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MOVING BEYOND CATEGORICAL MEASURES OF GENDER IN CORRUPTION RESEARCH

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WORKING PAPER SERIES 2018:8

QOG THE QUALITY OF GOVERNMENT INSTITUTE
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Box 711, SE 405 30 GÖTEBORG
November 2018
ISSN 1653-8919

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QoG Working Paper Series 2018
November 2018
ISSN 1653-8919

ABSTRACT

There are a growing number of studies with the ambition to present causal reasoning linking the presence of women in political organizations to reductions in levels of corruption. The theoretical mechanisms proposed are however seldom directly tested, instead scholars tend to use designs where a large number of control variables are introduced in order to "rule out" rivalry hypotheses. These designs leave us with a number of loose ends that needs to be more carefully dealt with. The aim of this paper is to introduce a new and comparatively simple way of measuring degrees of femininity and masculinity and discuss whether this approach could add to the understanding of gender effects found in research on corruption. The analysis show that femininity is linked to pro-social values and the suggestion is for future research to focus more on *indirect effects* on corruption from the inclusion of women in political organizations. Exposure-based theories highlight mechanisms such as changed group norms that may pave the ground for an increased focus on the public good. The data used draws on a large-scale survey among Swedish citizens in 2013.

Keywords: gender; corruption; exposure based theories; group norms; prosocial behavior.

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Introduction

In contemporary research, the notion that "male" and "female" or "man" and "woman" mean different things in different contexts is well established. Yet there is little agreement on how to move beyond categorical ways of approaching the gender factor in large-scale empirical research (cf. Westbrook & Saperstein 2015). Moreover, there is little agreement on the value added by including non-categorical gender measures: What phenomena are better understood if we—the research community—start to elaborate on measurements of sex/gender? Would, for example, research on corruption be enriched by taking recent gains in gender research more seriously into account?[1]

Two of the most established attempts to empirically approach the gender factor in nuanced ways are found within the intersectionality paradigm, which aims at capturing how gender interacts with other socially relevant categories, and the gender identity approach, which aims at measuring degrees of femininity and masculinity at the individual level. The intersectionality paradigm is good at capturing within-group variation, showing differences, for example, between women of majority ethnical background and women of minority status (Hawkesworth 2003). However, this does not necessarily mean that one, applying a lens of intersectionality, is able to capture "the shades of grey" when it comes to the gender factor (Hancock 2007). Grades of femininity and masculinity are recognized by gender identity theory, but within this tradition measurements of gender often get so complicated that they are hard to apply and integrate with other variables in main-stream survey research.[2]

The aim of this paper is to introduce a new and comparatively simple way of measuring degrees of femininity and masculinity and discuss whether this approach could add to the understanding of gender effects found in research on corruption. The measurement is based on fuzzy logic (Tauchert 2002) and capture self-placement on two separate scales running from 0 "few male/female characteristics" to 10 "many male/female characteristics." Previous research (Wängnerud et al. 2018)

[1] The relationship between "sex" and "gender" is complicated but I see no reason to include a lengthy discussion on this topic. For the sake of simplicity I mostly use "gender" and "gender gaps" when referring to results in previous research.

[2] Three prominent examples are the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI), the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ) and the Sexual Identity Scale (SIS). Such instruments tend to list a large number of masculine and feminine characteristics such as being "compassionate" or "aggressive," and respondents are asked to use scales to describe themselves according to these characteristics. See Palan et al. (1999) and Magliozzi et al. (2016) for a discussion on various instruments to measure gender identity.

demonstrates a significant interaction effect in the area of anxiety research: The more female characteristics in women, the higher the levels of anxiety. Moreover, there is no difference in levels of anxiety between men and women with few female characteristics. These results hold even under control for a large number of additional factors such as level of education, income, political ideology, and personality traits. Thus, the non-categorical measure of gender enables a more nuanced understanding of differences between men and women in levels of anxiety; degree of femininity, and not only individual's sex/gender, matters for levels of anxiety.

