the transformation of China’s planned economy into a market economy and a consumerist culture. Because of women’s weak position in the society, most economic interests and power flow towards rich businessmen and powerful officials. They are forced to sell their sexuality to powerful males, in order to gain high incomes and a high social status. For a long time, sexuality is materialized and commercialized under the influence of market economy. This is also one of the fastest ways to reach their aims. Under the influence of the market economy, the noble moral values of people are replaced by economic interests and power. Therefore, the economic transition affects female moral values, inducing them to use illegal ways to exchange for high interests and social status.

In the political institution, lacks of social supervision are likely to decline the pressures of public opinion on women. The cost of corruption is reduced for women. In democratic countries, female cadres assume the pressures from national and social accountability. On the other hand, the intrinsic characters of women is risk-averse behavior and a high morality. Therefore, in democracy, increasing the proportion of women in government may effectively control corruption. But in non-democratic countries, such as in China, only the People’s Congress monitors the government’s behaviors. This is obvious insufficient. Horizontal and vertical supervision are able to effectively curb corruption. Horizontal supervision like horizontal accountability in democracy refers to checks and balances within the state structure, that is, the procedures for government institutions to hold each other to accountable and to ensure that no agency stands above the rule of law, or intrudes on the rights and privileges of another (Jelmin, 2011, P7). Vertical supervision refers to the point that the population and the media expose the illegal behaviors of cadres.
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