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The Fairer Sex? Understanding the Link between Gender and Corruption

Kayla Jackson

Introduction

In the social sciences, studies have revealed a significant correlation between female presence and the level of government corruption. Specifically, evidence reveals that an increase of female representatives in public office as well as an increase of women in the labor force significantly reduces government corruption (Swamy 2001; Hao, Change, and Sun 2018). On an individual level, experimental research has also discovered that women are less tolerant of corruption than men (Alatas 2007; Esaray and Chirillo 2013). Such findings have shifted the narrative in global development and governance as policies have arisen encouraging anti-corruption measures through the active recruitment of female leaders within the public realm.

While many studies have confirmed the relationship between women and reduced government corruption, it is unclear why gender representation has this effect. Studies finding that women are less likely to engage in corruption have largely based their arguments on personality traits and characteristics found more often in women, and such traits have often aligned with traditional gender stereotypes. First, an explanation of the relationship has assumed that women are more ethically minded and hold higher standards of honesty and morality. Placing women on a pedestal or deeming them as the “fairer sex” has long remained a tradition from long-held sexist thinking that women are inherently weaker. Second, when it comes to making decisions or engaging in calculated strategy, women are perceived to be more risk-averse than men (Barnes and Beaulieu 2017). Some claim this trait is an inherent feminine characteristic, while others hold that because of gender discrimination, harsher punishments for women translate into cautious behavior in the public sphere (Esarey and Chirillo 2013). Last, when making personal decisions, women are perceived to be more inclined to consider the

potential for improving the collective good. This ability to be more socially minded and less selfish is often categorized as a feminine attribute and trait, which translates into a public servant more concerned about achieving the collective good rather than engaging in corrupt practices that may advance them personally.

Alternatively, two studies conducted in African countries argue that the lower levels of corruption tolerance displayed in women have little to do with their exhibited personality traits and more to do with the opportunities to engage in corruption (Alhassan-Alolo 2017; Howson 2012). Less engagement among women can be better explained by women's exclusion and marginalization in public life. Such exclusion has resulted in barriers preventing women's access to the networks that engage in corruption.

While current literature highlights personality differences of gender as a means to explain findings on gender and corruption, little has been done to empirically test how much these personality traits actually mediate the relationship between gender and corruption. Although evidence has confirmed in Ghana and Senegal that opportunity plays a larger role in corruption tolerance levels than gendered characteristics, no research has looked beyond the continent of Africa to discover if such theories hold up all over the world. This paper seeks to determine if risk aversion and pro-social attitudes mediate the relationship between gender and reduced corruption and evaluates how corruption tolerance levels change among women depending on their opportunity to engage in corruption.

Upon completing a statistical analysis using survey data collected by the World Values Survey, I found that risk aversion and social mindedness mediate the relationship with gender corruption. While men exhibit slightly higher rates of tolerating corruption, upon interacting risk aversion and social mindedness with gender, I found the effect of gender alone disappears, and no difference in the risk aversion and pro-social attitudes on acceptance of corruption is found between men and women. I also found that opportunity influences corruption tolerance levels among women, as women employed within the government are more tolerant of corruption than women in the private sector. Both findings indicate that while relationships may exist between women and reduced government corruption, it may be inaccurate to claim that such a relationship exists because women hold certain traits that are inherent to their womanhood.

Literature Review

Studies show that while the overall female ratio of the population produces negligible results in reducing corruption, corruption is less severe when a larger percentage of parliamentary or legislative seats and senior positions in government bureaucracy are occupied by women (Swamy 2001; Hao, Change, and Sun 2018). More broadly, higher female ratios within the labor force are also significantly associated with a lower level of societal corruption (Hao, Change, and Sun 2018; Dollar, Fisman, and Gatti 2001).

On the individual level, studies confirm that women are less likely than men to condone and actively engage in corrupt practices. Several studies indicate that women are less likely to accept a bribe (Ionescu 2018; Torgler and Valev 2010; Esaray

and Chirillo 2013), men are more likely to extend and accept bribes, and one study indicates that men are more likely to extend a bribe to a woman over a man although the expectation of acceptance is low (Rivas 2013).

