

University of Gothenburg

Department of Political Science

Factors influencing transparency in public institutions

An analysis of Chilean municipalities

B.A Thesis in Political Science

Spring term 2010

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Words; 9 986

Abstract

To decrease corruption many studies demonstrate that the government and public services need to improve their transparency. Up until today there is little research on what is being done to increase this phenomenon amongst public institutions. The main objective of this essay is therefore to find out what affects transparency levels in local governments in Chile, within the municipalities - with a primarily focus on gender as an explanation. For example, does it matter if there is a female or a male mayor for the level of transparency and with the change of the gender of the mayor - are there any visible differences? To find an explanation, the essay tests several other hypotheses as well, for example; (1) if a higher socioeconomical level, (2) the knowledge of the law on Access to Public Information or (3) the existence of local media matters for transparency in the local governments. The methods used are both quantitative and qualitative i.e. a comparison of two strategically chosen Chilean municipalities in combination with face to face interviews with employees at the municipalities and representatives from the local community organizations. The analysis demonstrates there is a marked difference between the municipalities studied. Most important although, there is little evidence found to support the main hypothesis which suggests female mayors contribute to higher transparency levels. However, other factors appeared that had a more crucial role in my investigation.

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Introduction

1.1 Transparency as a way of prevent corruption

One of the modern threats to democracy today is the extended problem of corruption among the world's countries. Frequently this is the result of a lack of transparency, according to scholars in the field of quality of governance and corruption (Stechina: 2008). But, according to other researchers, there are ways to prevent this increasing phenomenon, and this essay will focus on one of them: *transparency*, which means the “*the visibility of government decisions, actions and rules*”¹.

Many studies (Stechina: 2008, Transparency International: 2006) demonstrate that to decrease corruption the government and public services need to improve their transparency, which means that the democracy should be more open so that citizens are able to access public information and scrutinize elected officers. “*Transparency works against corruption because it facilitates public knowledge of the identity, actions, decisions, and legal competence of government actors.*”²

But the news provides us daily evidence from different places around the world of authorities and governments not fulfilling the basic aspects of transparency – often with corruption scandals as a result. Many studies have explored, both within and between countries, the influence of corruption on political institutions and governments³. There also exist many rankings, for example The Global Corruption barometer from Transparency International⁴, which is well recognized. But the approach to corruption has not yet been applied in relation to transparency. There is still a need, to understand what brings about different levels and fulfilment of transparency, in a similar manner to the way levels of corruption have been explored and measured. According to the literature (Stechina: 2008, Alastair: 2009), it seems that transparency is important for reducing corruption, but which are the factors that explain why some political units, for example local governments, are more transparent than others? This is an interesting question which deserves to be further discussed.

¹ Stechina V,(2008) p. 48

² Ibid p. 50

³ Adsera A, Boix C (2000)

⁴ www.transparency.org

The international NGO “Transparency International” (TI), one of the most known organizations working with this issue, proposes mechanisms that could work as efficient ways of making government more transparent and preventing corruption. One of their reports from 2006 reviews the importance for governments of implementing “Access to Public Information laws; *“The right of citizens to know what governments, international organizations and private corporations are doing, and how public resources are allocated, directly reflects anti-corruption concerns”*⁵.

While the idea of transparency laws has gained credit around the world, however, corruption still exists, and the question of why some governments, institutions, organizations and so on have higher transparency levels than others is still very important and needs to be further explored. Determining what aspects are involved in increasing levels of transparency, apart from implementing the law, increases our chance of preventing corruption to a higher extent. But to be able to understand why some political institutions are more transparent than others, one must decide which political units to analyze.

1.2 Why analyze local governments?

In most countries local governments are the first contact a citizen has with the authorities, as they are the ones delivering important services as maintenance and city planning but often also health care and education. The variation is of course huge, depending on the degree of decentralisation in each country, but never the less from a democratic point of view local government has a very important role: *“local government is often a citizen’s first and direct contact point with the state and may be the only linkage that people have with those who govern them”*⁶.

According to Transparency International (TI), many of their national chapters report lack of transparency and high levels of corruption to be one of the main problems among local governments. In Spain, for example one such report, discussed by Villoria (2008), highlights the corruption scandals in Spanish local governments, while not fulfilling the urban and

⁵ Transparency International, *“Using the Right to Information as an Anti-Corruption Tool”*(2006), p.5

⁶ Alastair E, (05/2009) p. 2

environmental standards⁷. But the problem is extended worldwide, for example in South Korea, where the TI chapter reports this phenomenon to be worse than at the national level. In South America the picture is repeated - the TI chapters in Peru have put special emphasis on projects that aim to increase transparency levels in local governments for the same reasons⁸.

In the neighboring country of Chile, the TI chapter have followed the example of other countries and developed a project called “Municipality transparency levels”⁹ to promote transparency at the local level. Here, one reason was that the municipalities were among those institutions that citizens considered to have the highest corruption levels, according to a national survey made in both 2006 and 2007¹⁰. This project will be discussed in more detail under methods and results.

To sum up, there is much evidence that local governments all over the world frequently suffer from a lack of transparency, which can be related to higher levels of corruption. As local governments are often the first and potentially only contact citizens have with the authorities, it is very important to improve their transparency levels.

2. Research questions and main objectives

I became interested in exploring transparency level among the Chilean municipalities after reading the report about the municipalities from the Chilean TI chapter. This report raised many questions, for example what factors influence whether some municipalities have a high and some a lower level? What other elements do transparency levels depend on, apart from socioeconomically factors, size and location? Chile is an interesting case in many aspects, as it has among the lowest corruption levels in South America¹¹, and the former president is a woman (Michelle Bachelet, 2006-2010) who was among the most highly rated Chilean presidents in terms of public approval since 1990. Besides that, about one year ago, in April

⁷ Villoria M, (2008) p. 3-4. Spanish name of report : “Destrucción a toda costa”, Greenpeace June 2006

⁸ Ibid. Page, 2

⁹ My translation from the Spanish name, “Estandares de Transparencia Municipal”,

¹⁰ “Municipality Transparency levels” TI Chile, 2008

¹¹ Corruption perception Index 2009

2009, the country implemented its first “Access to information” law (“Ley de la Transparencia de la function Publica”¹²).

To find out what matters in the Chilean case, I will work with one overall research question:

- *What affects transparency levels in public institutions, primarily the municipalities?*

To be able to answer my overall research question which is a very broad one, I have chosed to create several hypotheses which will be tested in the essay. Even though I have several hypotheses, I have decided the main focus of this essay will be on the first one, which is about the possible influence of gender on transparency levels. More precisely, I am following the hypothesis from the literature on gender and corruption (Swamny:2001, Dollar:1999). There are many studies that have explored the extent to which the participation of women in the local, national and other legislative powers influences the corruption levels in a country. There are arguments that show it does matter, and that gender is important to the anti corruption struggle, with some scholars even arguing that women are less “corrupt” than men.¹³ The question is therefore if the same theory could be implemented to the transparency indicatives - if gender could have an impact on this aspect as well. I will therefore focus on the gender of the elected political leaders, – who in the municipalities are the mayors.

