Gendered Perceptions: Corruption and Women's Political Participation

Marchenko, Oleksandra

Gendered Perceptions:

Corruption and Women's Political Participation

by Oleksandra Marchenko

2773139

Bachelor Thesis

Faculty of Social and Behavioral Sciences

Institute of Political Science

International Relations and Organizations (Political Science)

BAP 106: The Politics of Mobilization and Repression

Supervisor: Dr. B. Rezaeedaryakenari

Second Reader: Dr. J. Masullo

Word count: 7170

Date of submission: 24th May, 2024

Abstract

Corruption remains a global issue with pervasive effects on society and development. Beyond the negative effects of corruption on women being significantly more pronounced, a critical gap exists regarding the impact of corruption perception on women's political participation, specifically in contentious politics. This study aims to investigate how corruption perceptions affect women's civil political engagement, taking into consideration the conditional effect of political opportunity structure. This study employs large-N quantitative analysis using data from the World Values Survey-7. Logistic regression analyses are conducted to examine the relationship between gender, perception of corruption, and participation in boycotts, peaceful demonstrations, and strikes, accounting for the conditional effect of political opportunity. Higher levels of corruption perception are associated with increased likelihood of civic political participation. This effect varies by gender, with women perceiving higher corruption levels generally being less likely to participate compared to men when accounting for individual and country-level factors. Additionally, political opportunity structure is not identified to be a factor influencing political participation of women in the environments with widespread corruption. The findings underscore the importance of addressing the detrimental effects of corruption on women's political participation. Further research into the mechanisms underlying the relationship between corruption perception and gendered political engagement is needed to inform policy strategies and foster more accessible political systems.

Table of Contents

List of Tables and Figures

Gendered Perceptions: Corruption and Women's Political Participation

In Nigeria, the #EndSARS movement has illustrated the powerful role women play in political mobilization, as seen in the mass protests against police corruption led by the Feminist Coalition. This movement, which has gained global attention, underscores the significant yet often overlooked political agency of African women (Nwankwor & Nkereuwem, 2020). Globally, corruption remains a pervasive issue, exerting multifaceted detrimental effects on society, governance, and development. Beyond its economic impacts, corruption perpetuates social inequality and impedes sustainable development efforts (Transparency International, 2020).

Despite extensive research on the consequences of corruption, a critical gap exists regarding the differentiation of its gendered implications. Beyond the negative effects of corruption on women being significantly more pronounced across divergent contexts, its association with women's political participation, specifically participation in contentious politics, is underrepresented in research.

While studies have predominantly focused on electoral participation and its negative correlation with corruption (Stockemer et al., 2012; Carreras & Vera, 2018), limited attention has been paid to non-electoral political participation, such as public demonstrations and activism. Furthermore, few studies explore how corruption uniquely mobilizes or demobilizes women compared to men. This research aims to bridge this gap by investigating the effect of perceptions of corruption on women's participation in contentious politics. Therefore, this research centers around the question: What is the effect of perception of corruption on women’s civil political participation?

In the framework of relative deprivation theory, the study posits that women's higher susceptibility to corruption-related grievances results in greater political mobilization when corruption is perceived to be high. Additionally, this paper incorporates political opportunity theory, arguing that political openness conditions the effect of corruption perception on women's political engagement. The central hypotheses suggest that higher perceived

corruption increases women's civil political participation, and that political opportunity positively conditions this relationship.

Understanding the links between corruption, gender, and political participation holds both scientific and practical significance. From a research perspective, this study can contribute to theoretical frameworks by addressing the complexities of corruption's impact on women's mobilization, filling a notable gap in the literature. Moreover, it can identify and elucidate the factors, such as the structure of political opportunity, that influence this association and the mechanisms behind such influences.

Practically, insights gained from this study can inform policy interventions aimed at fostering inclusive and transparent governance practices. By elucidating how corruption perceptions shape women's engagement in contentious politics, policymakers can design targeted strategies to empower women as agents of change and strengthen anti-corruption initiatives. For instance, understanding the differential impact of corruption on women's political participation may lead to the development of gender-sensitive anti-corruption measures, tailored to address the unique vulnerabilities and challenges faced by women in corrupt environments.

This research posits that perceptions of corruption have a distinct and significant effect on women's participation in contentious politics, differing markedly from the effects on men, and this relationship is influenced by various sociopolitical factors, along with political opportunity. The findings indicate that higher perception of corruption has a detrimental effect on the political participation of women: when accounting for individual and country-level factors, women are found to be significantly less likely to participate in boycotts, peaceful demonstrations, and strikes compared to men in the environments where they perceive corruption to be pervasive. Moreover, the obtained results show no evidence for the influence of political opportunity structure on this association.

The paper will be structured as follows: the introduction will provide background, significance, and research aims; the literature review will offer a detailed review of existing studies on corruption, gender, and political participation; the methodology will explain the

research design, data collection, and analysis methods; the findings will present and analyze the research results; the discussion will interpret these results in the context of existing literature; and the conclusion will summarize the findings, implications, and recommendations for future research and policy.

Literature review

Corruption is broadly defined as "the abuse of public power for private gain" (Transparency International, 2020). The main repercussions of corruption include erosion of institutional trust, impediment of economic development, perpetuation of social inequality, poverty, and the environmental crisis. In general, women are more likely than men to be targeted by corrupt officials, potentially due to higher susceptibility to coercion, violence, or threats (UNDP, 2008). Moreover, corruption has a disproportional effect on women due to their higher dependency on healthcare and education related public services, which tend to deteriorate due to corruption (Hossain et al., 2010).

Corruption and Political Participation

Numerous studies have examined the effect of corruption on political participation focusing on electoral participation as the target outcome (Stockemer et al., 2012; Carreras & Vera, 2018). The findings of these studies overwhelmingly implicate corruption to be a factor contributing to lower voter turnout. However, there is less research on the topic of non-electoral political participation. Školník (2020) finds that higher levels of perceived corruption lead to larger societal approval of public demonstrations. The study conducted by Lewis (2021) that relies on a survey experiment across 5 Nigerian states and a statistical analysis of data gathered in Africa obtains results that indicate that higher levels of perception of elite corruption correlate significantly with general and anti-governmental protest occurrences, while police corruption levels do not. Bazurli and Portos (2021) find that perception of widespread corruption is associated with higher likelihood of engagement in non-electoral political behavior, such as participation in demonstrations or boycotts, signing petitions, and donating money to a political cause. Contrary to hypotheses initially suggested by the authors, the results show that more politically sophisticated citizens are less likely to mobilize

as a reaction to high perceptions of corruption. Moreover, similar effect was observed for the level of education, as non-electoral political activity tended to decrease as the participants level of education increased (Bazurli & Portos, 2021). In the research by Alvarez et al. (2017) the results obtained in the framework of political participation in Argentina indicate that people that question the transparency and honesty of the government (i.e. perceive a higher level a corruption among public officials), are more likely to participate in peaceful demonstrations, strikes, boycotts or protests rather than conventional political activities.

Conflicting findings are presented in the research by Peiffer and Alvarez (2016): in non-OECD member countries, higher levels of perception of corruption can cause so-called "corruption fatigue", which leads people to be less likely to participate in activism against corruption. In addition, the authors find that willingness to engage in activism increases depending on perceived government effectiveness and worsening perception of spreading corruption (Peiffer & Alvarez, 2016). However, Bonifácio and Paulino (2015) find that tolerance for bribes and experiencing corruption increase the likelihood of participating in activism. The somewhat contradictory nature of these findings leaves theoretical gaps in the nature of the influence of corruption on contention and vice versa.