The rest of the paper proceeds as follows: First I will discuss ambitions and loose ends in current research on the link between gender and corruption, with a special focus on explanations for the finding that the greater the number of females in elected assemblies, the lower the level of corruption. In the next step I introduce the new gender measurement and present empirical findings from a large-scale survey in Sweden. In the final section I discuss the potential added value of a non-categorical measure of gender in the area of corruption research.

Large ambitions and loose ends in gender and corruption research

The finding that the greater the number of females in elected assemblies, the lower the level of corruption is well established in research.[3] The question why this correlation occurs however remains unsolved. One strand of research (Bjarnegård 2013; Stockemer 2011; Sundström & Wängnerud 2016) argue for a "reversed causality" and see corruption as an obstacle to the political advancement of women, whereas another strand of research contends that the inclusion of women is causing reductions in levels of corruption (Alexander & Bågenholm 2018; Agerberg et al. 2018; Bauhr et al. 2018; Esarey & Chirillo 2013; Esarey & Schwindt-Bayer 2017; Grimes & Wängnerud 2018).

Leaving research on corruption as an obstacle to the political advancement of women aside, there are currently three major lines of research in this area: The first line of research focuses on risk-aversion as the mechanism linking women's presence in politics to levels of corruption. Esarey and Schwindt-Bayer (2017) depart from the finding that the correlation between the number of females

[3] In this section I focus on recent research. Stensöta and Wängnerud (2018) present an overview of earlier studies in the area of gender and corruption.

in elected assemblies and levels of corruption appears in democracies but not in authoritarian states and contend that democratic institutions "activates" the relationship between gender and corruption. The suggestion they are making is that the combination of women's risk aversion and voters propensity to hold women to higher standards than men may explain the stronger gender-corruption link in high accountability settings (see also Barnes et al. 2018; Esarey & Chirillo 2013). Eggers et al. (2018) add that female voters in particular are likely to punish female politicians for misconduct.

The second line of research proposes a women's interest mechanism at work. Alexander and Ravlik (2015) depart from research on gender and political attitudes/behavior and transfer these findings to corruption studies. By doing this they highlight that some actions by female politicians may have important spin-off effects on corruption in society at large. In short, they suggest that women, due to their disadvantaged position in society, are particularly dependent upon a "state on track" where resources are used for the public good rather than for private gain. Thus, they argue that certain policy preferences among women politicians constitute an impetus to strive for a strict monitoring of the state, which, in the long run, may lower levels of corruption (Alexander & Ravlik 2015; see also Jha & Sarangi 2015; Neudorfer 2016; Stensöta et al. 2015; Watson & Moreland 2014). Building on a similar line of reasoning Brollo and Troiano (2016) used government audits at the local level in Brazil to show that the probability of observing corruption is between 29% and 35% lower in municipalities with female mayors than in those with male mayors. In addition, Brollo and Troiano were able to show that female mayors did a better job at providing public goods such as prenatal care delivery.

The third line of research, which is the most recent of the strands discussed here, strive to combine core branches in research on gender and corruption. For example, Bauhr et al. (2018) and Grimes and Wängnerud (2018) argue that corruption can be an obstacle to the political advancement of women at the same time as greater representation of women can cause decreased corruption. Bauhr et al. suggest a two-level theory where, on one level, related to electoral responsiveness, the correlation between female elected representatives and reduced petty corruption is explained by female politicians' choice of policy agendas. In accordance with Alexander and Ravlik (2015) they depart from findings in research on gender and political attitudes/behavior showing that women in elected office are more likely than their male colleagues to seek to improve public service delivery, and in

particular the type of services that tend to benefit women.[4] On another level, more related to the dynamics within institutions, Bauhr et al. suggest that the presence of grand corruption serves as an obstacle to the political advancement of women and that, against this backdrop, it is rational for female politicians to seek to break collusive networks detrimental to their careers. Using data from a regional level survey of 85,000 Europeans, and objective measures of both grand corruption risks and the share of locally elected female representatives in 182 European regions, the empirical results largely corroborate their theoretical expectations. The proportion of local female political representatives is strongly associated with decreased levels of both grand and petty corruption. Moreover, using cross-level interactions between female representation in local councils and gender of the respondent, Bauhr et al. (2018) find that while both men and women experience less bribery as the share of women elected increases, it is in fact the rate of bribe paying among women that decreases most strongly—in particular, in the education and health services.