While research in corruption has come to accept the relationship between the two variables, many analyses have sought to understand the causality by examining previously omitted variables. Some argue that gender plays a secondary role to government structure. Specifically, empirical evidence indicates that women are less prone to corruption in democratic institutions but more prone within autocratic societies (Esaray and Chirillo 2013). One study argues that liberal democracy takes precedence over gender in determining corruption levels, as the liberal democratic environment encourages a level of transparency that prioritizes better governance and gender equality (Sun 2003). In countries where social institutions deprive women of their freedom to participate in social life, corruption is higher (Ziegler 2011; Caballero 2012). These findings imply that highlighting different traits displayed in women that are not displayed in men may not sufficiently explain the relationship between gender and corruption. Gender alone may not be sufficient enough to explain reduced government corruption.

In determining theories to explain the phenomena between gender and corruption, many studies have relied upon colloquial stereotypes directed toward women. Three themes within conventional wisdom have emerged in the current literature surrounding gender and corruption: ethical standards and morality, risk aversion, and an inclination toward socially minded actions.

Ethical Standards and Morality

Many studies in current literature rely upon the assumption that women maintain a higher set of morals and values than do men. There is a sense of expectation that when integrated into public life, women will be "more likely to behave with integrity . . . which will ultimately carry an efficient pay off of reducing public sector corruption" (Goetz 2017, 88). The development of higher morals has either been attributed as "inherent in their femininity" (Alhassan-Alolo, 228) or shaped by the socialization of certain cultural expectations and norms. These expectations have influenced the rise of certain policies across the world. For example, "on the basis of women's presumed higher ethical standards, most African governments are currently being encouraged, by their development partners, to integrate women into the public sector as a potential anti-corruption remedy" (Alhassan-Alolo 2017, 228). Regardless of whether men and women are equally likely to engage in corruption or not, the perception that women are more ethical and less prone to engage in corrupt practices permeates society (Barnes and Beaulieu 2017).

Risk Aversion

Another explanation given to understand the relationship between gender and corruption falls upon the presumption that women are more cautious in their public dealings. Conventional wisdom claims that when men and women are faced with identical risky situations, women will be less likely to choose the risky behavior than men. Women are also perceived to be more risk averse, which has led people to believe

that women are best equipped to combat corruption (Barnes and Beaulieu 2019). Because of these findings, it has been advised that “women politicians may be well-served by emphasizing the priority they place on careful, calculated, and cautious decisions” (Barnes and Beaulieu 2019, 159).

In contrast to the arguments claiming a genetic predisposition, some argue that women are prone to risk aversion because they are marginalized and deemed outsiders in the public arena. For women, “it is riskier for them to flout formal or informal rules of political culture because transgressions are more likely to invite retaliation. Thus, if a political culture discourages corruption, then women will avoid corrupt activities more and profess greater aversion to it (compared to men) because they anticipate suffering more severe consequences than their male counterparts” (Esaray and Chirillo 2013, 365). Research indicates that regardless of the risk-aversion levels found in men and women, women will rationally choose to engage in corruption less frequently, because the cost of getting caught is higher among women than among men (Zemoitel-Piotrowska, Marganski, and Piotrowski 2017).

Socially Minded

Similar to the expectation of higher moral standards, women are expected to consider the collective good in decision-making and remain socially minded at a higher degree than men are. In an attempt to explain the relationship between descriptive representation and lower ratios of corruption, one study claimed that “women will be less likely to sacrifice the common good for personal (material) gain” (Dollar, Fisman, and Gatti 2001, 424). One study nicely summarized the attempts of government policies campaigning for increased female representation as “integrity experiments call[ing] upon women to use their gender as the intrinsic regulator of probity in public action” (Goetz 2011, 89). The pressure to elevate collective consciousness and produce higher quality governance is placed on women.

Alternative Causal Explanations of Gender and Corruption

Beyond the influence of formal institutions and dependence on widely accepted gender norms, several studies indicate that cultural context and political opportunity affects gendered responses of corruption. In survey data collected in Ghana, women failed to exhibit higher ethical standards than men when presented with hypothetical scenarios where engaging in corrupt practices provided opportunities to access certain advantageous networks (Alhassan-Alolo 2007). Similar results were found in a case study evaluating border activity in Senegal, only this time women manipulated feminine roles and stereotypes in successful attempts to illegally smuggle goods across country borders. These actions were women’s desperate attempts to secure needed resources in providing for family members (Howson 2012). In these instances, decisions based in pragmatism and the necessity of survival were prioritized over ethical ones. The implications of these studies suggest that opportunity, rather than gender, is the stronger determinant in tolerating corruption.