As I discussed previously, the main hypothesis is therefore:

1. *Female mayors are expected to contribute to higher transparency levels in municipalities than male majors.*

If the gender aspect does not seem to have a significantly impact on the level of transparency, then there must be other factors involved. Therefore I have three other hypothesizes which I believe could explain the level of transparency in one municipality.

2. *The higher the socioeconomic level of a municipality, the higher the transparency levels.*

¹² <http://ipsnews.net/news.asp?idnews=46570> (2010-05-05, at 18.43 pm) and Chilean Congress library; <http://www.bcn.cl/ley-transparencia>

¹³ Swamy, A., Knack, S., Lee, Y. and Azfar, O. (2001)
Dollar, D., Fisman, R. and Gatti, R. (1999)

The socioeconomic level of the municipalities could be another explanatory factor for the level of transparency, as the cost of implementing a transparent system needs a budget that corresponds. In the Chilean case, for example, the Transparency law (article 7) establishes that the information should be accessible on the web page of the institutions, which could be a problem for small rural municipalities that do not yet have their own webpage and will need to hire someone extra to do the job¹⁴.

3. Public knowledge of the law of “Access to public information” affects the level of transparency in the municipality.

The knowledge of the law in Chile is extremely low. Even though it was implemented one year ago only 20 % of the citizens know about their right to access public information through this law¹⁵. The participation of civil society in the work of transparency is essential for its progress, according to a study from Transparency International ¹⁶, but of course the law must first be known by the citizens.

4. The media existent in the municipality (News papers, local radio) affects the level of transparency.

According to Ferraz and Finan (2008) who compared the corruption and reelections in several Brazilian municipalities, the existence of a local media like a Radio channel in the municipalities is very important in promoting political accountability and quality of governance¹⁷. This is also confirmed by Stechina, who argues that the transparency level in a country is often “connected to the protection of the freedom of press”¹⁸.

To sum up, the main objective of this essay is to find out what affects transparency levels in local governments in Chile - the municipalities - with a primarily focus on gender as an explanation. For example, does it matter if there is a female or a male mayor, for the level of transparency, and if there is a change from male to female mayor, are there any visible differences? This essay will explore the possible factors primarily with the focus on gender,

¹⁴ Castillo Cardenas L., (2009)

¹⁵ The Chilean Transparency Council

¹⁶ Transparency International, “Using the Right to Information as an Anti-Corruption Tool”(2006), p.19

¹⁷ Ferraz C, Finan F, (2008) p. 4 and 42.

¹⁸ Stechina V,(2008), p. 48

but if there is no support found for this hypothesis the research will go on testing several other hypotheses to find the explanation. The aim is to be able to generalize the results to other emerging countries, using the literature and recent studies on transparency, corruption and quality of government. In this way the essay will gain both internal and external validity.

3. Method and research design

To be able to ascertain if the gender of the mayors had an impact on the transparency level, I will use both quantitative and qualitative methods in the research. The quantitative part will consist of two comparisons, one brief of all the municipalities and the other, which is the main one, a comparison of two selected cases. The qualitative part consists of face to face interviews with employees at the municipalities and representatives from the community organizations. The idea is to capture their opinion of the probably gender impact on transparency levels. These methods will be explained more precisely in the next chapter.

To give an overview of my methods, I will here explain the main aspects. The comparison of the two municipalities will primarily work as a way of showing the explanatory factors in the Chilean case, but will also be a way of drawing conclusions about the “causes and effects”¹⁹. Considering what I just mentioned, the study will therefore become a “*comparative case study*”, as it otherwise would be impossible to make any conclusions about what affects transparency levels in one municipality.

Firstly, because I wanted to look primarily at gender, I choose municipalities with mayors of different gender (maximal variation). Secondly, I considered it would be even more interesting for the investigation to use municipalities where there had been a switch from male to female mayor, or the opposite. Particularly for the interviews, so that people I interviewed would be able to think about if there had been any change in transparency levels when the gender of the mayor changed. Since I had to find only 2 municipalities, which both had the switch but one from female to male and the other from male to female mayor – I was not left with many options. I had to limit my research to the Santiago region, which consists of 52

¹⁹ Esaiasson, Giljam, Wägnerud, Oscarsson (2007), p. 121

municipalities²⁰, so there were about 5 municipalities which had switched from female mayor to male and only 3 municipalities who had changed from male mayor to female.

Depending on these conditions, the “*most similar system design*” seemed to be the most adequate design for my comparison. This research design is especially appropriate when the phenomena studied only exists in a limited number (municipalities with the switch I looked for and municipalities with female mayors) and you are meant to choose cases depending on the independent variable, which here is the gender of mayor²¹.

Then one has to look at the two municipalities which are the most homogeneous within this group, in terms of socioeconomical elements, poverty rate, geographical size, inhabitants and so on, according to the “*most similar system design*”²². Considering these aspects I found two of the municipalities, Recoleta and Quilicura, were the most appropriate to compare²³ (appendix 1). I also consulted an expert in municipalities at the Council of Transparency if he thought my selection of the two municipalities was a homogeneous choice, and he agreed.

To sum up, I believe this comparison between Recoleta and Quilicura will be the best way to demonstrate if the gender has had any impact

3.1 Comparison of Municipalities

I will start my research with a statistical analyze of the gender of the mayors in relation to transparency levels - low, medium and high – as proposed by the Transparency International chapter in “Chile Transparente”, in their report from 2008²⁴. The aim is to see if there is any variation on the gender line when I compare the percentage of all female mayors who were heads of municipalities in the highest level, compared to the percentage of men. I will do the same analyze for the other two levels as well.

²⁰ Chilean asociación of municipalities / Asociación chilena de municipalidades

²¹ Esaiasson, Giljam, Wägnerud, Oscarsson (2007), p.112 - 114

²² Ibid. P. 114

²³ For more information about the municipalities, see Appendix 1

²⁴ “Municipality Transparency levels”, TI Chile,(2008), page. 68- 81

The comparison of the two municipalities I chose to study, Recoleta and Quilicura, consists of data regarding transparency and gender, based on my hypotheses. If it is possible to see some connections comparing quantitative and qualitative data, I believe it will be easier to argue that my hypothesis is supported or not. Ekengren and Hinnfors (2006) argue that it is an *“advantage to use different methods in one research to be able to investigate if the results points in similar or different directions”*²⁵

The table presented in the “Empirical findings” (appendix 4) section makes it possible to see the differences, and it will be easier to have a good overview of the aspects that influence the dependent variable (Transparency) in relation to my overall research question.²⁶The categories in the table are based on the literature on transparency, corruption and gender, as I have previously discussed, and also linked to my hypotheses on possible explanations. The dependent variables are the transparency levels (number of complaints) and the independent: gender, irregularities, and employees working with the law, applications and the media. I will explain the categories in more detail below, in order to clarify the aim of the comparison.

The first two categories are about gender: the gender of mayors, as that is the main focus of the transparency levels, and the number of elected local commissioners, according to gender. This is an important aspect, as I am looking at the gender effects of transparency, in relation to theories that see a correlation between female participation and limits on corruption levels²⁷.

The following categories focus on my other hypothesizes and aspects regarding transparency; which level the municipality corresponds to in the project about Municipality transparency from the Chilean TI chapter²⁸; how many complains there have been to the Council of Transparency²⁹; the number of reports which have been made by the General Comptrollership

²⁵ Ekengren,Hinnfors (2006) p. 75

²⁶ Esaiasson, Oscarsson, Giljam, Wägnerud,(2007) p, 49,

²⁷ Swamy:2001, Dollar:1999.