Grimes and Wängnerud (2018) build on data at the subnational level in Mexico. The data at hand enables them to use levels of corruption in 2001 as a starting point and examine to what extent there is a significant association with the number of women elected in 2005, and thereafter whether there is a relationship between the number of women elected in 2005 and levels of corruption in 2010 controlling for previous levels of corruption. The results show that female representation is associated with reductions in levels of corruption but the results also uncover evidence that causation may run in the other direction as well. Grimes and Wängnerud underpin the notion that greater representation of women in government causes decreased corruption, and greater corruption in government causes lower representation of women. The theory they propose specifies conditional factors they believe need to be in place in order to trigger positive developments. In short, the study suggests that the impetus for women's entry into politics is often exogenous to political organizations and therefor, once successful, it may disrupt existing "modus operandi" of politics and create a window of opportunity for additional change. If anti-corruption efforts concurrently figure on the policy agenda, then changes both in formal laws and informal norms related to corruption may ensue.

[4] See, for example, Bolzendahl 2009; Bratton & Ray 2002; Ennse-Jedenastik 2017; Holman 2013; Schwindt-Bayer & Mishler 2005; Smith 2014; Wängnerud & Sundell 2012.

Summing up, there are a growing number of studies with the ambition to present causal reasoning linking the presence of women in political organizations to reductions in levels of corruption. The theoretical mechanisms proposed are however seldom directly tested, instead scholars tend to use designs where a large number of control variables are introduced in order to "rule out" rivalry hypotheses. These designs leave us with a number of loose ends that needs to be more carefully dealt with: First, the underlying logic in the risk-aversion theory is that an increased presence of women in positions of power will eventually "crowd out" corrupt networks and thereby reduce corruption. One obvious objection to this is that corrupt networks are skilled and will find new arenas to act on. Second, research highlighting a women's interest mechanism has a hard time to find concrete examples where female politicians have implemented laws, policies or other strategies to reduce levels of corruption (however see Alexander & Bågenholm 2018). Finally, the reasoning on conditional factors assume indirect effects, i.e. that reductions in levels of corruption takes place as a consequence of other changes—whatever they are—tied to an increase in the number of women in political organizations.

Exposure-based theories

Thus far risk-aversion theories and theories on women's interests dominate research on the causal effects on levels of corruption from the inclusion of women in political organizations. An area less explored is the indirect effects mentioned above. I believe that a useful way forward in gender and corruption research is to delve more deeply into potential spillover effects stemming from the inclusion of women in male-dominated settings. In this venture can exposure-based theories serve as a point of departure.

Bolzendahl and Myers (2004) analyze opinion-formation processes in relation to support for feminism and gender equality. They make a distinction between interest-based and exposure-based theories. The fundamental concept in exposure-based theories is that individuals develop or change their understandings of women's place in society and their attitudes toward gender equality issues when they encounter ideas and experiences that resonate with feminist ideals. The effect can be expected to be particularly strong among men, as men often lack women's personal experiences of gender based inequalities. Bolzendahl and Myers' focus is on how encounters with feminist ideas in the family, in educational settings, and in workplaces affect individuals' attitudes, but their analysis should reasonably apply to settings such as political parties and elected assemblies as well (cf. Kok-

konen & Wängnerud 2017): Why should male politicians be unaffected by the ideas and experiences that their female colleagues bring with them into politics when men in other circumstances seem to be affected by such influences?