Political Participation of Women

Turning specifically to women's participation in contentious politics, several studies emphasize the conditions fostering increased female political participation. The study by Murdie and Peksen (2015) finds that women engage in non-violent protest activity when their political and economic rights are disrespected, for example as a result of gendered economic and political discrimination. Moreover, a higher number of women's groups increases the likelihood of women protesting by providing access to resources (such as financial and organizational support) that accommodate mobilization through lowering the cost of collective action (Murdie & Peksen, 2015). In an analogous way, Murdie and Peksen, (2015) find that women's non-violent protest is more likely in wealthier countries, since higher levels of development lead to higher accessibility of resources that can be used to organize collective action. Additionally, this study confirms the previously posited existence

of a curvilinear (inverse U-shaped) relationship between regime type and political participation of women (Eisinger, 1973). In other words, women are more likely to engage in politically contentious actions in regimes where both authoritarian and democratic features are present, rather than completely authoritarian or consolidated democratic regimes (Murdie & Peksen, 2015).

The cross-national analysis of gendered differences by Dodson (2015) demonstrates that women are more likely than men to participate in non-confrontational protest activities, such as signing a petition or joining a boycott. In contrast, men are more likely to participate in confrontational ones, such as demonstrations, strikes, and building occupations. confrontational forms of protest (demonstrating, striking, or occupying a building). Generally, gendered activism is more apparent in the US, Australia, and Japan, where women are more accustomed to non-confrontational protest activities. In Finland, Norway, and Sweden the gender gap in political participation is significant less pronounced. This discrepancy can be attributed to gender ideology, as the analysis of the interaction term between gender and aggregate gender ideology reveals that gender opportunity structures influence the gendered patterns of political participation. Moreover, women's rate of participation in both confrontational and non-confrontational protest activities surpassed men's in egalitarian environments (Dodson, 2015).

Gendered Consequences of Corruption

When it comes to specific effect of corruption by gender, existing research provides some evidence of the differentiation in its consequences, as women are found to be more likely to be denied power and resources in environments with prevalent corruption. Bjarnegård (2013) analyzes parliamentary compositions globally and performs extensive fieldwork in Thailand, concluding that electoral corruption benefits men and negatively impacts gender equality in politics. Men are considered valuable in clientelistic networks due to having access and resources to maintain them, which leads to the exclusion of women and the comparative benefit of men. The findings of the research by Sundström and Wängnerud (2014) based on data from 18 European countries indicate that corruption has a

significant effect on gender representation in local councils. In the regions with lower levels of corruption, the proportion of women elected to local councils is higher, while in the regions with widespread corruption the proportion is lower. Analyzing the evidence from 44 African countries, Stockemer (2011) finds that corruption plays a significant role in decreasing gender equity in representation through fortifying human rights violations and traditional power networks.

Since the presence of women in parliament has been found to have a negative effect on corruption (Jha & Sarangi, 2018), the direction of the relationship could be called into question. The study conducted by Esarey and Schwidt-Bayer (2017) finds evidence that supports the claim of bidirectionally between women's representation and corruption, as well as the moderation of the relationship by electoral accountability.

Gendered Differentiation of Impact of Corruption on Political Participation

A study by Malmberg and Christensen (2021) examines the differential effects of the perception of corruption on the political participation of men and women. The obtained results demonstrate that gender disparities in the relationship between corruption perceptions and voting appear to be stronger in high-corruption environments, as women are significantly more likely to vote under that circumstance. Moreover, the authors found that when encountering corruption, men are more likely to engage in elite-challenging forms of participation (such as boycotting and public protesting) than women, however, this distinction is more prominent in countries with lower levels of corruption in contrast to countries where it is widespread (Malmberg & Christensen, 2021).

Overall, the insights presented in this literature review underscore a robust connection between corruption, gender inequality, and women's political participation. However, a notable gap emerges regarding the need to speculate on the nature of the relationship between corruption and gendered participation in politics. While existing studies provide valuable insights into the differential impact of corruption on men and women, there remains a need to explore the mechanisms through which corruption shapes gendered patterns of political engagement further. Specifically, this research will evaluate the ways in

which corruption brings about gender disparities in political participation. By addressing this gap, more nuanced explanations can be offered for the observed inconsistencies in empirical findings and contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the interplay between corruption, gender, and political participation. Therefore, the research question explored in this study is: What is the effect of perception of corruption on women's civil political participation?

Theoretical Framework

Conceptualization

To answer the research question proposed by this study, the key concepts of civil political participation, perception of corruption, and political opportunity need to be defined.

To outline civil political participation, the framework defined in Alvarez et al. (2017) is used. The authors define conventional political participation as voting, signing petitions, participating in campaigns and meeting of political parties, along with running for office. In contrast, unconventional political participation, in this study referred to as "civil political participation" for clarity, includes participation in such activities as peaceful demonstrations, strikes, boycotts or protests (Alvarez et al., 2017).

As this study examines individual-level determinants of political participation, perception of corruption is understood as the subjective assessment of the extent of corruption within an individual's country. This perception is deeply influenced by societal norms, cultural values, and personal beliefs. It varies among individuals and societies, shaping attitudes towards corrupt behavior. Cultural traditions and social norms play a significant role in forming corruption perception, which may diverge from actual corruption levels (Melgar et al., 2010). Therefore, the subjective interpretation of the prevalence of corruption is regarded as the determinant of political behavior in this research.

Lastly, political opportunity is defined as the features of political system that impact the ability of a dissenting groups to mobilize successfully (Giugni, 2011), such as civil liberties and protection of citizen's political rights.

Relative Deprivation Theory

To position the argument of this paper in the literature, the theoretical framework outlined by Murdie and Peksen (2015) based on the works by of Davies (1962) and Gurr (1968) is implemented. The authors posit that, according to the relative deprivation theory, the belief that one's circumstances or potential does not align with one's expectations is a precedent for dissent. If social and environmental factors — like foreign assistance and domestic political affairs — accommodate organizing and mobilizing this discontent, an insurrection becomes more likely. This framework further contends that women are likely to protest under the conditions of perceiving a lack of resources in relation to their referent group. In other words, there is a higher likelihood of female mobilization when they experience serious gender-based discrimination that represents a significant discrepancy between their expectations and reality regarding their economic and political welfare (Murdie & Peksen, 2015). Since the effects corruption has on women are more pronounced than the effects it has on men, women will most likely have a higher level of political grievance generated by the perception of corruption. Therefore, higher levels of perceived corruption will lead to higher likelihood of women's engagement in non-conventional political participation.

Perception of corruption is found to be evaluated differently across social groups (Bazurli & Portos, 2019). Therefore, the connection between corruption and political participation at least partially depends on the individual assessment of "abuse of public power". As found by Navot and Beeri (2017), when citizens are facing a high level of corruption, the ones who are more judgmental towards it and intolerant to circumstantial explanations for the action will tend to engage more politically than individuals with a narrower and more non-restrictive interpretation of corruption. Previous research indicates that men and women perceive corruption differently, with the former being more permissive, tolerant less critical of instances of corrupt actions (Swamy et al., 2001). According to Bazurli and Portos (2019) and Navot and Beeri (2017), people who perceive a higher level of corruption will be more likely to engage in non-electoral types of political participation.

Following this reasoning, I expect women to mobilize more in the circumstances of higher perceived levels of corruption. Therefore, the first hypothesis is formulated:

H_1: A higher level of perceived corruption leads to an increase in women's civil political participation.