²⁸ “Municipality Transparency levels”, TI Chile, (2008)

²⁹ In spansish, “Consejo para la Transparencia”. www.consejotransparencia.cl. It’s an autonomous institution where the citizens can go and demand their complains about the municipality or any other public institution, if they have not been given access to the information they applied for

of the Republic³⁰ about suspected irregularities in each municipality and how many people work to ensure fulfillment of the law on Access to Public information.

The penultimate category is about how many applications for access to information each municipality has received from the citizens and the last category is about the local media, based on my third hypothesis (Ferran & Finan: 2008) about the importance of this in promoting quality of government and accountability in municipalities³¹.

To sum up, the comparison of these elements in both of the municipalities will hopefully help me to answer my research questions: what affects transparency levels, and if the gender of the mayor is an influence.

3.2 Interviews

As a complement to my comparison of the municipalities in the table I will do respondent interviews with four people from the municipalities and one informant interview with an expert from the General Comptrollership of the Republic (La Contraloria General de la Republica). Interviews are a very good tool to use as a methodology when the aim is to be able to say something about other people's experiences, and find out what "*meaning some people give to different phenomena*"³². Further, interviewing is also a good methodology when the aim is to develop theories and especially when you would like to discover a new research field, which my research aims to do in some way³³.

I found out who to interview in the municipalities, after doing some research in Santiago and talking to experts. I also followed the methodology literature on "respondent interviews", which, among others strategies, argues "*to choose strangers, a small selection of people and not choose subjective experts*"³⁴. For my strategically choice of people to interview I also consulted the Transparency Council, who advised me to interview the person in charge of the

³⁰ Stechina, V. (2008) p. 145, 242. "La Contraloria general de la Republica" (Riksrevisionen in Sweden)

³¹ Ferraz C, Finan F, (2008) p. 4 and 42.

³² My translation from swedish; Esaiasson, Oscarsson, Giljam, Wägnerud, (2007), p. 285

³³ Ibid. 285-286

³⁴ Ibid. 291

transparency work at each municipality³⁵, and the TI Chilean chapter they advised me to also interview someone from the local community organization. This to get a more impartial view of the transparency levels in the municipality. Further, the interview with the director at the municipality division at the General Comptrollership office is more to get an expert view of the municipalities and was therefore chosen strategically, due to his knowledge on the issue³⁶.

The possible problem with using this strategic method of selection is the risk that you will get selection bias for the same kind of people. For example, people who are from the same political party or who are friends with the first person in the municipality. To sum up, there is a risk you will get a partial group of people using this way of selection. In spite of this, however, I argue this was the most appropriate method for my kind of research, because of the aspects I discussed in the previous sections.

3.3 Interview questions

The interview guide is built through the principles that one should consider the contents of the questions to be connected to the research problem, and the shape of the conversation to be a dynamic situation³⁷. Therefore I have created three interview guides (appendix 2), one for the presidents of the community organization, one for the employees at the municipalities and another for the expert from the General Comptrollership of the Republic, as they all probably will have different experiences which I will try to capture

Finishing the interviews I will analyze the results in order to draw conclusions about causes and effects. In the first place I will follow the recommendations from the literature about methods to analyze interviews in Political Science³⁸. The first step is to get an overview of the answers from those interviewed, on what role the gender of the mayor has had on transparency levels in their municipality, and if not, what other aspects have had an effect.

³⁵ Ley de la Transparencia publica; <http://www.bcn.cl/ley-transparencia>

³⁶ Esaiasson, Oscarsson, Giljam, Wägnerud (2007)p.291

³⁷ Esaiasson, Oscarsson, Giljam, Wägnerud (2007) p. 298

³⁸ Ibid. p. 305-306

Further, according to the literature, one can finish analyzing the results when you have been able to find all the relevant categories and aspects in the empirical material³⁹.

4. Empirical findings and analysis

4.1 Gender and Transparency

One of the most interesting things about Chile was that many of the transparency initiatives, except the creation of the Access to public information law, were taken during the president Michelle Bachelet's government⁴⁰. For example they created a political agenda called “Transparency Agenda in the Bachelet Government”, and also a special Institution (Agency) to be in charge of the fulfillment of this agenda⁴¹. Another initiative which gained international recognition was the implementation of the banner “Government transparency” on all official government webpage.⁴² Bachelet's pro-transparency politics was also confirmed to me by a local expert at the TI chapter in Chile who said: “*Bachelet was the one who really improved transparency in Chile*”⁴³.

This behavior of the former female president could probably be related to the many studies that explore what extent women's participation in local and national legislative powers influences levels of corruption in a country. Like I argued while presenting my main hypothesis, there are arguments which show the gender aspect is important to include in the anti corruption struggle and some scholars even argue women could be less “corrupt” than men.⁴⁴ But could women also affect transparency, positively or negatively - as they are

³⁹ Ibid, p. 306, 307, 309-310

⁴⁰ La Nacion, “Desde hoy rige histórica ley de transparencia”, 2009- 04-20

⁴¹ Radio Universidad de Chile, “Chile: Gobierno implementa agencia de transparencia pública”, 2008-03-15,

⁴² Ibid. 2008-03-15

⁴³ Interview with staff at TI Chilean Chapter, 2010-04-08

⁴⁴ Swamy, A., Knack, S., Lee, Y. and Azfar, O. (2001)
Dollar, D., Fisman, R. and Gatti, R. (1999)

assumed to affect corruption. This could be for example through their priorities and different behavior, comparing to male politicians as many scholars argue. Examples are Philip's (1995) theory about women's different interests and Dollar (1999) who discusses that "*women are more trustworthy and public-oriented than men*"⁴⁵.

As a contrast to the "pro transparency" attitude in the former Chilean president, the actual female president in Argentina, Kristina Kirchner, on the other hand has been blamed by the organization Transparency International for not emphasizing the anti corruption struggle enough⁴⁶. Actually the country is on the 106:th place (of 180 countries) on the organization's list over the corruption in the world's countries which is quite makeable if one compare to Chile, which is actually at the 25:th place⁴⁷. The critics from Transparency international were about the deficiency in the public scrutinizing agency, the lack of the law on Access to public information and the lack of transparency in the systems for public employment. The information about the Argentinean president makes the theories about that women could be "*less*" corrupt than men, less credible if the Argentinean case is not an exception. However, there is still no explanation how the gender of political leader's affects transparency levels in the public institutions and the need for research about this could therefore be justified.

4.2 Comparison all municipalities

The first empirical findings I will show is the variation between female and male mayors, according to the transparency levels proposed for the municipalities by the Transparency International Chilean chapter, Chile Transparente⁴⁸. The report, launched in March 2008, proposed three levels of transparency - low, middle and high - and placed all 345 Chilean municipalities in their corresponding level. Of course the levels were related to such elements as socioeconomic status, geographic situation, and the size of each municipality⁴⁹.