The idea that surroundings impact attitudes and beliefs is rather well established in social psychology. Social comparison theory, for example, suggests that people often assess the correctness of their views by comparing them to the views held by people around them (e.g., Festinger 1950; Visser & Mirabile 2004). Agreement strengthens people in their views, whereas disagreement has the opposite effect. The groups that people select as important to them also provide information about what attitudes and behaviors are appropriate and desirable (e.g., Deutsch & Gerard 1955; Visser & Mirabile 2004). Group conformity tends to generate social rewards, such as acceptance and approval, whereas divergence from the group norms often results in social sanctions, such as rejection and derogation. Research has also shown that "publicly expressing one's views and otherwise behaviourally committing to them renders attitudes stronger" (see Visser & Mirabile 2004, 781, and the research cited therein). Mechanisms such as these strongly suggest that the benefits of expressing feminist attitudes and support for gender equality, and the costs of expressing nonfeminist attitudes, will increase as more women enter previously male-dominated arenas.

Thus, both exposure-based theories and social comparison theory suggest that male politicians attitudes should be affected—become more in accordance with women's views—as the number of women in a certain setting increases and men are exposed to the kind of opinions and attitudes where women tend to differ from men.[5]

Exposure-based theories and the phenomenon of corruption

An important explanation of the robustness of corruption is that it involves overcoming a number of large scale and nested collective action dilemmas. Those who engage in and benefit from corruption have strong material incentives to continue acting corruptly, and moreover have disincentives to behave honestly if they believe that others intend to opt for self-interested strategies (Persson et

[5] This assumption is strengthened by group dynamics research that shows that women are more inclined to participate in, and influence, discussion in groups when their numbers increase (Fiske 2010; Johnson & Schulman 1989; Karpowitz et al.2012).

al. 2012). In contrast to some other collective action dilemmas, defection in the form of engaging in corruption entails violation of the law, which can help explain why it is not only stable but also exclusionary. Engaging in corruption, even in the instances in which it may be profitable for all parties involved in the transaction, requires a degree of confidence among those involved that transgressions will not be revealed, i.e. collusion. Corruption therefore becomes a system in its own right with norms of reciprocity (regarding favors, benefits, and turning a blind eye), and is therefore a system heavily dependent on interpersonal relationships (e.g. Graham 1990; Karklins 2005; Persson et al. 2012). When corruption is conceptualized this way, rather than merely as individual-level non-compliance with rules and policies, it becomes clear why entry into the political realm is less a matter of merit or promoting the most qualified candidates, and more the product of patronistic exchange, exclusionary social networks and linkages—ingredients that tend to hamper gender equality (Bjarnegård 2013; Stockemer 2011; Sundström & Wängnerud 2016).

Conceptualizing corruption as a collective action dilemma also underscores the limitations of the risk-aversion approach in gender and corruption research. It needs to be recognized that in some settings it may in fact be very risky to abstain from corruption; such behavior may create powerful enemies.[6] Moving forward, abstention and/or the introduction of certain laws and policies cannot be the only mechanisms through which the inclusion of women affects levels of corruption. The kernel of this paper is the idea that we may gain new insights into the link between gender and corruption by developing tools that can capture the mechanisms behind indirect effects of women's entry into political organizations.

Introducing the fuzzy gender approach

A fuzzy-logic approach to gender should be seen as an attempt to capture norms and social constructions of gender and how they may affect individuals' attitudes and behavior. Tauchert (2002, 34) describes fuzzy gender as an attempt to fill out the space between "naïve essentialism and hyper-constructivism." Thus, it rejects simplistic understandings of gender without going as far as radical deconstructionism, which rejects all attempts to distinguish between male and female bod-

[6] In research on gender and corruption the argument that *not* engaging in corruption can also be very risky has, most convincingly, been suggested by Bjarnegård (2013, 2018) based on her in-depth study on Thailand.

ies. A core assumption in the fuzzy gender approach is that individuals have a repertoire of category memberships that vary in relative overall importance in the self-concept and that people can self-categorize (Hogg et al. 1995, 260) to be, for example, more or less feminine and masculine.