Theory and Hypothesis

While the current literature relies upon conventional gendered assumptions, no additional research has been performed to empirically confirm that such presumptions are correct. In my research, I will attempt to provide an analysis that determines whether there are additional variables that moderate and, in turn, better explain the negative relationship between gender and corruption. Specifically, using the claims of previous literature, I will evaluate whether risk aversion and social mindedness mediate the relationship between gender and corruption.

Contrary to what has previously been accepted, I believe there is significant variation in personality traits and characteristics among gender. To say that all women are more ethically inclined or that all have similar levels of risk aversion seems overreaching. In fact, previous research indicated that while women in Australia were less tolerant of corruption, there were no gender differences with corruption found in India, Indonesia, and Singapore (Alatas 2009). Such results open the doors for greater consideration that levels of risk aversion and social mindedness found in women are not universal.

Second, I believe that when explicitly controlling for the level of risk aversion and social mindedness, gender will lose its significance in predicting corruption. The characteristics held by an individual, rather than one’s gender, will have a stronger relationship with corruption tolerance.

Last, upon reviewing the alternative causal explanations between gender and corruption, I expect to find confirmation with the notion that men and women are just as likely to engage in and accept corruption when they have an equal opportunity to (Alhassan-Alolo 2007; Howson 2012). While previous research has found evidence in favor of the previous statements, only specific case studies completed in two countries have been utilized to confirm such claims. I seek to confirm these theories by using survey data of nationally representative samples collected across sixty countries.

In seeking to measure opportunity, I have decided to evaluate levels of corruption tolerance according to one’s employment. Three types of industry will be examined: government and public institution, private sector, and private nonprofit organization. Consistent with the findings of previous research (Alhassan-Alolo 2017; Howson 2012), I theorize that government employees who are women will have higher levels of corruption tolerance than women in the private sector, since their access to engage in corruption will be greater. Because of greater access, I hypothesize that the gender gap will close for employees found in government employment, because the opportunity to engage in corruption will be great. The gender gap between men and women will remain in the private sector, because access to corrupt opportunities within the private sector is often limited to higher executives, positions that are held more often by men.

Research Design

In order to determine the underlying variables that mediate the relationship between gender and corruption, I analyzed survey data from the World Values Survey sample (Wave 6), containing cross-sectional data from 2010 to 2014. This dataset pro-

vided a nationally represented sample across sixty countries, dedicated to capturing a wide range of attitudes, values, and basic demographic information of more than 85,000 respondents. Survey questions with topics ranging from economic, political, and social values to basic information pertaining to education, employment, and skill level were encompassed within the data. I chose this dataset, because the survey best captured the attitudes of social mindedness, risk aversion, and corruption tolerance. Based on my limited resources, this was my best option. In the future, additional surveys may be created and distributed to more accurately capture these attitudes to my liking.

In determining the outcome in corruption levels, my research drew upon the survey question that asks an individual to assess how often it is acceptable to accept a bribe in the course of their duties on a scale of 1 (never justifiable) to 10 (always justifiable). The data collected from this question acted as my dependent variable.

The independent variables included gender and attitudinal measures for risk aversion, social mindedness, and opportunity to engage in corruption according to one's employment. For risk aversion, two survey questions were utilized. It was my hope that using data from two survey questions would fully capture an individual's tendency toward (or against) risk aversion. The first question asked the individual to evaluate whether living in secure surroundings is important to this person (scale of 1–5, 1 meaning very much like me, 5 meaning not at all like me). The second question dedicated to risk aversion asked the person to consider whether it is important to always behave properly and to avoid doing anything people would say is wrong (scale of 1–5, 1 meaning very much like me, 5 meaning not at all like me).

Individuals were also asked how important it is for this person to do something for the good of society (scale of 1–5, 1 meaning very much like me, 5 meaning not at all like me) and whether it is important to help people nearby and care for their well-being (scale of 1–5, 1 meaning very much like me, 5 meaning not at all like me). Again, two questions were used to ensure that the characteristic of social mindedness was accurately captured.

Third, I evaluated whether the opportunity to engage in corruption influences corruption tolerance by analyzing responses of the dependent variable by employment classification. Three categories of employment were included in the World Values Survey and were evaluated: government or public institution, private business or industry, and private nonprofit organizations.