⁴⁵ Vijayalakshmi V. (2007), p.4

⁴⁶ La Nacion, "Critica de Transparencia Internacional a la Argentina por falta de controles", 2009-04-16,

⁴⁷ Transparency International, Corruption Perception Index 2009

⁴⁸ "Municipality Transparency levels", Transparency International Chile,(2008) p. 68- 81

⁴⁹ Ibid. p.68-81

The aim of the comparison I did was to be able to see if there was any difference between the gender of the mayors and proposed levels of transparency. The results I found are very interesting, but cannot be used to show any real difference because the levels proposed by this report are only an estimation which proposes which level the different municipalities should correspond according to many other aspects.

- Tables 1.1 and 1.2, levels of transparency depending on gender of the mayor (Appendix 3)

It is important to point out that these levels of transparency among the Chilean municipalities, created by the TI Chilean chapter, is just one view of transparency. As we will see, a lot has happened since these were created in 2008. For example today there is the law on Access to Public Information, implemented in April 2009. Despite this, I argue it is important to show these findings, as they tell us there could be a connection between female majors and higher levels of transparency, as the first hypothesis states.

4.3 Comparison of the Municipalities Recoleta and Quilicura

The table comparing different aspects of the municipalities I chose to study is divided into categories which were presented more specifically in the previous methodology chapter. Overall, if you look at the data, the empirical findings demonstrate less support for the first hypothesis of this essay, which presumed female mayor are expected to contribute to higher transparency levels than male. But on the other hand – several of the other hypotheses have support. In the table 1.3 (appendix 4), you will be able to see the differences between the municipalities from the data I gathered. I will discuss the results from the table and the interviews in more detail, focusing on each municipality to try to find out what could be the answers for my overall research question about what seems to matter for the levels of transparency.

The analysis is designed to see if changes in the gender of the mayor have actually led to changes in transparency. That's the reason I have chosen to study both changes: from Male to

Female mayor (Recoleta) and from Female to Male (Quilicura), as I discussed in the methodology part. But the information you can see in the table above shows overall a low connection between the fact of having a female mayor and a possible higher transparency level. To understand how this comes about, the results will be discussed according to each municipality with a focus on the gender of the mayors and the initiatives for transparency. As the empirical material is very extent I have chosen to focus on the most important aspects I think matter for my research questions.

4.4 Recoleta municipality

There are visible differences if one just looks at the data from the table, comparing the municipalities. But to understand what matters, one must go deeper and analyze the results.

First of all, the Recoleta municipality had a male mayor during the period from 2004-2008 and an important point worth mentioning here is that he was not obligated by the law (which was implemented in 2009) to increase transparency levels. According to

Patricio Gonzalez (PG), the director of transparency work in this municipality who worked in the both administrations, that fact could have had some influence. But even though he stated it was not a general prioritization for the former mayor; *“The former mayor (male) put less effort on the issue (transparency), it was less important for him. But it is difficult to compare as he didn’t had the law⁵⁰”*.

The president of a local community organization, Hilda Muñoz (HM), on the other hand, is more pleased while comparing the former mayor with the actual one: *“Both of the mayors have given importance to this issue (transparency) and both did the things according to the actual standards in that moment”⁵¹*.

Maybe it is what was important in this case: the mayor just fulfilled the actual standards at the moment, and as there was no law implemented there was no hurry to increase transparency. This is confirmed by HM, who believes the level has increased since the last elections, but

⁵⁰ Interview with Patricio Gonzalez (2010-04-27) my translation from spanish

⁵¹ Interview with Hilda Muñoz (2010-05-04) my translation from spanish

believes it is primarily because of technological advantages. PG, on the other hand, choose to point out the implementation of the law as a crucial change, meaning it was not so much the elections and the change of gender of the mayor: *“The main point was the law. The mayors started to preoccupy, so it wasn’t the election (2008) that changed the issue of transparency – it was the obligation”*⁵².

An interesting point regarding the former mayor in Recoleta and his possible attempts to increase the transparency although is that he worked with the Transparency International Chilean chapter (TI Chile) to create the project with transparency levels for the municipalities in 2007, which I mentioned in a previous chapter. The report proposes Recoleta should correspond to the highest transparency level, taking different aspects into consideration. But in the interview with the director of transparency work, PG, I found out the municipality was also a pilot case for the project, which made me think of a possible “pro-transparency” attitude of the former mayor. But this is denied by PG, who says that *“what he (the former mayor) did was more marketing, not so much things that had real effects. The project got stuck. It was one year before he was going to finish and we were not able to try it in reality. Maybe it would have had resulted”*⁵³.

In the municipality elections in October 2008 a female mayor from the same right wing party as the male mayor (UDI) won in Recoleta, and the gender of the mayor switched. The new mayor did not continue with the project from TI Chile that was proposed by the former mayor, even she was informed about it, PG tells me⁵⁴.

But many changes regarding transparency have been made in Recoleta since the new law on Access to Public information came into effect in April 2009. The data from table 1.3 show some of the differences, regarding actual information on different aspects of transparency. Many of them have been implemented after 2009, as I discussed when I presented the categories of the table in the methodology section.

⁵² Interview with Patricio Gonzalez (2010-04-27)

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Interview with Patricio Gonzalez, 2010-04-27

At the moment, even though there is a female mayor, there are only 2 (of 8) female local commissioners, representing 25 % of the total. The representation of women could, according to the literature on corruption and gender⁵⁵, minimize the corruption levels. And also, as my hypothesis proposes, increase transparency levels. But to be able to compare this influence more deeply I believe a further comparison with the former local government also has to be done, which is not the aim nor within the scope of this essay.

How, then, has the change in gender of the mayor influenced and affected transparency in the municipality? While asking the people I interviewed how they see actual level of transparency, the director of the municipality answered; *“We fulfill the lowest standard, I believe you can do more”* and continues; *“We need more human resources”⁵⁶*.

The president of the local communitarian organization, HM, on the other hand, is more satisfied; *“they manage this issue very well and are always trying to maintain a high standard in front of the community”⁵⁷*.

Following the line of inquiry into gender, the people I interviewed all agree on the question *if the gender of the mayor matters for levels of transparency*. There is a similar attitude which points towards the personal values and good will of the mayor. PG, says: *“I think the gender doesn’t matter. Because for the people who assume these responsibilities (the mayors) it’s their personal values that matter the most, much more than the gender. I haven’t seen that it (gender) matters in the least”⁵⁸*.

And HM tells me: *“No, not at all, this issue is not limited to gender. I believe every person does things depending on their good will and judgment, of course if they are able to count on sufficient human resources to realize it”⁵⁹*

⁵⁵ Swamy, A., Knack, S., Lee, Y. and Azfar, O. (2001)
Dollar, D., Fisman, R. and Gatti, R. (1999)

⁵⁶ Interview with Patricio Gonzalez, 2010-04-27, My translation from Spanish.

⁵⁷ Interview, Hilda Muñoz, 2010-05-04, My translation

⁵⁸ Interview with Patricio Gonzalez, 2010-04-27

⁵⁹ Interview, Hilda Muñoz, 2010-05-04

It is important to point out however, that when asking the director of the transparency work if he can see any differences in behavior between male and female mayors he has worked with, he admits that there is a difference in their behavior: *“Yes of course, you can see a difference in how they act, it is very notable. This mayor (the female) is much more accessible, more reasonable. Here you can talk a bit of the gender aspect - women are easier to talk to”*⁶⁰.