According to self-categorization theory, people cognitively represent social groups such as gender in prototypes. Hogg et al. (p. 261) point out that these prototypes are fuzzy sets that capture context-dependent features of group membership, often in the form of exemplary members, actual persons that typically represent the group, or in the form of ideal types that are more abstract representations. Thus, fuzzy gender is a concept related to socially constructed norms of femininity versus masculinity, norms that to a varying degree can be integrated into individuals' self-perceptions.

Empirical findings

In Sweden, rating scales capturing grades of self-perceived femininity and masculinity appeared in a large-scale social science survey for the first time in 2004. It was the Society Opinion Media (SOM) Institute at the University of Gothenburg that incorporated rating scales in a survey sent to a representative sample of residents in West Sweden. Early analyses of the data (Nilsson & Holmberg 2006)[7] focused mainly on the scales as dependent variables showing, for example, that only 14 percent of the population perceived themselves as having characteristics restricted to one gender only. Thus, 86 percent of the respondents perceived themselves as having a mix of female and male characteristics. In 2013 the rating scales were repeated in the SOM-surveys and the following results build on the 2013 study (see Wängnerud et al. 2018; Solevid et al. 2018; Markstedt et al. 2018).[8]

The survey question capturing fuzzy gender reads: *Sometimes, one talks about individuals having both female and male characteristics. To what extent would you say that you have female and male characteristics, respectively?* Following a fuzzy logic, answers were given on 11-point scales where 0 = "I have few such characteristics" and 10 = "I have many such characteristics." Note that respondents could choose

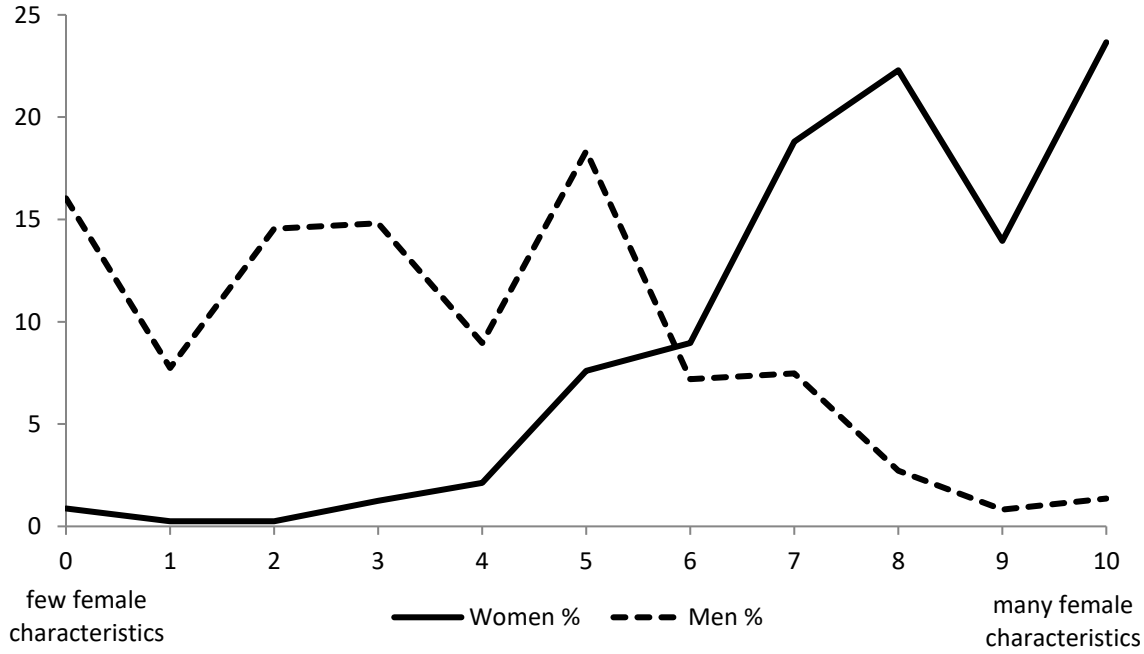
[7] Nilsson and Holmberg compared their approach to measurements that capture individuals' identification with class, religious groups or a political party.