In each data analysis, control variables were included to reduce omitted variable bias and the appearance of spurious relationships. These variables include age, employment, religiosity, country fixed effects, and skill level.

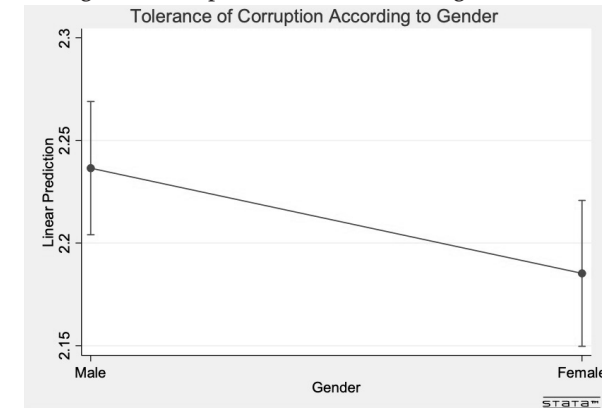
Results and Discussion

Relationship between Gender and Corruption Tolerance

Before engaging in my research design, I chose to examine my data and evaluate whether it aligned with previous findings of gender and corruption. My first regression analysis focused on confirming previous research, which found a significant link between gender and reduced government corruption. Previous studies illustrated that

women are less likely to tolerate corruption than men (Alatas et al. 2009; Torgler 2010; Rivas 2013; Ionescu 2018). This claim matched the evidence found within my own initial data analysis. From a sample size of 24,470 survey respondents, women were 0.051 points (on a ten-point scale) less likely to justify an individual's acceptance of bribes in the course of their duties (see figure 1). This difference is significant at the 95-percent level.

Figure 1. Corruption Tolerance According to Gender



First Measure of Risk Aversion

Next, I analyzed the link between risk aversion, gender, and corruption tolerance. The first survey question used to evaluate risk aversion asked survey participants whether it is important to the individual to avoid danger and live in secure surroundings. This was measured on a six-point scale; thus, higher values of this variable indicate that a person is more risk acceptant.

When evaluated individually, both men and women exhibited similar effects of risk aversion on their acceptance of corruption. Women and men who were more risk acceptant were more likely to accept corruption. Each one-point increase in risk acceptance among women resulted in a 0.111-point increase in finding bribes justifiable; among men, a one-point increase in risk acceptance resulted in a 0.130-point increase in finding bribes justifiable. Both measurements were significant at the 99-percent level. With each one-point increase toward risk acceptance, men displayed higher rates of accepting corruption (see table 1).

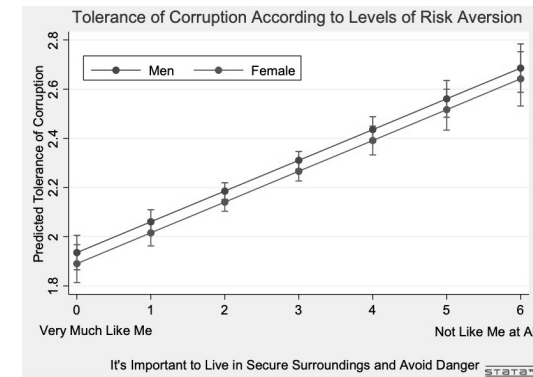
In order to determine the strength of gender and risk aversion on corruption, I then interacted the two variables in my following regression. This time, gender was not rendered as significant in the regression, along with the interaction of gender and risk aversion. Risk aversion did display significance (p -value < .001) with a one-point increase toward risk acceptance resulting in a 0.125 increase in corruption acceptance, an indication that risk aversion placed a stronger hold in determining an individual's propensity for or against corruption than gender by itself. The interaction terms were

insignificant, indicating that men and women have statistically indistinguishable acceptance of corruption when they have the same levels of risk aversion.