This statement is confirmed by the director at the municipality division at the General Comptrollership office, Nicolas Tapia, who on the one hand agrees with the other people interviewed that there is a low connection between the gender of the mayor and transparency levels. But on the other hand he also notices, like PG, that female mayors could have a different way of behavior, compared to male. *“I believe women are more methodically and determined which could be positive for the transparency work”*⁶¹. The relevance of these statements for the validity of my main hypothesis for this essay will be discussed further on.

Since the law was implemented in April 2009 the municipalities have adapted different approaches on how to handle this issue, as you can see in table 1.3. This could be related to the statement from PG, demanding more human resources to be able to work towards the fulfillment of the law. In Recoleta there are only two people in charge of transparency (table 1.3). And according to the director, PG:

*“The implementation of the law didn’t produce new employment of personal; it means we assumed this new function with the same amount of human resources that existed in the different municipality division”*⁶².

This aspect is important to compare, as I discussed in my hypothesis and method section, because of the socioeconomic influence on increasing transparency levels, and scholars argue the municipality need human resources, and of course a budget, to fulfil this⁶³.

⁶⁰ Interview with Patricio Gonzalez, 2010-04-27

⁶¹ Interview with Nicolas Tapia, (2010-04-21) head of the municipality division, National Comptroller office

⁶² Interview with Patricio Gonzalez, 2010-04-27

⁶³ Castillo Cardenas L., (2009), p. 9

The empirical findings I will discuss next demonstrate the differences between the municipalities, with Quilicura in many ways seeming to have higher transparency levels. For example, relating to the number of complaints (table 1.3) to The Council of Transparency, demonstrates Recoleta has got 2 complaints regarding the lack of transparency since the implementation of the law, while Quilicura has not one. These reports are from citizens who consider that the municipality is not responding to their demands for access to public information. This is an interesting point to consider in this discussion, which also demonstrates to a certain extent how well the implementation of the law has been. It could probably be reflected in the statement from the director PG, who says that his municipality, Recoleta, just fulfils “*the lowest standards*”⁶⁴ according to his judgement.

Further, the National Comptroller office has published 9 investigations into suspected irregularities regarding this municipality (and only 7 regarding Quilicura) since October 2008. The contents of these investigations are too extensive to discuss here, but it is important to point out that the number of reports does not necessarily mean one municipality has more irregularities than the other. According to Nicolas Tapia, director at the municipality division at the national Comptroller office, it is a mix of reports from citizens and suspiciousness from the authorities⁶⁵. Despite this, it is an indication of the extent of irregularities in the municipalities and, compared to Quilicura, it’s another point which demonstrates the differences in transparency levels between the two cases.

Another category in the table (1.3) is the number of applications for information, which each municipality has received from citizens since they started to register in April 2009. Recoleta reports that they have received only 4 applications compared to Quilicura, which received as many as 89. This is probably a good demonstration of the knowledge of the law about Access to public Information among civil society in the different municipalities. Probably it could also be related to my hypothesis that *knowledge of the law could affect the transparency level*. But as a contradiction to this, HM, the president of the local community organization seems to have knowledge of the concept of transparency and the law when she says: “*Yes, the municipality has trained us and I have informed myself through internet*”. But one can

⁶⁴ Interview with Patricio Gonzalez, 2010-04-27

⁶⁵ Interview with Nicolas Tapia, 2010-04-21

conclude this is probably because she as a president has major knowledge about this issue, compared to other citizens. If one believes the statistics that say only 20 %⁶⁶ of citizens know about their right to access public information through this law, the average knowledge is very low.

It is important to point out however, that these applications to the Municipalities are the ones regarding “*Passive*” transparency, which stands for the obligations the state are subject to follow to allow anyone access to public information who demands it⁶⁷. “*Active*” transparency means, on the other hand, the obligation to publicise, systematically and periodically, information from the state publicly. This could be, for example, salaries of public employees, contracts, the municipality’s budget, and so on⁶⁸.

If we move back to the main focus of this section, namely the transparency levels in Recoleta in relation to the former mayor and the current. While I have been presenting the empirical findings from the table (1.3) which show different data and the interviews, the main hypothesis for this essay has become weakly supported. The empirical findings rather point to other aspects which have nothing to do with the gender of the mayor, as what matter for transparency levels in the municipalities. To increase the transparency in Recoleta, PG, on the one hand demands:

“More punishment laws, that makes people care and fulfil with the law of Access to public Information and more Independence for the division of intern control (where I work), we should depend more of the National Comptroller office”.

While HM, representing the civil society, says there is a need for;

“I would ask the regional government to invest money in the communitarian organizations with the objective for them to publicize all their information - so all the organizations who realize social work will modernize once and for all.”

⁶⁶ The Chilean Transparency Council

⁶⁷ Law 20.285, of Access to public Information <http://www.bcn.cl/ley-transparencia>

Castillo Cardenas L., (2009), p. 2-3

⁶⁸ Ibid.

To sum up, even though there were some initiatives taken by the former male mayor in Recoleta while trying to implement the project from TI Chile, it is not clear if this was something he did as political “marketing” for his party, as PG suggests, or to increase the levels of transparency. Because the project was never implemented, it became stuck and the current female mayor did not continue it. It seems instead it was the implementation of the law in April 2009 which pushed and increased the levels of transparency. But with a quick look at the table it is possible to see that Recoleta in many ways appears to have lower levels than Quilicura, and the gender of the mayor does not seem to have much influence. This will be discussed in the analyze part further on, but first a presentation of the empirical findings regarding Quilicura.

4.5 Quilicura municipality

The Quilicura municipality had a female mayor between 2004 and 2008, and compared to Recoleta there have been a lot of changes since the switch in gender of the mayors in the elections later on, in 2008. This will become clearer when I present the results.

The people I interviewed said that the former female mayor in Quilicura had many troubles with low transparency levels and corruption scandals in the municipality. Marcelo Salas (MS), the actual director of the OIRS⁶⁹ office, which actually work with the fulfilment of the law of Access to public information, relates that the situation was serious: *“During the former local government (female mayor) there was a lot of corruption. The mayor hired people from the communitarian organizations, among others. When we started to work there was a lot of information that didn’t exist, because they had deleted it”*⁷⁰.

The similar view is confirmed by the president of a local community organization, Claudio Castro (CC), who has lived in the municipality most part of his life;

⁶⁹ OIRS = the municipality división for Information, Complaints and Suggestions

⁷⁰ Interview, Marcelo Salas, 2010-04-28

“The former mayor didn’t put so much effort, it was less important for her. She was very authoritarian and wasted the money in political campaigns. You could notice what was going on, they invested 10, and 9 of them went to the pocket – now it’s the opposite.”⁷¹.

It is important to notice once again, however, that the law on Access to Public information had not entered into law during the former female mayor’s administration, which could also have had an impact on the level of transparency. The current director of OIRS, MS, confirms this: *“Before it didn’t exist and OIRS office here. There was no follow up work. The female mayor didn’t care to listen to the citizens”⁷².*

In the municipality elections 2008, there was a switch to a male mayor in Quilicura. The current mayor is independent and does not belong to any political party, while the former mayor belonged to the Christian democrats (PDC) party. In December 2008 the new male mayor had already taken the initiative to create an OIRS office’ as there was no such division in the municipality. MS told me that the mayor instructed him to start implementing this office: *“The OIRS office opened the 6th of December 2008. The mayor gave me the responsibility to manage it. We implemented the office from nothing; there was not even the physical space yet”*

At the moment there are 4 people (including the director) working specifically toward the fulfilment of the law through this special office. This aspect is important to consider, as I discussed in my hypothesis and method part: to increase the transparency levels, scholars argue the municipality needs human resources and, of course, a budget to fulfil this⁷³. As we saw in the previous chapter, the Recoleta municipality is not organized in the same way.