[8] The survey was sent to a sample of 3400 respondents randomly selected from the census register. Both Swedish citizens and non-Swedish citizens living in Sweden are included in the sample (https://snd.gu.se/sv/catalogue/study/SND0972). The response rate was 52%, and the distribution of responses matches the proportion of the Swedish population with regard to gender, social class, and education, but there is an underrepresentation of younger people and respondents with an immigrant background (Vernersdotter 2014).

any combination of male and female characteristics, as male and female were *not* posed as opposite ends on a single scale, allowing for a mix of male and female characteristics (Magliozzi et al. 2016; Hogg et al. 1995; Huddy 2001).

Figure 1 shows self-placement by Swedish men and women on the femininity scale ranging from 0 (few female characteristics) to 10 (many female characteristics).

FIGURE 1, (SELF-PLACEMENT BY SWEDISH WOMEN AND MEN ON A FEMININITY SCALE RANGING FROM 0, "I HAVE FEW FEMALE CHARACTERISTICS," TO 10, "I HAVE MANY FEMALE CHARACTERISTICS" (%))



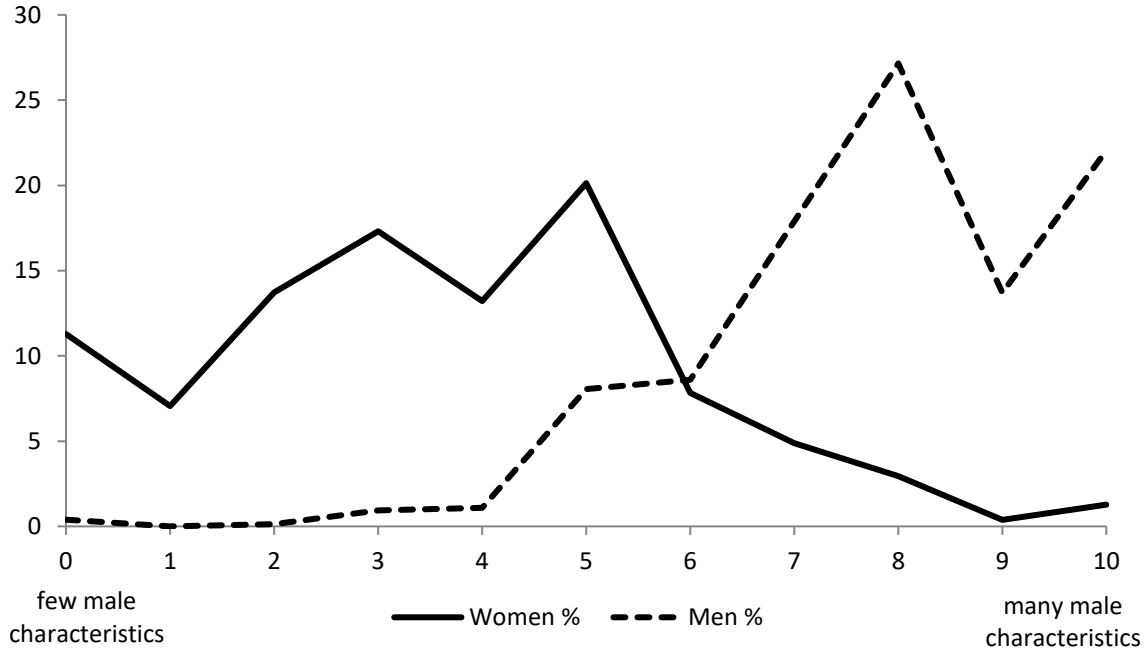
Source: The National SOM survey 2013, University of Gothenburg. Comment: See main text for question wording.

On the one hand, the results demonstrate that most women (solid line) tend to choose values on the upper part of the femininity scale, and most men (dashed line) tend to choose values on the lower part. The value of 5 is the most common value among men, whereas 8 and 10 are the most common values among women. The mean for women on the femininity scale is 7.77, and for men, 3.47. On the other hand, there are, as shown in Figure 1, substantial numbers that deviate from the more traditional and expected patterns: among women, 21 percent chose values between 0 and 6,

and among men, 20 percent chose values between 6 and 10. But the most extreme values (0–2 for women and 9–10 for men) were very seldom chosen.