Table 1. The Effect of Risk Aversion on Corruption Tolerance			
Dependent Variable: Is it justifiable to accept bribes during the course of one's duties?			
Variables	(1) Corruption Tolerance Among Men	(2) Corruption Tolerance Among Women	(3) Corruption Tolerance
Female			-0.0200 (0.0521)
Risk Aversion #1	0.130** (0.0153)	0.111** (0.0138)	0.125** (0.0132)
Interaction between Gender and Risk Aversion #1			-0.0117 (0.0190)
Log of Age	-0.176** (0.047)	-0.342** (.054)	-0.231** (0.035)
Education	-0.003 (0.008)	-0.052** (0.009)	-0.023** (0.006)
Religiosity	0.042** (0.008)	0.063** (0.009)	0.053** (0.006)
Employment: Gov't or Public Institution	0.049 (0.042)	0.205** (0.049)	0.111** (0.032)
Employment: Private Nonprofit	-0.064 (0.065)	0.109 (0.067)	0.043 (0.046)
Democracy	0.203** (0.048)	-0.357** (0.519)	-0.270** (0.035)
Constant	3.472** (0.277)	2.736** (0.216)	2.983** (0.169)
Observations	11,029	13,158	24,187
R-squared	0.243	0.225	0.231

Notes: Dependent Variable is survey responses on the justifiability of accepting a bribe on a 10-point scale (1=Never, 10=Always). The independent variable risk aversion #1 measures survey responses to whether it is important to live in secure surroundings and avoid danger on a 6-point scale (1=Very Much like Me, 6= Not at All Like Me). Control variables also included in each regression: log of age, education, religiosity, country, employment classification, and democracy. Coefficients are significant at the *5%, **1% significance level. Standard errors in parentheses.

Figure 2. Tolerance of Corruption according to Levels of Risk Aversion (Measurement #1)



Second Measurement of Risk Aversion

The second survey question used to evaluate risk aversion focused on the behavior and actions of an individual. Once again, survey participants were asked to evaluate on a six-point scale how important it was to behave properly and avoid doing anything that people would perceive as wrong. The higher one's score on the six-point scale, the more risk acceptant that individual was. Again, both men and women exhibited that in this measurement of risk aversion, increased risk acceptance resulted in acceptance of bribery. Men displayed a 0.071-point increase in bribery acceptance for every point increase towards risk acceptance, whereas women displayed a 0.068-point increase (see table 2). Both were significant at the 99-percent level.

When linking this risk aversion measurement with gender, the interaction and gender itself resulted in insignificant results while risk aversion produced significance (p -value < .001) with a one-point increase toward risk acceptance, resulting in a 0.084-point increase in tolerating corruption. Adding risk aversion into the regression closed the gender gap between men and women in their levels of corruption tolerance.

Figure 3. Tolerance of Corruption According to the Levels of Risk Aversion (Measurement #2)

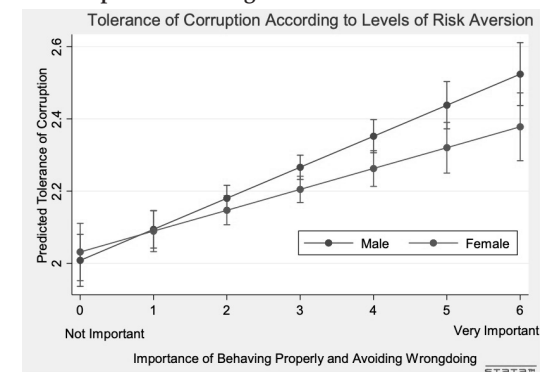


Table 2. The Effect of Risk Aversion on Tolerance of Corruption

Dependent Variable: Is it justifiable to accept bribes during the course of one's duties?

Variables	(1) Corruption Tolerance Among Men	(2) Corruption Tolerance Among Women	(3) Corruption Tolerance
Female			0.0248 (0.0539)
Risk Aversion #2	0.0682** (0.0139)	0.0710** (0.0129)	0.0842** (0.0124)
Interaction between Gender and Risk Aversion #2			-0.0300 (0.0177)
Log of Age	-0.349** (0.054)	-0.183** (0.042)	-0.229** (0.035)
Education	-0.054** (0.009)	-0.003 (0.008)	-0.021** (0.006)
Religiosity	0.063** (0.009)	0.042** (0.008)	0.049** (0.006)
Employment: Gov't or Public Institution	0.199** (0.050)	0.052 (0.042)	0.129** (0.032)
Employment: Private Nonprofit	0.103 (0.067)	-0.069 (0.065)	0.041 (0.046)
Democracy	-0.367** (0.052)	-0.215** (0.048)	-0.271** (0.035)
Constant	3.561** (0.279)	2.792** (0.217)	3.035** (0.169)
Observations	11,029	13,158	24,187
R-squared	0.240	0.223	0.229

Notes: Dependent Variable is survey responses on the justifiability of accepting a bribe on a 10-point scale (1=Never, 10=Always). The independent variable risk aversion #2 measures survey responses to whether it is important to avoid doing what people deem as wrong on a 6-point scale (1=Very Much like Me, 6=Not at All Like Me). Control variables also included in each regression: log of age, education, religiosity, country, employment classification, education levels, and democracy. Coefficients are significant at the *5%, **1% significance level. Standard errors in parentheses.