According to the table above, it is possible to see that at the moment Quilicura in many ways shows better results regarding transparency levels, and this is confirmed by both of the people I talked to. The president of a local communitarian organization, CC, told me: *“The*

⁷¹ Interview Claudio Caro, 2010-04-28

⁷² Interview Marcelo Salas, 2010-04-28

⁷³ Castillo Cardenas L., (2009), p. 9

transparency level right now is good and if there is something negative you can go directly and talk to the mayor”⁷⁴

The view of MS is similar; *“Before they (the former mayor) didn’t do any follow up work, you made an application and they didn’t answer you. Now we respond to 100 %, we are trustworthy and we listen to the citizens, that’s the most important*”⁷⁵

The actual mayor seems to be more dedicated to this issue, and MS continued telling me about why he is satisfied with the way the mayor manages transparency; *“the mayor is observant and always cares about how we manage this information, what we publish on the web-page, that we fulfill the time in answering the applications... ”*⁷⁶.

I will now move on to the gender aspect for this municipality, to see if this could be an explanation for the changes in the indicatives for transparency. First of all, the empirical findings demonstrate similar results to the ones in Recoleta. Both the president from the community organization and the director of the OIRS office agrees that there are other aspects which are more important. MS, the director of OIRS argues that *“It doesn’t depend so much on the gender, more the intention to work and the intention to listen to the citizens. It’s not so much about who’s the mayor”*⁷⁷.

Despite this it is important to point out that CC admits gender implied a change for him. *“To me, the gender (of the mayor) marked a difference. There is a lot of difference between men and women. But I also believe it (transparency levels) depends on the person and the ones who surround the mayors.”*⁷⁸

These results could be related to what the director of transparency work in Recoleta, PG said: that there is a difference in behavior between male and female mayors. But comparing to the view of the president of the community organization, the behavior of the former female

⁷⁴ Interview Claudio Caro, 2010-04-28

⁷⁵ Interview with Mareclo Salas, 2010-04-28

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Interview Marcelo Salas, 2010-04-28

⁷⁸ Interview Claudio Caro, 2010-04-28

mayor was something negative and the new male mayor is associated much more closely with higher transparency levels.

As CC puts it: *“Up until today, you have been able to see the things the municipality does; they are visible for the people. Before some issues was preferred, because the people came from the same political party. Everything was managed by them (the mayor)”*⁷⁹.

Further, as I discussed in the previous chapter there is also a difference in how the municipalities have been working towards the implementation with the law, which probably could be reflected in the number of applications for access to information (passive transparency). As the table shows, Quilicura has received as many as 89 applications (comparing to 4 received by Recoleta). This is a probably a good demonstration of the knowledge of the law among civil society in the different municipalities.

The last category in the table shows the amount of local media, relating to my hypothesis of the importance of those for a higher transparency level. We can see Quilicura has 2 radio channels in total - compared to Recoleta, which only has one. But both the municipalities have one newspaper which is dependent on the municipality. The president of the local communitarian organization confirmed this point of view, by mentioning the importance of the existence of a radio channel and newspaper within the municipality;

*“I think the local medias would help to increase the level of transparency, especially about the projects. It’s a good link to reach the people”*⁸⁰.

This is another factor giving Quilicura the appearance of higher levels of transparency, according to the aspects I have been discussing through this section. The relevance of this will be discussed further in the analysis. But what other aspects then matter for the municipalities, to increase the transparency? The director of OIRS in Quilicura denies that the socioeconomic aspect is a reason: *“The cost of implementing this office has not demanded a huge budget for us, we have developed even we didn’t had the material but we had the human resources and the most important – the support from the mayor”*. Instead he points on another explanation

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Interview Claudio Caro, 2010-04-28

which has been discussed through the essay, namely; *“It is very important the citizens will be aware of their rights and that they know they are able to ask for public information”*.⁸¹

CC, on the other hand, point to the organization of transparency work; *“The OIRS office is also good; it’s on a good way. It makes it much easier to make the application for access to public information”*.

To sum up, it seems the difference in how the Quilicura municipality managed the transparency level has changed a great deal since the last elections, and this was also confirmed in statements made by the people I interviewed. The results point in the same direction: it was the male mayor who took the main initiatives, even before the law had entered into power in April 2009, by specifically creating the division dedicated to the transparency, the OIRS office.

4.6 Analysis

The empirical findings regarding different aspects of gender and transparency in the two municipalities makes it possible, as I mentioned, to see quite a marked difference in some aspects and a less significant in others. But overall, through the comparison there is little evidence found to support the first hypothesis that female mayors are expected to contribute to higher transparency levels. But as I have argued, there are results which support some of my other hypothesis as possible explanations, and I will discuss them further on in the analysis.

First of all it’s important to mention the comparison of the gender of all the mayors in Chile, in relation to the transparency levels proposed by TI Chile (table 1.1) , even though it has not been the main objective for the analysis. By this comparison I found a difference in the gender of the mayors, where the female mayors to a higher extent were represented among the ones in the highest level. But, the validity of this results could be questioned because of its

⁸¹ Interview Marcelo Salas, 2010-04-28

up-to-datedness and in comparison to the other results I have found. Because of that I do not consider these results to be of such validity they could strengthen my hypothesis.

To return to the main focus of this analysis, which is the comparison between the two municipalities. The results from the interviews with the employees at the municipalities and the members from the community organization demonstrated similar results as the comparison of the data in the table. According to the literature this is an advantage, because while using different methods you will be able to see if the results point in the same or different directions⁸². In this investigation the empirical findings from both the quantitative and qualitative part have been pointing in the same direction. For example, the people I interviewed said, to a greater or less degree, that there are other things which affect to what extent a mayor prioritize transparency or not, and the data in the table supports this.

It is interesting that the results primarily demonstrate that the people interviewed in Quilicura have a quite similar view of how well the municipality works with transparency, and they both agrees on the municipality's transparency level. They also both tell the same story about their former mayor (female) which they put in relation to corruption scandals, clientelistic governing, low transparency levels and "closed doors".

On the other hand, the results from Recoleta demonstrate different views concerning the transparency level: one view from the employee and another from the president of the community organization. Overall one could believe this depends on the knowledge of what the law really demands and consists of. The employee probably has a broader view and knowledge about the law and what it really stands for, compared to the president of the community organization.

In addition, maybe the biggest differences and what probably has the biggest impact is the effort that has been put into transparency work in terms of human resources. This could probably, in its turn, affect the number of applications for information that have been made during 2009, and where the difference between the municipalities is marked. To demonstrate this, the fact that Quilicura has implemented a division which dedicates four employees to work with this full-time, compared to Recoleta where the same tasks are supervised by two

⁸² Hinnfors, Ekengren; 2006

directors of departments and then distributed between all the municipality divisions, probably has a major influence.