Before commenting on the results further, we should look at Figure 2, which shows self-placement by Swedish women and men on the masculinity scale ranging from 0 (few male characteristics) to 10 (many male characteristics).

FIGURE 2, (SELF-PLACEMENT BY SWEDISH WOMEN AND MEN ON A MASCULINITY SCALE RANGING FROM 0, "I HAVE FEW MALE CHARACTERISTICS," TO 10, "I HAVE MANY MALE CHARACTERISTICS" (%))



Source: The National SOM survey 2013, University of Gothenburg. Comment: See main text for question wording.

It is interesting to note how Figure 1 and Figure 2 mirror each other; also in Figure 2 the results display rather expected patterns—most men (dashed line) tend to choose values on the upper part of the scale and most women (solid line) tend to choose values on the lower part. The value of 5 is the most common value among women, whereas 8 is the most common value among men. The mean value for men on the masculinity scale is 7.85 (which is a bit higher than for women on the femininity scale), and for women, 3.61 (which also is a bit higher than for men on the femininity scale). Figure 2 resembles Figure 1 also in the respect that the most extreme values (0–2 for men

and 9–10 for women) were very seldom chosen. What is not displayed in Figures 1 and 2 is the combination of the two scales. Cross-tabulations of answers show that 7 percent of the population have low scores on both scales (5 and under), which means that they reject both male and female characteristics, and 14 percent have high scores on both scales (6 and higher), which means that they perceive themselves to have both many female and many male characteristics.

Self-categorization and gendered norms

The questions used in the SOM-surveys included no definitions of male/female characteristics. In order to get some understanding of the content of "context-dependent features of group membership" in contemporary Sweden we (Wängnerud et al. 2018) have used data from a web panel run by Lore (http://www.lore.gu.se) at the University of Gothenburg.[9]

The web panel survey included rating scales identical to those in the SOM-surveys, but added an open-ended question where respondents were asked to write down what they view as male and female characteristics. This generated answers by 1528 respondents. Answers were coded by me using a bottom-up technique. Detailed codes have, for the purpose of this study, been merged into a number of over-arching themes.

Table 1 reports the respondent's perceptions of male and female characteristics. Since the web panel study was set up as an experiment we know (Markstedt et al. 2018) that answers are fairly stable across different designs of the survey (different ways of priming gender)[10] and also across different categories of respondents.

[9] The respondents in the web panel were mainly self-recruited, and there is an over-representation of men, respondents with higher education and high levels of political interest.

[10] Half the group first answered the open-ended question about female and male characteristics, followed by the rating scale question. The other half first answered the rating scale question followed by the open-ended questions. The way questions on attitudes towards various policy proposals were incorporated in the surveys also differed.

TABLE 1, (FEMALE AND MALE CHARACTERISTICS (%))

	Percent mentioning aspects as female characteristics	**Percent mentioning aspects as male characteristics**
Care (caring, family, relations, friends, social)	49	5
Empathy (empathy, emotions, worry, self-confidence, sensitive, humble)	35	1
Biological (I am man/woman, physical, appearance, biological differences)	12	9
Practical (practical knowledge, home, household, technical, work)	9	20
Strength (physical strength, tough, solid, rough)	1	17
Self-sufficiency (powerful, efficient, resolute, leadership, independent, rational, status, reliable)	8	46
Aggressive (aggressive, angry, macho, dominant)	0,1	9
Number of responses	1528	1528

Source: The Citizen Panel 7, LORE, University of Gothenburg. Field period: 2013-06-12-2013-07-08. Net participation rate (NPR): 69% (net subsample 2769 respondents)

The findings show that there is a substantial number of respondents, 12 percent and 9 percent respectively, who explicitly refer to biological differences between women and men or link their answers to statements such as "I'm a woman," "I'm a man," "my mother/father is." When coding the answers I noted huge variation in perceptions of male and female characteristics, but at the same time, answers, when grouped together, reflect rather stereotypical patterns where care (49%) and empathy (35%) are perceived as female characteristics and self-sufficiency (46%) is perceived as a male characteristic. Around one in ten (9%) mention aggressiveness as a male characteristic.