First Measure of Social Mindedness

The first measurement of social mindedness used a survey question asking respondents to evaluate their individual preferences on whether it is important for a person to do something for the good of society. Respondents ranked themselves according to a six-point scale (1 meaning very much like me, 6 meaning not at all like me).

Individually, men and women responded similarly along the six-point scale. For every 1-point increase on the scale, men's tolerance for corruption increased by 0.170 points and women's tolerance for corruption increased by 0.125 points. For both men and women, the less socially minded, the more likely to tolerate the use of bribes in the course of one's duties. Both measurements were significant with a p-value less than .001 (see table 3).

Table 3. The Effect of Social Mindedness on Corruption Tolerance

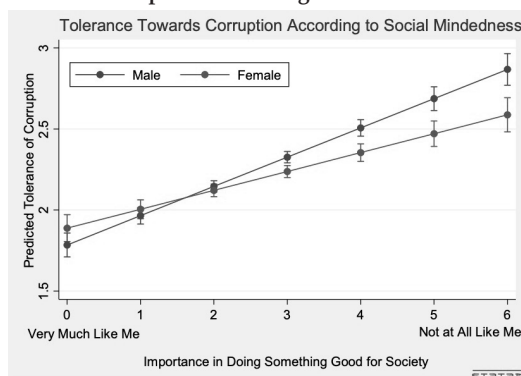
Dependent Variable: Is it justifiable to accept bribes during the course of one's duties?

Variables	(1) Corruption Tolerance Among Men	(2) Corruption Tolerance Among Women	(3) Corruption Tolerance
Female			0.110* (0.0550)
Social Mindedness #1	0.121** (0.0155)	0.170** (0.0141)	0.180** (0.0135)
Interaction of Female and Social Mindedness #1			-0.0675** (0.0191)
Log of Age	-0.345** (0.054)	-0.169** (0.047)	-0.229** (0.035)
Education	-0.052** (0.009)	-0.001 (0.008)	-0.021** (0.006)
Religiosity	0.060** (0.009)	0.038** (0.008)	0.049** (0.006)
Employment: Gov't or Public Institution	0.216** (0.049)	0.071 (0.042)	0.129** (0.032)
Employment: Private Nonprofit	0.123 (0.067)	-0.027 (0.065)	0.041 (0.046)
Democracy	-0.350** (0.052)	-0.208** (0.048)	-0.271** (0.035)
Constant	3.394** (0.279)	2.522** (0.217)	2.782** (0.169)
Observations	11,029	13,158	24,187
R-squared	0.243	0.230	0.234

Notes: Dependent Variable is survey responses on the justifiability of accepting a bribe on a 10-point scale (1=Never, 10=Always). The independent variable social mindedness #1 measures survey responses to whether an individual does something for the good of society as wrong on a 6-point scale (1=Very Much like Me, 6= Not at All Like Me). Control variables also included in each regression: log of age, education, religiosity, country, employment classification, education levels, and democracy. Coefficients are significant at the *5%, **1% significance level. Standard errors in parentheses.

Upon linking gender with my first measure of social mindedness, I found that social mindedness and the interaction between gender and social mindedness were significant, while gender displayed a weak significance (p-value = .058; see figure 4). Initially, women displayed a higher tolerance of corruption than men; however, with each 1-point shift away from being socially minded, women displayed lower levels of tolerance than men. Even including this measurement of social mindedness, women were 0.0675 points less likely to tolerate corruption than men.

Figure 4. Tolerance of Corruption According to Social Mindedness (Measure #1)



The second measurement of social mindedness evaluated survey responses regarding the following statement: “It is important to this person to help people nearby and to care for their well-being.” Survey participants were required to rank themselves on a six-point scale (1 meaning very much like me, and 6 meaning not at all like me).