Political Opportunity Theory

When it comes to the expression of grievances relevant to the relationship between perceived levels of corruption and the political participation of women, the structures of political opportunity should be taken into account. Political opportunity theory posits that the progression and continuation of the movement are dependent on the political context it emerges and exists in (Meyer & Minkoff, 2004). This theory emphasizes that political structures and the degree of openness of a political system significantly influence individuals' abilities and decisions to mobilize. In more open political systems, where there are established channels for expressing dissent and advocating for change, individuals are more likely to perceive a favorable environment for political engagement (Eckstein, 1973; Barkan et al., 1999). Conversely, in closed political systems with repressive measures and limited avenues for participation, the cost of political activism is higher, potentially deterring individuals from engaging in protest activities (Gurr, 2015).

Consequently, in circumstances where individuals perceive higher levels of political opportunity to express existing grievances, they will be more likely to engage in political activism. Therefore, I argue that political "openness" and "closedness" conditions the relationship between the perception of corruption and women's willingness to participate politically. Following this logic, women, in particular, may be influenced by these perceptions due to their historically marginalized status in many political systems, which often obstructs their access to political resources and platforms for expressing dissent. In open political systems, women might feel more empowered to engage in boycotts, peaceful demonstrations, and strikes as legitimate and effective means to address their grievances. Conversely, in closed political systems, the risks associated with participation might outweigh the perceived benefits, leading to lower levels of engagement.

Based on this argument, the second hypothesis is formulated:

H_2: Political opportunity has a positive conditional effect on the association between the perceived levels of corruption and women's civil political participation.

Methodology

Case Selection and Data Collection

The formulated hypotheses will be assessed through large-N quantitative analysis. The chosen dataset is World Values Survey-7 (WVS-7; Haerpfer et al., 2022), with the individual as the unit of analysis. Country selection is based on the availability of the data (see Table 1 in Appendix for the list of countries covered in the survey).

Dependent variables: Civil political participation

To assess non-conventional political participation, the answers to the questions 210, 211, and 212 OF WVS-7 (Haerpfer et al., 2022) will be used, which concern participation in boycotts, peaceful demonstrations, and strikes respectively:

> Now I'd like you to look at this card. I'm going to read out some forms of political action that people can take, and I'd like you to tell me, for each one, whether you have done any of these things, whether you might do it or would never under any circumstances do it: j*oining in boycotts; attending peaceful demonstrations; joining strikes*. (Haerpfer et al., 2022)

Disaggregating civil political participation into 3 distinct activities allows this research to examine this multi-level concept with precision and produce more accurate results regarding the researched association.

The responses are coded into 3 categories: "Have done", "Might do", "Would never do". In order to operationalize this variable in a manner suited for the chosen statistical model, the original variables are recoded into dichotomous measures of participation in boycotts, peaceful demonstrations, and strikes. Therefore, the values in of the recoded variables are "1" — "Have participated" ("Have done" value of the original variables) and "0" — "Have not participated" ("Might do", "Would never do" values of the original variables) in the acts of civil politics mentioned above.

Independent Variable: Perception of Corruption

The selected dataset includes the measures of corruption perception, civil political participation, and perceived political opportunity. The measure of perceived corruption will be operationalized through the question 112 of the WVS-7:

> Now I'd like you to tell me your views on corruption – when people pay a bribe, give a gift or do a favor to other people in order to get the things they need done or the services they need. How would you place your views on corruption in your country on a 10-point scale where “1” means “there is no corruption in this country” and “10” means “there is abundant corruption in this country”. If your views are somewhat mixed, choose the appropriate number in between. (Haerpfer et al., 2022)

This measure is the most direct estimation the respondent’s overall perception of corruption.

Independent variable: Gender

The gender variable (Q260) is coded based on the respondent’s sex, which is determined by observation rather than by asking (Haerpfer et al., 2022).

It is important to note that sex and gender are different concepts. Sex refers to biological differences, while gender encompasses a broader range of social and cultural roles and identities. Thus, using sex as a proxy for gender is not an ideal assessment of the concept for this research.

Conditional Effect Variable: Political Opportunity

The political opportunity structure is operationalized through the type of political regime, based on the classification by Freedom House (2019). This variable measures the degree of political freedom and democracy in a country and is categorized into three levels: Free (3), Partly Free (2), and Not Free (1). The categorization evaluates countries based on political rights and civil liberties, which together form an index that reflects the political opportunity available to individuals (Freedom House, 2019). A higher score indicates a more open and democratic regime, providing greater opportunities for political participation and expression.

To assess the conditional effect of political opportunity on the relationship between gender, perception of corruption, and civil political participation, cases are be selected from the samples with each of the three regime types (Free, Partly Free, Not Free). Separate logistic regression models are be run based on these samples, allowing for an examination of how the impact of perceived corruption on women's political participation varies across different political contexts.

Control Variables

Two sets of control variables are implemented in this research: (1) individual-level control variables; (2) country-level political indicators.

Individual control variables used for this research are age, level of education, urban or rural residency, marital and employment status. Age has long been established as a determining factor on level of political participation, with highest rates of participation among middle-aged people (Nie et al., 1974). Level of education has been identified to have an influence on the likelihood of political participation, as well as perception of corruption (Dalton et al., 2009; Bauhr & Charron, 2020). Higher level of education is associated with lower levels of corruption perception, and, conversely, more educated individuals are more likely to engage in protest activities to the availability of political skills and resources (Bauhr & Charron, 2020; Dalton et al., 2009). Lavizzari and Portos (2016) have found substantial evidence to confirm that place of residency affects the patterns of political participation among men and women, with urban residency increasing the propensity of women to engage in protest activities.

Country-level political indicators used as control variables include GDP per capita, regime type, and the index of female civil liberties. According to Murdie and Peksen (2015) in countries with higher economic development, the occurrences of women's participation in protest is more likely, which in this research is accounted for by the inclusion of GDP per capita as a covariate derived from the World Bank database for 2019 (Haerpfer et al., 2022). Controlling for regime type allows this research to incorporate the influence that the institutional system affects the opportunity of the citizens to express their grievances.

Regime type is a categorical variable taken from Polity5 for 2018 and includes 5 categories: autocracy, closed anocracy, open anocracy, democracy, and full democracy (Haerpfer et al., 2022). Female civil liberties index, as measured by V-Dem, assesses freedom of domestic movement, freedom from forced labor, property rights, and access to justice for women on 0 to 1 scale (Dieleman & Andersson, 2016). Inclusion of this variable as a covariate ensures that relative deprivation theory, as discussed in the literature review, is operationalized appropriately, as the index captures the position of women relative to men in terms of the liberties mentioned above.

Statistical Data Analysis

This analysis aims to establish the nature of the relationship between gender, perception of corruption, and the likelihood of participation in civil political activities. To obtain generalizable and comprehensive results, logistic regression analyses are performed with respect to 3 dependent variables, along with the examination of the conditional effect of political opportunity structure on the proposed relationship. The dependent variables are treated as nominal categorical. The data meets the assumptions of logistical regression with respect to multicollinearity (see Table 3 in Appendix).

Results

The results for participation in boycotts, peaceful demonstration, and strikes are presented in Tables 4, 5, and 6 respectively. The statistical indicators of all models can be found in Table 7 (see Appendix).

Participation in Boycotts

In Model 1a (Table 4), which includes individual-level control variables, gender is not a statistically significant predictor of participation in boycotts ($p = .229$). However, when holding all demographic variables constant, higher perception of corruption led to 1.023 times higher likelihood of an individual participating in a boycott. The interaction effect remains non-significant predictor of participation with $p = .105$.

Among the individual covariates, age shows a significant positive association with boycott participation ($p < .001$), indicating that older individuals are more likely to take part.