Hogg et al. (1995, p. 261) suggest that individuals, more or less consciously, compare themselves to exemplary members, actual persons that typically represent a specific group, or to ideal types that are more abstract representations of groups such as men and women. The results in Table 1 however indicate that what comes to mind are mostly certain traits that are seen as male versus female.

Concluding discussion

Personally, I'm not so interested in where these perceptions of male and female characteristics stem from. The sources may be experiences in the family, the class-room, the workplace, but also from images of men and women in ads, films, books, news-papers, etc. What interests me is whether these tools are capturing something that may add to our understanding of phenomenon such as the link between gender and corruption.

One important take away from the results in the previous section is that most men and women in Sweden perceive themselves as having a mix of male and female characteristics. Sweden is considered one of the most gender-equal countries in the world and is often found at the top of international rankings of gender equality.[11] Public policies encourage "fluid" gender roles through measures such as having non-transferable days in the parental-leave system, which encourages fathers to stay at home with small children. Mothers are encouraged to take active part in the labor market through policies such as separate income tax and low fees for public childcare. Rankings from various LGBTQ organizations also tend to single out Sweden as comparatively supportive of non-traditional values and lifestyles, for example, through same-sex marriage legislation that is equal to the legislation for marriages between women and men.[12] Against that background one can assume that similar rating scales would produce more "clean" patterns in other countries i.e. lower mean values for men on the femininity scale and lower mean values for women on the masculinity scale and, accordingly, higher values for men on the masculinity scale and higher values for women on the femininity scale.

The descriptions of male and female characteristic in Table 1 are to be seen as prototypes (Hogg et al. 1995). The interesting thing is that people seem to have distinct ideas of what male versus female characteristics are. Perhaps it is not too farfetched to make the assumption that men by the sheer fact that they are exposed to women in new ways, in arenas previously male-dominated, are influ-

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[11] See, for example, The Global Gender Gap Report 2016 from the World Economic Forum, where Sweden is ranked among the top four most gender-equal countries in the world http://www3.weforum.org/docs/GGGR16/WEF_Global_Gender_Gap_Report_2016.pdf. This same result is reported in the ranking from Social Watch http://www.socialwatch.org/node/14367.

[12] Statistics Sweden (SCB) regularly publishes data on gender equality in Sweden. See *Women and Men in Sweden. Facts and Figures 2014* for information in English http://www.scb.se/Statistik/_Publikationer/LE0201_2013B14_BR_X10BR1401ENG.pdf. Sweden introduced same-sex marriage in 2009. For rankings of countries regarding LGBTQ rights, see, for example, Rainbow Europe https://rainbow-europe.org/country-ranking or Equaldex http://www.equaldex.com/compare/sweden.

enced by the traits attached to femininity.[13] In this way may, according to exposure-based theories and social comparison theory, group norms change.

The open-ended question on male and female characteristics led to a particularly distinct pattern of female characteristics. Traits such as care (49%) and empathy (35%) are closely related to prosocial behavior. In social psychology, prosocial behavior used to capture whether bystanders interfere in situations concerning unknown others but recently the perspective has started to include a variety of behaviors to the benefit both of unknown others and collective groups such as organizations and even entire nations (Dovidio et al. 2006). Prosocial behavior is often comprehended as standing against self-interest mechanisms and favoring the provision of the public good (Ledyard, 1995). The mechanism behind indirect effects on corruption from the inclusion of women in political organizations may thus be about changed group norms that pave the ground for prosocial behavior and an increased focus on the public good.

A final theme to touch upon is that these findings may suggest that in settings with endemic corruption and strong norms of masculinity it may be particularly hard to change the "modus operandi" of politics and create a window of opportunity for additional change.

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[13] This process may take place regardless of whether the actual women entering the scene are "typical" feminine or not.

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