Men and women responded almost identically to this survey question. A one-point move away from social-mindedness resulted in a 0.111-point increase among men for corruption tolerance and a 0.102-point increase among women (see table 4). In interacting the two variables no significance was produced through the interaction or among gender separately, but there was significance with one’s level of social mindedness (see figure 6). A 1-point increase away from being socially minded resulted in a 0.120-point increase in accepting corruption, significant at the 99-percent level, confirming again that perceptions of corruption are the consequence of one’s characteristics and not one’s gender.

Corruption Tolerance According to Opportunity

Next, I evaluated the relationship between employment, gender, and corruption tolerance (see table 3 and figure 7). Three categories of employment were analyzed: government or public institution, private business or industry, and private nonprofit organization. The private business or industry (private sector) served as my baseline category. Within the private sector, women were 0.147 points less likely than men to tolerate corruption. This was significant at the 99-percent level. Women in government employment were 0.035 points more tolerant of corruption than men. Though a very slight difference, it was significant at the 95-percent level. There was no difference between men and women within nonprofit organizations.

In comparing varying levels of corruption tolerance among women, women employed by government or public institutions were 0.164 points more tolerant of corruption than women in the private sector, significant at the 99-percent level. Women employed by private nonprofit organizations also displayed even higher levels of tolerance than women in the private sector, as they were 0.212 points more likely to tolerate corruption, significant at the 95-percent level.

Table 4. The Effect of Social Mindedness on Corruption Tolerance
Dependent Variable: Is it justifiable to accept bribes during the course of one’s duties?

Variables	(1) Corruption Tolerance Among Men	(2) Corruption Tolerance Among Women	(3) Corruption Tolerance
Female			0.0136 (0.0549)
Social Mindedness #2	0.102** (0.0157)	0.111** (0.0144)	0.121** (0.0138)
Interaction of Female and Social Mindedness #2			-0.0675** (0.0191)
Log of Age	-0.345** (0.054)	-0.169** (0.047)	-0.229** (0.035)
Education	-0.052** (0.009)	-0.001 (0.008)	-0.021** (0.006)
Religiosity	0.060** (0.009)	0.038** (0.008)	0.049** (0.006)
Employment: Gov’t or Public Institution	0.216** (0.049)	0.071 (0.042)	0.129** (0.032)
Employment: Private Nonprofit	0.123 (0.067)	-0.027 (0.065)	0.041 (0.046)
Democracy	-0.350** (0.052)	-0.208** (0.048)	-0.271** (0.035)
Constant	3.394** (0.279)	2.522** (0.217)	2.782** (0.169)
Observations	11,029	13,158	24,187
R-squared	0.243	0.230	0.234

Notes: Dependent Variable is survey responses on the justifiability of accepting a bribe on a 10-point scale (1=Never, 10=Always). The independent variable social mindedness #1 measures survey responses to whether an individual thinks it’s important to help people nearby and care for their well-being on a 6-point scale (1=Very Much like Me, 6=Not at All Like Me). Control variables also included in each regression: log of age, education, religiosity, country, employment classification, education levels, and democracy. Coefficients are significant at the *5%, **1% significance level. Standard errors in parentheses.

Figure 5. Tolerance of Corruption According to Social Mindedness (Measure #2)

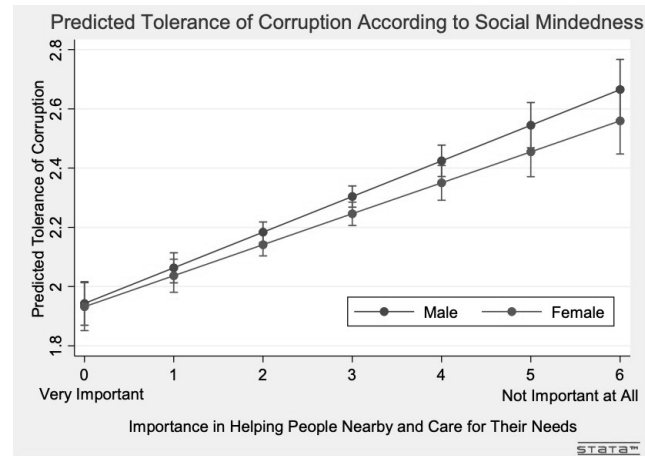
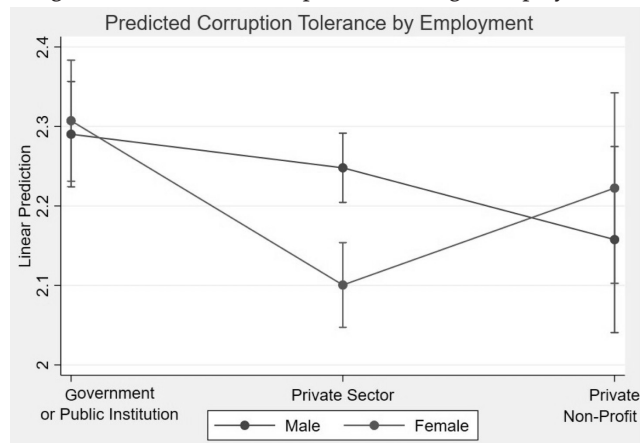