Table 4

Logistic Regression Results for Participation in Boycotts

Variables	Model 1a	Model 1b
Constant	-2.800*** (.088)	-5.198*** (.230)
Main Predictors		
Female	-.104 (.086)	-.109 (.089)
Corruption Perception	.023** (.007)	.062*** (.008)
Female × Perception of Corruption	-.018 (.011)	-.022* (.011)
Individual covariates		
Age	.014*** (.001)	.006*** (.001)
Level of Education		
Primary education	-.360*** (.089)	-.443***(.089)
Lower secondary education	-.129 (.083)	-.246** (.084)
Upper secondary education	.018 (.078)	-.210** (.080)
Post-secondary education	.704*** (.082)	.350*** (.084)
Short-cycle tertiary education	.438*** (.085)	.258* (.087)
Bachelor or equivalent	.782*** (.078)	.480*** (.080)
Master or equivalent	.974*** (.083)	.742*** (.086)
Doctoral or equivalent	1.440*** (.106)	1.040***(.109)
Urban/Rural	-.297*** (.031)	-.163***(.032)
Marital Status		
Married	.559 (.049)	.348*** (.045)
Living together as married	.271*** (.058)	.222*** (.058)
Divorced	.004 (.092)	-.060 (.093)
Separated	-.416*** (.072)	-.317*** (.073)
Widowed	.265*** (.037)	.148*** (.038)
Employment Status		
Full time	.051 (.049)	.038 (.049)
Part time	-.020 (.042)	.108* (.043)
Self employed	-.069 (.049)	-.051 (.050)
Retired/pensioned	-.476*** (.059)	-.384*** (.060)
Housewife not otherwise employed	.187** (.061)	.217*** (.062)
Student	-.056 (.054)	.035 (.055)
Unemployed	.344*** (.103)	.323** (.104)
Country-level covariates		
GDP per capita (log)		.511*** (.058)
Regime type		
Autocracy		1.181*** (.098)
Closed anocracy		.519*** (.114)
Open anocracy		1.165*** (.095)
Democracy		1.657*** (.099)
Women's Civil Liberties		-.110 (.129)

Note: **p ≤ .05; **p ≤ .01; ***p ≤ .001*.

Level of education also demonstrates significant effects, with higher levels of education associated with increased likelihood of participating in boycotts, particularly for individuals with primary education and post-secondary education and higher ($p < .001$) relative to people with early childhood or no education.

Urban residency is positively associated with boycott participation ($b = -.297$, $p < .001$), suggesting that the odds of individuals from rural areas participating in boycotts are -.297. Marital and employment status show mixed effects, with some categories exhibiting significant associations with boycott participation.

When individual- and country-level factors are accounted for, perception of corruption and interaction effect between perception of corruption and gender are found to be significant predictors of participation in boycotts with $p < 0.001$ and $p = .050$ respectively. Specifically, each one unit increase in perceived level of corruption makes an individual makes their participation in boycotts 1.064 times more likely (This value represents odds ratio, the predicted change in odds of the outcome happening for a one unit increase in the predictor). However, the odds of women who perceive a perception of corruption in their country participating in a boycott are .022 times lower, which contradicts Hypothesis 1.

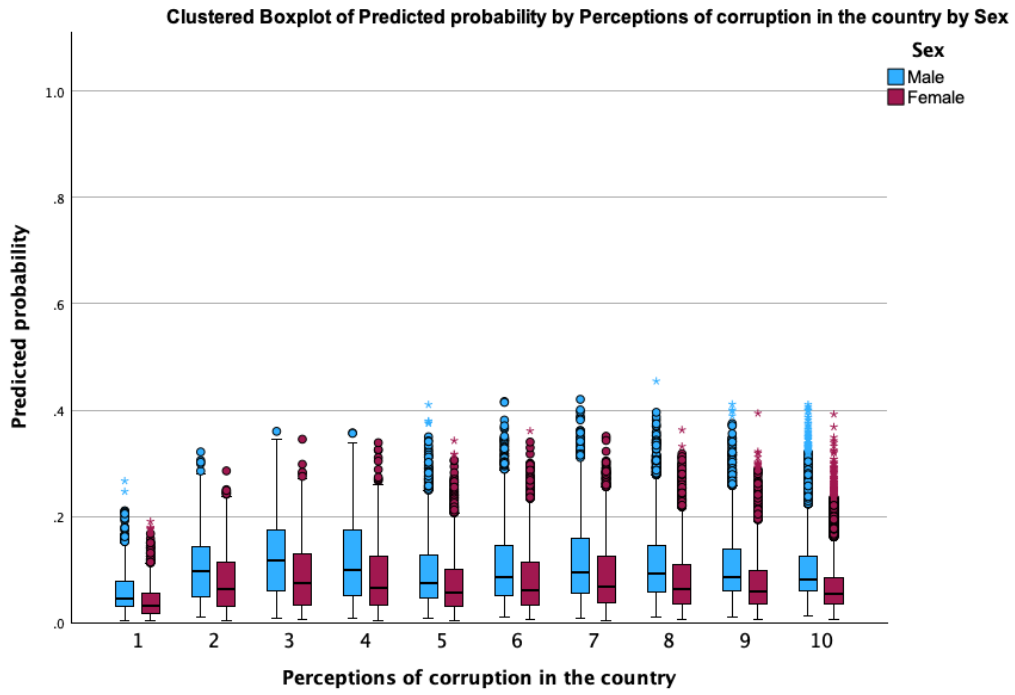
In terms of country-level covariates, individuals in countries with higher GDP per capita are more likely to boycott, indicating that higher economic development is associated with increased likelihood of this type of political participation. Women's civil liberties did not show a significant association with boycott participation in this model ($p = .394$). Polity5 categories also exhibits significant predictive effects, showing that individuals living in autocracies, democracies, closed and open anocracies are more likely to participate in boycotts relative to individuals living in fully democratic regimes full anocracies (all $p < 0.001$)

The association between perception of corruption and the predicted probabilities of political participation, with the differentiation by gender is visualized in Figure 1. This box plot illustrates how predicted probabilities of engaging in boycotts vary across different levels of

perceived corruption for men and women. The predicted probabilities of women joining boycotts are lower compared to men across all levels of corruption perception.

Figure 1

Predictive Effect Plot for Participation in Boycotts by Gender



Participation in Peaceful demonstrations

In Model 2a (Table 5), gender is not a significant predictor of demonstration participation, while perception of corruption and the interaction effect are significant. Higher level of corruption perception increases the odds of participation in a peaceful demonstration by 1.050 ($p < .001$). Contradictory to Hypothesis 1, when differentiating this effect by gender, women who perceive a higher level of corruption tend to be .018 times less likely to participate in peaceful demonstrations relative to men ($p = .047$). All individual-level covariates significantly influence the hypothesized association in this model.