The other important fact which might influence transparency is the extent of local media, which according to Ferraz & Finan (2008) promotes local accountability and quality of governance. The difference is not huge here, but the fact that Quilicura has got two independent radio channels and MA only one, which is just “semi-independent”, could have an influence if one argues for this theory. Worth mentioning as well is that the transparency levels proposed for the municipalities by TI Chile does not really seem to suit these two municipalities today, according to my empirical findings. As we have seen, the work with transparency overall seems more prioritized in the Quilicura municipality than in Recoleta, and according to the levels proposed by TI Chile in 2008 it should be the opposite.

Finally, I believe the most important matter to point out is that there are things which appear to be held in common. A majority of the people I interviewed mentioned aspects such as “*accessibility*”, “*open doors*”, “*personal values*” and “*good will*” of the mayors, as the things which matters the most to increase transparency levels.

To be able to see the main aspects clearer and as an answer to my research question I have made a map (table 1.4) with the main aspects which seems to matter for the transparency level in the municipalities.

Table 1.4, Empirical findings from the Interviews

What affects transparency levels in public institutions?

Number of human resources assigned

Personal values and good will of the majors

Creation of an OIRS office /division, who is responsible for fulfillment with the law

Implementation of an "Access to public information" law

Punishment while not fulfilling with the law

Available and supportive major

Corruption limits the transparency work and vice versa.

Public knowledge of the law and your rights

More education and training in the contents of the law

5. Conclusions

The table on the previous page demonstrates the aspects which appear to be the most important, and what primarily affects transparency levels in the two municipalities I have studied. But before I discuss them I will go through my hypothesis and conclude which of them have been supported.

As I have discussed previously, there is little evidence found to support my first hypothesis and main focus of this essay: *that female mayors are expected to contribute to a higher transparency level in the municipality than male majors*. The empirical findings comparing different data from the two municipalities and the interviews, both point in the same direction. It seems at least that gender does not affect transparency levels in the municipalities in the capital region of Chile, even if it is difficult to generalize to all 345 municipalities from such a small investigation as this one. To be able to generalize the results about how gender affects transparency, to a broader group or to other countries outside Chile, further investigation is needed, particularly comparative research with many cases in different regions.

Even though I did not find support for my main hypothesis, I have been able to find many other interesting explanations to the level of transparency in the municipalities. I will go through the rest of my hypothesis as a way of concluding the most important ones. My second hypothesis, that asked whether *The higher the socioeconomic level of a municipality, the higher the transparency levels*, to a certain extent found support, but more generally and not as much from the comparison of Recoleta and Quilicura. As I chose two quite similar ones, according to the “most similar design” it is not possible to measure this aspect from this comparison. But by interviewing the directors of the municipality division at the General Comptrollership office, who pointed at the socioeconomic aspect as a crucial one, and by the statements from Patricio Gonzalez who demanded more human resources for his municipality, some support is found however.

Further, I found stronger support for my third hypothesis: *“Public knowledge of the law of access to public information affects the level of transparency in the municipality”*. As the literature and several surveys in Chile already demonstrates, knowledge of the law is very low, which in turn probably affects the extent that civil society and citizens demand that

public institutions comply with the law and transparency standards⁸³. Primarily, in the statements from the interviews, public knowledge of the law was mentioned as one of the most crucial factors. In Quilicura, where a special division was created, there were also more applications made for access to information, according to the law. The creation of this office seems to have helped to make the task more visible and increased public knowledge.

The fourth hypothesis I proposed as a possible explanation of my research question was: *The media existent in the municipality affects the level of transparency*. This, as it is supposed to strengthen the quality of governance. Even though I was only able to touch on this aspect very briefly, I saw there was a difference between the municipalities I compared, and also the people I interviewed mentioned it. But to be able to make a conclusion about how and to what extent this matters, further research is needed. Therefore I will argue this hypothesis found weak support because of the need of further research.

What appear to be the most crucial aspects for the level of transparency in the municipalities I have compared however were demonstrated in the table 1.3. Among these aspects, the creation and implementation of the *law of access to public information* seems to have had a major influence, and what really pushed the municipalities and other public institutions as well to comply with the standards of the law. The directors in the municipalities I interviewed both referred to the implementation of the law as a crucial point, and described how transparency levels have increased since then. But besides the law, as my empirical findings demonstrates, there are other aspects as well which determines the level of transparency in one political unit (here the municipalities).

It seems the personal values, good will, and support from the mayors, are important aspects. This explanation in its turn, irrespective of the gender of the mayor, seems to decide how the work towards the fulfillment of the law is organized. According to the two municipalities I studied, the organization of this task in Quilicura in many ways seems to have increased their levels of transparency. This was the major difference between these two municipalities. I would therefore argue that the organization of the fulfillment of the law, for example through the creation or reorganization of “OIRS offices”, seems to be a good way to increase transparency levels in the Chilean municipalities. Having one division, specifically assigned

⁸³ Transparency International, *“Using the Right to Information as an Anti-Corruption Tool”* (2006), p.19

to this task, would probably also help to increase public knowledge about the law, and the right to access public information.

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7. **Appendix 1;** Information about the municipalities (for more information, www.sinim.cl)

Recoleta

Mayor: Sol Letelier González

Political party; UDI (Union Demócrata Independiente) Right wing party.

Population total: 132 135 (2008)

Size: 16 km²

Rural population; 0,07 %

Urban population: 99,93 %

Total income municipality: 14 000 081 822 Chilean pesos (about 210 million Sek)

Poverty rate; 12,4 % (of the population)

Quilicura

Mayor: Juan Carrasco Contreras

Political party; Independent

Population total: 189 281 (2008)

Size: 57,50 km²

Rural population; 0,42 %

Urban population: 99,58 %

Total income municipality: 17 000 000 467 896 Chilean pesos (about 250 million Sek)

Poverty rate; 6,7 % (of the population)

(Source; www.sinim.cl)

Appendix 2: Interview guides

Interview guide 1: president from the local community organization

Name:

Profession;

1. How do you participate in the municipality?
2. Do you know the law of access to public Information? (Ley de la Transparencia de la función pública)
3. How do you consider the actual transparency level of your municipality?
4. Are you satisfied with the way the current mayor and local commissioners manage transparency?
5. A) If you compare to the former mayor (female/male), do you think transparency was more or less important for him/her?
B) In the case of more important? How? In what way? Please give examples.
C) In the case of less important, How? In what way? Please give examples.
6. A) Since the last elections (2008) would you say transparency levels in your municipality has increased or diminished?
B) Why? In what ways? Please give examples of things that happened?
7. A) Do you think the gender of the mayor matters for the level of transparency in your municipality?
B) If the answer is yes, please tell me why you think it does?
c) If the answer is no, please tell me what other aspects or mechanism you believe matters?
8. What would you do to increase the level of transparency in your municipality?

Interview guide 2; Directors for the transparency work in the municipality

Name;

Profession:

Position in the municipality:

1. Tell me about your position, what do you do?
2. How do you consider the level of transparency in your municipality? How do you work with the implementation of the access to public information law and to increase the level?