Figure 6. Tolerance of Corruption According to Employment

Table 3. The Effect of Employment on Tolerance of Corruption
Dependent Variable: Is it justifiable to accept bribes during the course of one's duties?

Variables	Corruption Tolerance
Female	-0.147** (0.0344)
Government/Public Institution	0.0422 (0.0404)
Nonprofit Organization	-0.0903 (0.0638)
Interaction of Female and Government/ Public Institution	0.164** (0.0598)
Interaction of Female and Private Nonprofit	0.212* (0.0909)
Log of Age	-0.245** (0.035)
Education	-0.024** (0.006)
Religiosity	0.056** (0.006)
Democracy	-0.286** (0.035)
Constant	3.364** (0.166)
Observations	24,603
R-squared	0.229

Notes: Dependent Variable is survey responses on the justifiability of accepting a bribe on a 10-point scale (1=Never, 10=Always). Control variables also included in each regression: log of age, education, religiosity, country fixed effects, employment classification, education levels, and democracy. Coefficients are significant at the *5%, **1% significance level. Standard errors in parentheses. Baseline category is male in the private sector.

Conclusion

Out of the four measurements used to evaluate levels of risk aversion and social mindedness, three closed the gender gap of corruption tolerance levels among men and women. Each of these three measurements followed the same pattern. First, when separated out individually, risk aversion and social mindedness held a statistically significant relationship in determining corruption tolerance levels among men and women, with men holding a higher tolerance than women. However, when gender interacted with the three measurements (two of risk aversion and one of social mindedness), neither gender individually nor the interaction terms was significant. It was the two individual measurements of risk aversion and the second measure of social mindedness that remained significant, indicating that characteristics are a more accurate measurement to

determine corruption tolerance than gender alone. If women are displaying lower levels of corruption tolerance, it is because more women exhibit higher levels of risk aversion or social mindedness than men. When men and women display similar levels of risk aversion and social mindedness, the difference in corruption tolerance levels disappear. While these characteristics may have closed the corruption tolerance gender gap in this study, further analysis that determines the strength of such characteristics on tolerance levels relative to each other may add to our understanding.

As for the first measurement of social mindedness, the weak significance of gender and the stronger significance of the interaction between the two variables suggests that something more is creating a gap in tolerance levels among men or women. Women who are not concerned with doing something good for society still display lower levels of corruption tolerance than men, significant at the 99-percent level. It may be that while these women do not feel inclined to do good in public life, they still feel a duty to do good in other spheres such as private or domestic life. That feeling of responsibility may be felt more deeply within women over men as more women still maintain the traditional roles of full-time mother and primary caretaker of children. The remaining gap in this measurement may be due to the fact that the survey questions used in this study fail to properly measure these motivations. Further research should be conducted to better understand such gap.

Regarding opportunity, employment matters in uncovering the variation of corruption tolerance levels of women. Women employed by the government are more tolerant of corruption than women in the private sector. While my theory relies upon the previous research regarding opportunity, other factors may influence these levels. Women in government may be exposed to corruption more frequently than in the private sector, causing them to feel desensitized toward corruption. The culture within the government may breed an environment that causes individuals to turn a blind eye to unlawful behavior. Regardless, all possible explanations eventually lead to an environment where access to corrupt practices may be more prevalent in public institutions than in private ones. Further research on the nature of government employment and its effect on women and corruption may also prove to be useful.

Overall, the findings of this study result in a rejection of the ideology that certain characteristics are inherent according to one's gender. While gender essentialism fails to explain the variance between men and women, an acknowledgement of each individual's values, morals, and general traits more accurately captures such variance.

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