When country-level covariates are included, in Model 2b both the level of corruption perception and the interaction effect between gender and perception of corruption remain

Table 5

Logistic Regression Results for Participation in Peaceful Demonstrations

Variables	Model 2a	Model 2b
Constant	-2.235*** (.073)	-1.258*** (.182)
Main Predictors		
Female	-.051 (.072)	-.027 (.073)
Corruption Perception	.049*** (.006)	.037*** (.006)
Female × Perception of Corruption	-.018* (.009)	-.024** (.009)
Individual covariates		
Age	.009*** (.001)	.005*** (.001)
Level of Education		
Primary education	-.004 (.071)	-.035 (.071)
Lower secondary education	-.066 (.068)	-.005 (.069)
Upper secondary education	.367*** (.065)	.216*** (.066)
Post-secondary education	.532*** (.070)	.308*** (.072)
Short-cycle tertiary education	.593*** (.071)	.475*** (.072)
Bachelor or equivalent	.916*** (.066)	.749*** (.067)
Master or equivalent	1.228*** (.070)	1.051*** (.072)
Doctoral or equivalent	1.633*** (.092)	1.369*** (.094)
Urban/Rural	-.259*** (.025)	-.216*** (.026)
Marital Status		
Married	.565*** (.036)	.335*** (.037)
Living together as married	.318*** (.048)	.285*** (.048)
Divorced	.344*** (.067)	.210** (.067)
Separated	-.173*** (.054)	-.185*** (.054)
Widowed	.264*** (.030)	.188*** (.031)
Employment Status		
Full time	.075 (.040)	.018 (.040)
Part time	.165*** (.033)	.147*** (.034)
Self employed	.101* (.040)	.066 (.041)
Retired/pensioned	-.450*** (.046)	-.413*** (.047)
Housewife not otherwise employed	.204*** (.049)	.163*** (.050)
Student	-.012 (.044)	-.048 (.044)
Unemployed	.189* (.091)	.160 (.092)
Country-level covariates		
GDP per capita (log)		-.334*** (.047)
Regime type		
Autocracy		1.215*** (.094)
closed anocracy		1.520*** (.096)
Open anocracy		1.805*** (.089)
Democracy		2.186*** (.092)
Women's Civil Liberties		.361*** (.101)

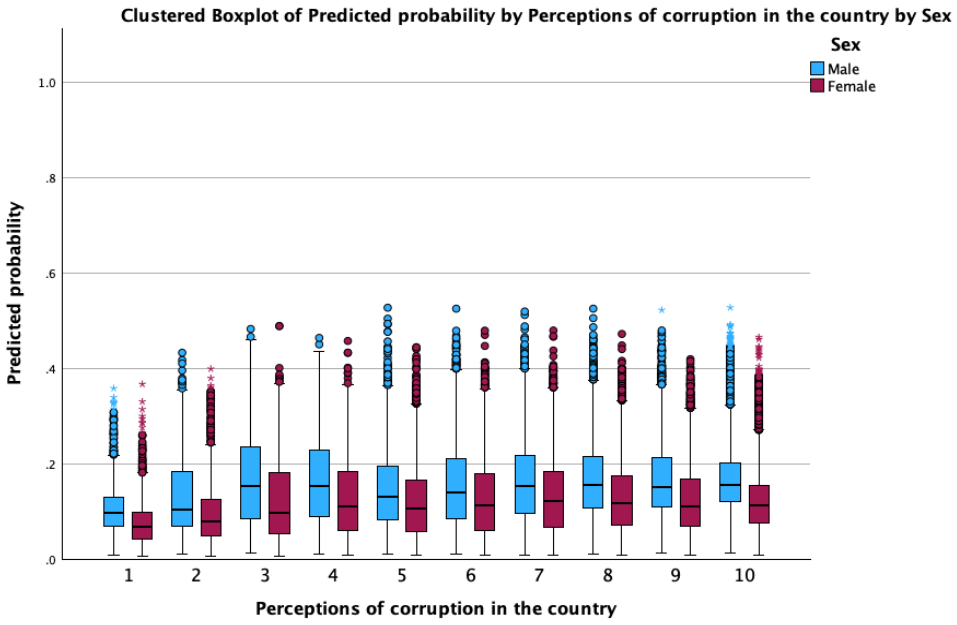
Note: **p ≤ .05; **p ≤ .01; ***p ≤ .001.*

strong predictors of participation in peaceful demonstrations, with the significance rising (p < .001 and p = 0.008 respectively). In contrast to Model 1b, in countries with higher GDP per capita leads individuals exhibit less tendencies to participate in peaceful demonstrations. Moreover, in Model 2b, women's civil liberties index is positively associated with participation in demonstrations, which indicates that citizens of countries where women's freedom of domestic movement and forced labor, property rights, and access to justice are greater, are more likely to take part in peaceful demonstrations.

Figure 2 illustrates the predictive effect of corruption perception on participation in demonstrations by gender. Similarly to Figure 1, women show lower rates of predicted likelihood of participation across all values of corruption perception compared to men.

Figure 2

Predictive Effect Plot for Participation in Peaceful Demonstrations by Gender



Participation in Strikes

In Model 3a (Table 7) with inclusion of individual-level control variables, the results show the same pattern: perception of corruption and the interaction term remain highly significant at *p* < .001 and *p* = .002 accordingly. This finding suggests that when individual

factors such as age, education level, urban or rural residency, and marital and employment status are accounted for, women are still less likely than men to join unofficial strikes in the environments where they perceive higher levels of corruption.

With the addition of country-level covariates in Model 3b, the observed effects of the main predictors become more robust: with every one unit increase in perception of corruption, individuals become .079 more likely to join a strike. In turn, women reporting a higher level of corruption in their country are -.044 times less likely to participate, when country-level covariates are held constant.

In a pattern similar to Model 2b, higher level of economic development in a country makes individuals less prone to join a strike, while higher value of women's civil liberties index increases that probability. Moreover, joining a strike is significantly more likely to happen for citizens of countries with regimes that are not classified as full democracies.

The relationship between perception of corruption and likelihood of joining strikes is visualized in Figure 3. Consistently with Figure 1 and 2, women's predicted probabilities of joining a strike are distinctly lower relative to men's.