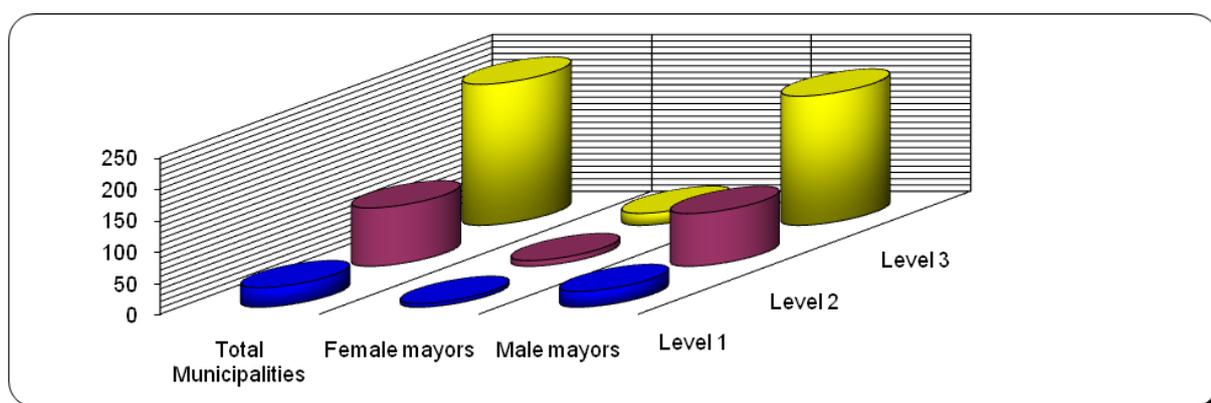
3. What changes to the way of organization and manner of working did you have to make while implementing the new law last year?
4. Are you satisfied with the way the major and the local commissioners manage transparency?
5. A) If you compare to the former major (female/male), do you think transparency was more or less important for him/her?
 B) In the case of more important? How? In what way? Please give examples.
 C) In the case of less important, How? In what way? Please give examples.
6. A) If you compare the female commissioners to the male, do you think there is any difference in how they prioritize the implementation of the transparency law?
 B) Please give examples.
7. A) Since the last elections (2008) would you say transparency levels in your municipality have increased or diminished?
 B) Why? In what ways? Please give examples of things that happened?
8. A) Do you think the gender of the mayor matters for the level of transparency in your municipality?
 B) If the answer is yes, please tell me why you think it does?
 c) If the answer is no, please tell me what other aspects or mechanism you believe matters?

Interview guide 3; Director at the municipality division, General Comptrollership office

1. Could you tell me a little bit about how “General Comptrollership of the Republic” works with the municipalities?
2. How do they work to supervise the municipalities and their activities?
3. I found there were 5 documents regarding Quilicura on your web page and 8 regarding Recoleta. Does that mean there are more irregularities in Recoleta? Or what do the documents stand for?
4. What’s the difference between a “final report” and a “following up” report to the final report”?
5. How has the new Law of Access to Public Information influenced the work? In what way?
6. What can you say about if the gender matters for the level of transparency in the municipalities? Is there a difference in how a female mayor, as compared to a male major, would manage this issue?
7. What other mechanisms influences in the transparency level of the municipalities?
8. Other comments?

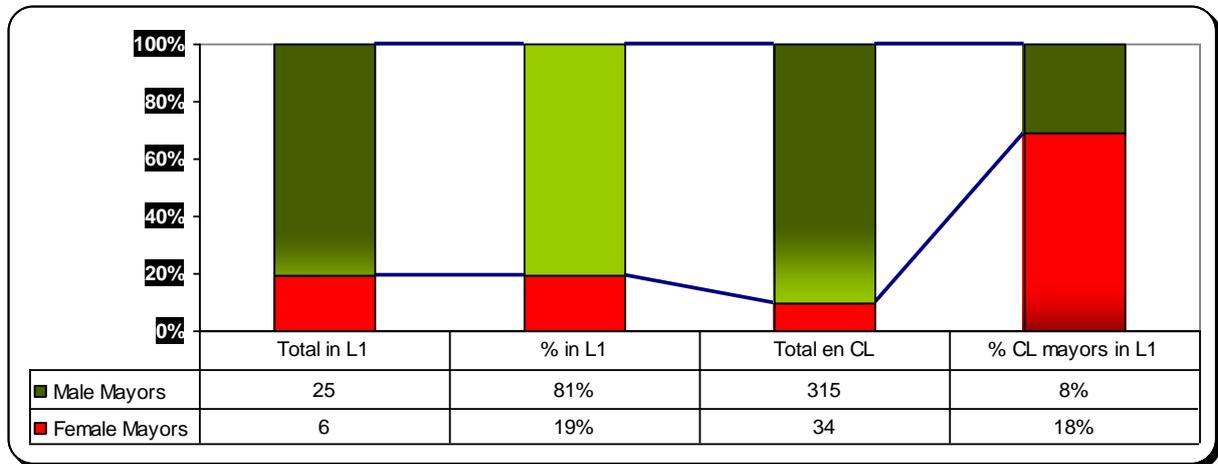
Appendix 3; Table 1.1 and 1.2, Comparison all Municipalities according to transparency levels proposed by TI Chile (2008)

Table 1.1



	Total Municipalities	Female mayors	Male mayors	Percentage F.M.	Percentage M.M
Level 1	31	6	25	19%	81%
Level 2	93	9	84	10%	90%
Level 3	225	19	206	8%	92%
TOTAL	349	34	315	10%	90%

Table 1.2, Percentage total of mayors in level 1



	Female Mayors	Male Mayors
Total in L1	6	25
% in L1	19%	81%
Total en CL	34	315
% CL mayors in L1	18%	8%

Appendix 4; Table 1.3 Comparison Recoleta and Quilicura

	Gender mayor 2004-2008	Gender mayor 2008-2012	Gender "local commissioners" 2008-2012	Belongs to level - TI Chile Indicators ⁸⁴	Complaints Transparency. Council ⁸⁵	Accounts about suspected irregularities 2008-2010 ⁸⁶	Applications for Info, according to the law 20.285 ⁸⁷	Employees working with Transparency law	Local media ⁸⁸
Recoleta	male	female	2 female 6 male =25 % female	high level (95/ 95)	2	2008 (oct) : 0 2009: 8 2010: 1 Total = 9	4	2 male in charge, Staff:-	1 NP 1 RC
Quilicura	female	male	2 female 4 male = 33,3% female	medium level, (79 / 95)	0	2008 (oct): 1 2009: 5 2010: 1 Total= 7	89	1Male in charge, Staff: 3	1 NP 2 RC

⁸⁴ of the 95 indicators, how many should they be able to fulfill? Source; "Municipality Transparency levels"/ "Estandares de Transparencia Municipal", Transparency International Chile, "Chile Transparente" (2008) page. 68- 81

⁸⁵ How many complaints have been reported to the Council since april 2009, source; www.concejotransparencia.cl

⁸⁶ (General Comptrollership of the Republic, source; www.contraloria.cl

⁸⁷ According to the law of Access to public information 20.285, the citizens are able to ask for information from the municipality. This demonstrate the number of applications during 2009. Source; The municipalities division

⁸⁸ **Municipality A:** News paper; "El Recoletano" (Municipality), Radio channel; "radio Bellavista (Semi-independent). **Municipality B;** News paper "El Independiente" (Municipality) radio channels; "Centenario" y "Eclipse" (autónomos) Source; The municipalities