Figure 3

Predictive Effect Plot for Participation in Strikes by Gender

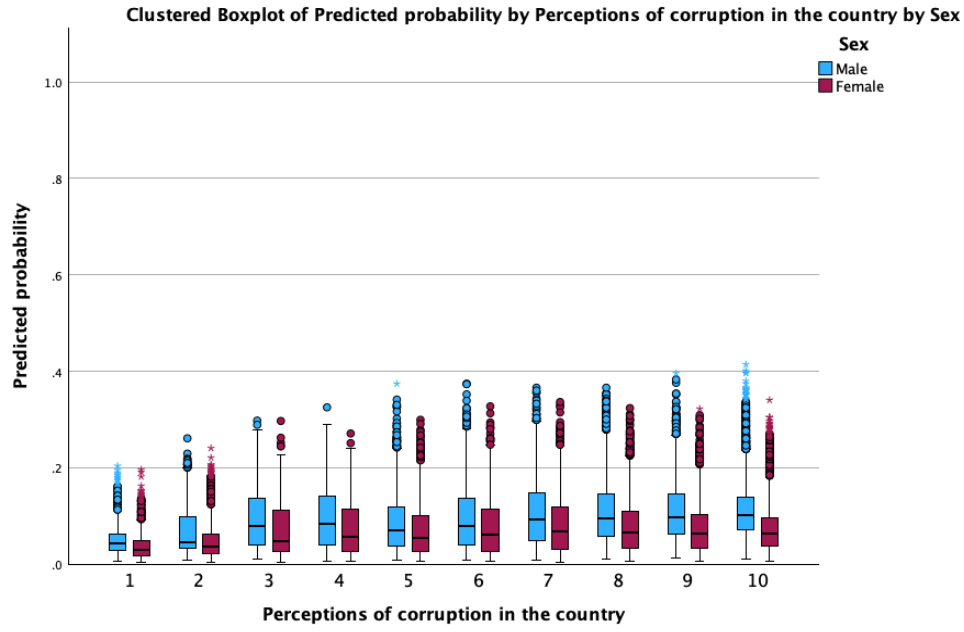


Table 7

Logistic Regression Results for Participation in Strikes

Variables	Model 3a	Model 3b
Constant	-3.323*** (.091)	-2.016*** (.230)
Main Predictors		
Female	.054 (.092)	.088 (.94)
Corruption Perception	.077*** (.008)	.079*** (.008)
Female × Perception of Corruption	-.035** (.011)	-.044*** (.012)
Individual covariates		
Age	.014*** (.001)	.009*** (.001)
Level of Education		
Primary education	.041 (.088)	-.015 (.089)
Lower secondary education	.121 (.085)	.010 (.086)
Upper secondary education	.354*** (.081)	.138 (.082)
Post-secondary education	.631*** (.086)	.346*** (.088)
Short-cycle tertiary education	.425*** (.089)	.306*** (.091)
Bachelor or equivalent	.800*** (.082)	.550*** (.084)
Master or equivalent	.794*** (.089)	.581*** (.091)
Doctoral or equivalent	1.124*** (.117)	.805*** (.119)
Urban/Rural	-.290*** (.031)	-.230*** (.032)
Marital Status		
Married	.624*** (.043)	.375*** (.044)
Living together as married	.300*** (.057)	.278*** (.058)
Divorced	.397*** (.079)	.276*** (.080)
Separated	-.371*** (.067)	-.354*** (.068)
Widowed	.224*** (.038)	.139*** (.039)
Employment Status		
Full time	.091 (.049)	.040 (.049)
Part time	-.073 (.042)	-.066 (.043)
Self employed	.245*** (.047)	.230*** (.047)
Retired/pensioned	-.676*** (.062)	-.611*** (.062)
Housewife not otherwise employed	.148* (.063)	.099 (.064)
Student	-.152** (.056)	-.142* (.057)
Unemployed	-.072 (.118)	-.118 (.119)
Country-level covariates		
GDP per capita (log)		-.477*** (.059)
Regime type		
Autocracy		.739*** (.106)
Closed anocracy		.341** (.117)
Open anocracy		1.273*** (.097)
Democracy		1.810*** (.102)
Women's Civil Liberties		.675*** (.129)

Note: **p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001*

Conditional Effect of Political Opportunity

The results corresponding to the analysis of the conditional effect of political opportunity are presented in Tables 8, 9, and 10 (see Appendix).

In regimes that are classified by Freedom House (2019) as not free (Table 8), women are significantly less likely to participate in demonstrations, while for boycotts and strikes this effect is not statistically significant. Higher perception of corruption makes both men and women more likely to engage in protest activities. The interaction term is not significant, indicating that the closedness of political system does not have a substantial impact on political participation of women in environments where they perceive higher levels of corruption.

In free regimes (Table 9), higher perception of corruption has a mobilizing effect on both men and women, making participation in boycotts, demonstrations, and strikes more likely. However, it has a smaller effect on political participation compared to not free regimes. There is no differentiation of the effect by gender, since the interaction term is not found to be significant for any type of protest activity.

In countries categorized as fully free (Table 10), a pattern similar to free regimes is observed. Higher perception of corruption is found to make individuals more likely to engage in the relevant types of protest activities. However, higher perception of corruption has a negative effect on participation of women in strikes.

Based on these results, Hypothesis 2 is rejected due to the lack of statistically significant effects of perception of corruption on gendered political participation.

Discussion

The findings obtained as a result of the logistic regression analyses provide valuable insights into the complex relationship between gender, perception of corruption and participation in civil political acts.

Initially, women appeared to be less likely to participate in boycotts compared to men. However, this effect diminished when individual-level control variables were

introduced, highlighting the role of demographic factors such as age, education, and urban residency. Interestingly, while higher perception of corruption generally increased the likelihood of boycott participation, this effect was conditional on gender. Contrary to the proposed Hypothesis 1, women who perceived higher levels of corruption were less likely to participate in boycotts, suggesting a complex interplay between gender roles, perceptions of corruption, socio-economic and country-specific factors, such as GPD per capita and regime type.

Similar to boycott participation, gender initially appeared to influence participation in peaceful demonstrations, with women being less likely to engage. However, this effect became insignificant when individual-level covariates were included, indicating that demographic characteristics play a significant role in shaping political participation patterns. Perception of corruption emerged as a robust predictor of demonstration participation, with higher levels of corruption perception associated with increased likelihood of participation. Intriguingly, the interaction effect between gender and corruption perception diverged from the hypothesized direction of the relationship, as women who perceived higher levels of corruption were significantly less likely to participate in peaceful demonstrations. This finding underscores the need for a deeper understanding of how gendered perceptions of corruption intersect with political behavior.

While gender did not exhibit a direct effect on strike participation, perception of corruption emerged as a significant predictor, aligning with theoretical expectations outlined in this research. However, the interaction effect between gender and corruption perception revealed a deviation from the suggested association, with women being less likely to participate in strikes when perceiving higher levels of corruption.

With respect to Hypothesis 2, no statistically significant effect was observed for the differences in gendered patterns of political participation in regimes with different levels. This result suggests that regime type, as operationalized by the Freedom House (2019) classification, may not capture the aspects of political opportunity that influence specifically gendered political behavior. Additionally, other contextual factors unaccounted for, such as,

for example, social movements' organizational strength or media freedom, might play a more critical role in shaping women's political participation.

Overall, these results imply that the effect of perceived corruption level on political participation is critically determined by gender. Contrary to initial hypotheses, women who perceive higher levels of corruption are less likely to engage in certain forms of civil political acts. This unexpected finding suggests that gendered perceptions of corruption may interact with broader socio-economic and country-specific factors to shape political behavior in complex ways. Additionally, the observed variations in the effects of corruption perception across different forms of political participation highlight the need for a detailed understanding of how gender intersects with political engagement strategies.

Conclusion

This study aimed to explore the effect of perception of corruption on civil political participation of women, arguing that heightened perception of corruption can have a higher mobilizing effect for women compared to men. Although the obtained results do not support the proposed hypothesis, the analysis of participation in boycotts, peaceful demonstrations, and strikes revealed significant insights into the effects of gender and perceptions of corruption on political participation.

Women were initially found to be less likely to participate in boycotts, but this effect became non-significant when controlling for individual-level factors. Higher perceptions of corruption increased the likelihood of boycott participation, with older individuals, those with higher education, and urban residents more likely to participate. Including country-level indicators showed significant perceptions of corruption and their interaction with gender, with women perceiving higher corruption less likely to participate.

For peaceful demonstrations, women were initially less likely to participate, but this became non-significant with individual-level controls. Higher corruption perceptions increased participation likelihood, but women perceiving higher corruption were less likely to participate. Higher GDP per capita reduced participation, while a higher women's civil liberties index increased it.

For participation in strikes, gender was not initially a significant predictor, but higher corruption perceptions and their interaction with gender were significant. Higher corruption perceptions increased strike participation, but women with these views were less likely to join strikes. Higher economic development reduced participation, while higher level women's civil liberties in a country increased it, and participation in strikes was more likely to occur in less democratic regimes.

Overall, higher perceptions of corruption generally increased political participation, but had a demobilizing effect on women specifically, lowering their civic political participation rate, which contradicts the first hypothesis. Individual factors such as age, education, and urban residency, along with country-level factors such as GDP per capita and women's civil liberties, significantly influenced these participation patterns. The hypothesized conditional effect of political opportunity structure did not receive empirical support.

By examining participation in boycotts, peaceful demonstrations, and strikes across various socio-political contexts, this research adds to the existing literature on corruption and determinants of political behavior. The findings of this study contribute to theoretical advancements in understanding the gendered dynamics of political participation in the environments with widespread corruption. The observed interactions between gender and corruption perception highlight the need for a more refined theoretical framework that considers the intersection of socio-demographic and country-specific factors effects on political participation. By understanding how perceptions of corruption influence political participation by gender, policymakers and practitioners can devise more targeted strategies to promote inclusive and transparent governance practices, thereby fostering greater civic engagement and democratic participation to facilitate progressive social change.

While this study provides valuable insights, several limitations should be considered. Firstly, the cross-sectional nature of the data prevents causal inference, limiting the interpretability of the observed results. Longitudinal studies are needed to establish temporal relationships between gender, corruption perception, and political participation accurately.

Secondly, the reliance on self-reported measures introduces the potential for response bias and social desirability effects, which may influence the validity of the findings. Future research could employ mixed-methods approaches to position the findings and enhance the robustness of results, implementing qualitative aspects to firmly establish potential causal links.

Moreover, one of the key measures of this study, specifically gender, relies on a questionable manner of data collection. As mentioned in the questionnaire of WVS-7, the instruction for coding the sex of the participant is "Code respondent's sex by observation, don't ask about it!" (Haerpfer et al., 2022), which relies solely on the perception of the interviewer, which cannot be a valid and true assessment of the concept.

Since the results clearly showcase a demobilizing effect higher perception of corruption has on women, several practical recommendations can be made for policymakers and governments. Firstly, efforts should be made to address the gender disparities in political participation by designing interventions that specifically target women, particularly in environments where perceptions of corruption are high. This could involve implementing gender-sensitive anti-corruption measures and creating supportive government structures to encourage women's active involvement in political processes. Additionally, initiatives aimed at improving transparency and accountability in governance should be prioritized in order to mitigate the negative impact of corruption perceptions on political engagement.

As we strive towards more equitable and democratic societies, it is important to recognize the significance of addressing gender disparities and corruption in shaping political behavior. Ultimately, this study serves as a catalyst for the ongoing discourse, contributing to future research and policy interventions aimed at facilitating greater inclusivity and integrity in governance.

References

Alvarez, R. M., Levin, I., & Núñez, L. (2017). The Four Faces of Political Participation in Argentina: Using latent class analysis to study political behavior. *The Journal of Politics*, *79*(4), 1386–1402. https://doi.org/10.1086/692786

Barkan, S. E., Meyer, D. S., & Tarrow, S. (1999). The Social Movement Society: Contentious Politics for a New Century. *Contemporary Sociology*, *28*(2), 214. https://doi.org/10.2307/2654891

Bauhr, M., & Charron, N. (2020). Do men and women perceive corruption differently? Gender differences in perception of need and greed corruption. *Politics and Governance*, *8*(2), 92–102. https://doi.org/10.17645/pag.v8i2.2701

Bazurli, R., & Portos, M. (2019). Crook!: The impact of perceived corruption on non-electoral forms of political behaviour. *International Political Science Review*, *42*(2), 245–260. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192512119881710

Bjarnegård, E. (2013). Gender, informal institutions and political recruitment: Explaining Male Dominance in Parliamentary Representation. Springer.

Bonifácio, R., & Paulino, R. O. (2015). Corruption and political participation in the Americas and the Caribbean. *Brazilian Political Science Review*, *9*(2), 54–80. https://doi.org/10.1590/1981-38212014000200011

Carreras, M., & Vera, S. (2018). Do corrupt politicians mobilize or demobilize voters? A vignette experiment in Colombia. *Latin American Politics and Society*, *60*(3), 77–95. https:// doi.org/10.1017/lap.2018.25

Dalton, R. J., Van Sickle, A., & Weldon, S. (2009). The Individual–Institutional nexus of protest behaviour. *British Journal of Political Science*, *40*(1), 51–73. https://doi.org/10.1017/s000712340999038x

Davies, J. C. (1962). Toward a theory of revolution. *American sociological review*, 5-19.

Dieleman, R., & Andersson, F. (2016). *Measuring women's political empowerment and investigating the role of women's civil liberties in democratization [*Policy Brief*]*. V-Dem Institute. https://v-dem.net/media/publications/policy_brief_4.pdf

Dodson, K. (2015). Gendered activism: A cross-national view on gender differences in protest activity. *Social Currents*, *2*(4), 377–392. https://doi.org/10.1177/2329496515603730

Dollar, D., Fisman, R., & Gatti, R. (2001). Are women really the “fairer” sex? Corruption and women in government. *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization*, *46*(4), 423–429. https://doi.org/10.1016/s0167-2681(01)00169-x

Eckstein, H. (1973). Authority Patterns: a structural basis for political inquiry. *The American Political Science Review*, *67*(4), 1142–1161. https://doi.org/10.2307/1956537

Eisinger, P. (1973). The conditions of protest behavior in American cities. *American Political Science Review*, *67*(1), 11–28. https://doi.org/10.2307/1958525

Esarey, J., & Schwindt-Bayer, L. A. (2019). Estimating causal relationships between women’s representation in government and corruption. *Comparative Political Studies*, *52*(11), 1713–1741. https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414019830744

Freedom House. (2019). *Freedom in the World 2019 Methodology.* https://freedomhouse.org/sites/default/files/2020-02/Methodology_FIW_2019_for_website.pdf

Giugni, M. (2011). Political opportunity: still a useful concept? In M. Hanagan & C. Tilly (Eds.), *Contention and Trust in Cities and States* (pp. 271–283). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-0756-6_19

Gurr, T. (1968). A causal model of civil strife: a comparative analysis using new indices. *American political science review*, *62*(4), 1104-1124.

Gurr, T. R. (2015). Why men rebel. In *Routledge eBooks*. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315631073

Haerpfer, C., Inglehart, R., Moreno, A., Welzel, C., Kizilova, K., Diez-Medrano, J., Lagos, M., Norris, P., Ponarin, E., & Puranen, B. (Eds.). (2022). *World Values Survey: Round Seven - Country-Pooled Datafile* (Version 5.0) [Dataset]. Madrid, Spain & Vienna, Austria: JD Systems Institute & WVSA Secretariat. https://doi.org/10.14281/18241.20

Jha, C. K., & Sarangi, S. (2018). Women and corruption: What positions must they hold to make a difference? *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization*, *151*, 219–233. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jebo.2018.03.021

Hossain, N, Musembi, C. N., and Hughes, J. 2010. "Corruption, accountability and gender: Understanding the connections". Primers in Gender and Democratic Governance #5 *UNDP*. Accessed on March 15, 2024

Haerpfer, C., Inglehart, R., Moreno, A., Welzel, C., Kizilova, K., Diez-Medrano, J., Lagos, M., Norris, P., Ponarin, E., & Puranen, B. (Eds.). (2022). *World Values Survey: Round Seven - Country-Pooled Datafile* (Version 5.0) [Dataset]. Madrid, Spain & Vienna, Austria: JD Systems Institute & WVSA Secretariat. https://doi.org/10.14281/18241.20

Lewis, J. S. (2020). Corruption Perceptions and Contentious Politics in Africa: How different types of corruption have shaped Africa's third wave of protest. *Political Studies Review*, *19*(2), 227–244. https://doi.org/10.1177/1478929920903657

Malmberg, F., & Christensen, H. S. (2021). Voting Women, Protesting Men: A Multilevel analysis of corruption, gender, and Political participation. *Politics & Policy*, *49*(1), 126–161. https://doi.org/10.1111/polp.12393

Melgar, N., Rossi, M., & Smith, T. W. (2010). The perception of corruption. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, *22*(1), 120–131. https://doi.org/10.1093/ijpor/edp058

Meyer, D. S., & Minkoff, D. C. (2004). Conceptualizing political opportunity. *Social Forces*, *82*(4), 1457–1492. https://doi.org/10.1353/sof.2004.0082

Murdie, A., & Peksen, D. (2014). Women and contentious politics. *Political Research Quarterly*, *68*(1), 180–192. https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912914563547

Navot, D., & Beeri, I. (2017). Conceptualization of political corruption, perceptions of corruption, and political participation in democracies. *Lex Localis*, *15*(2), 199–219. https://doi.org/10.4335/15.2.199-219(2017

Nie, N. H., Verba, S., & Kim, J. (1974). Political participation and the life cycle. *Comparative Politics*, *6*(3), 319. https://doi.org/10.2307/421518

Nwankwor, C., & Nkereuwem, E. (2020, November 4). How women helped rally mass protests against Nigeria's police corruption: Too many people ignore African women's political agency. *Washington Post*. https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/11/04/how-women-helped-rally-mass-protests-against-nigerias-police-corruption/

Peiffer, C., & Alvarez, L. (2015). Who will be the "Principled-Principals"? Perceptions of corruption and willingness to engage in anticorruption activism. *Governance*, *29*(3), 351–369. https://doi.org/10.1111/gove.12172

Školník, M. (2020). The effects of corruption on various forms of political participation in Colombia. *Latin American Policy*, *11*(1), 88–102. https://doi.org/10.1111/lamp.12180

Stockemer, D., LaMontagne, B., & Scruggs, L. (2012). Bribes and Ballots: The impact of corruption on voter turnout in democracies. *International Political Science Review*, *34*(1), 74–90. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192512111419824

Sundström, A., & Wängnerud, L. (2014). Corruption as an obstacle to women's political representation. *Party Politics*, *22*(3), 354–369. doi.org/10.1177/1354068814549339

Swamy, A. V., Knack, S., Lee, Y., & Azfar, O. (2001). Gender and corruption. *Journal of Development Economics*, *64*(1), 25–55. doi.org/10.1016/s0304-3878(00)00123-1

Transparency International. (2020, August 10). *What is corruption?* Transparency.org. https:// www.transparency.org/en/what-is-corruption

UNDP (2008). *Tackling Corruption, Transforming Lives: Accelerating Human Development in Asia and the Pacific*. Colombo: UNDP Regional Centre/Human Development Report Unit.

Appendix

Table 1

List of Countries Included in World Values Survey (Haerpfer et al., 2022)

Andorra	Iran	Peru
Argentina	Iraq	Philippines
Australia	Japan	Puerto Rico
Armenia	Jordan	Romania
Bangladesh	Kazakhstan	Russia
Bolivia	Kenya	Serbia
Brazil	Kyrgyzstan	Singapore
Canada	Lebanon	Slovakia
Chile	Libya	South Korea
China	Macau	Taiwan
Colombia	Malaysia	Tajikistan
Cyprus	Maldives	Thailand
Czechia	Mexico	Tunisia
Ecuador	Mongolia	Turkey
Egypt	Morocco	Ukraine
Ethiopia	Myanmar	United States
Germany	Netherlands	Uruguay
Greece	New Zealand	Venezuela
Great Britain	Nicaragua	Vietnam
Guatemala	Nigeria	Zimbabwe
Hong Kong	Northern Ireland	
Indonesia	Pakistan	

Table 2

WVS-7 Questions Measuring Relevant Variables (Haerpfer et al., 2022)

Q112	Perceptions of corruption in the country	
	Now I'd like you to tell me your views on corruption – when people pay a bribe, give a gift or do a favor to other people in order to get the things they need done or the services they need. How would you place your views on corruption in your country on a 10-point scale where “1” means “there is no corruption in this country” and “10” means “there is abundant corruption in this country”. If your views are somewhat mixed, choose the appropriate number in between.	
	1.- 1	8.- 8
	2.- 2	9.- 9
	3.- 3	10.- 10
	4.- 4	-1-.-Do not know
	5.- 5	-2-. -No answer
	6.- 6	-4-.- Not asked
	7.- 7	-5-.- Missing; Not available
Q210	Political action: joining in boycotts	
	Now I'd like you to look at this card. I'm going to read out some different forms of political action that people can take, and I'd like you to tell me, for each one, whether you have actually done any of these things, whether you might do it or would never, under any circumstances, do it. Joining in boycotts	
		-1-.- Don´t know
	1.- Have done	-2-.- No answer
	2.- Might do	-4-.- Not asked
	3.- Would never do	-5-.- Missing; Not available
Q211	Political action: attending lawful/peaceful demonstrations	

	Now I'd like you to look at this card. I'm going to read out some different forms of political action that people can take, and I'd like you to tell me, for each one, whether you have actually done any of these things, whether you might do it or would never, under any circumstances, do it. Attending peaceful demonstrations	
		-1-.- Don´t know
	1.- Have done	-2-.- No answer
	2.- Might do	-4-.- Not asked
	3.- Would never do	-5-.- Missing; Not available
Q212	Political action: joining unofficial strikes	
	Now I'd like you to look at this card. I'm going to read out some different forms of political action that people can take, and I'd like you to tell me, for each one, whether you have actually done any of these things, whether you might do it or would never, under any circumstances, do it. Joining strikes	
		-1-.- Don´t know
	1.- Have done	-2-.- No answer
	2.- Might do	-4-.- Not asked
	3.- Would never do	-5-.- Missing; Not available

Table 3

Multicollinearity diagnostics

	Collinearity diagnostics	
Variables	Tolerance	VIF
Gender	.968	1.033
Perception of corruption	.899	1.112
Age	.803	1.245
Education	.824	1.213
Urban/Rural	.874	1.145
Marital Status	.872	1.146
Employment status	.891	1.123
Regime Type	.622	1.608
Women civil liberties	.375	2.663
GDP per capita (log)	.466	2.148

Note: *The tolerance values are significantly above 0.10 and VIF values are all below 10, which indicates low levels of correlation between the predictor variables. Therefore, the assumption of the absence of multicollinearity is met.*

Table 7

Model Statistical Specifications

	χ^2	df	N	-2 Log likelihood
Model 1a	2374.622***	25	75902	42998.055
Model 1b	3406.629***	31		41966.048
Model 2a	2854.735***	25	76852	59750.742
Model 2b	4332.236***	31		58273.241
Model 3a	1925.026***	25	76369	43078.406
Model 3b	3130.221***	31		41873.212
Model 4	259.420***	27	16966	4883.182
Model 5	424.504***	27	17047	8416.881
Model 6	190.454***	27	16973	4050.779
Model 7	530.306***	27	33212	16611.618
Model 8	816.277***	27	33613	25466.359
Model 9	674.217***	27	33487	15801.069
Model 10	1780.896***	27	29864	22396.014
Model 11	1510.493***	27	30345	28588.043
Model 12	822.029***	27	30056	23225.211

Note: *$p \leq .05$; **$p \leq .01$; ***$p \leq .001$.

Table 8

Political participation in countries with non-free political regimes

	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Variables	Boycotts	Demonstrations	Strikes
Constant	-3.098*** (.691)	.075 (.437)	-2.459*** (.763)
Main Predictors			
Female	-.367 (.334)	-.580* (.234)	.243 (.356)
Corruption Perception	.128*** (.026)	.115*** (.018)	.134*** (.029)
Female × Perception of Corruption	.006 (.040)	.030 (.028)	-.079 (.043)
Individual covariates			
Age	.004 (.004)	.002 (.003)	-.009 (.005)
Level of Education			
Primary education	.119 (.224)	.072 (.159)	-.129 (.231)
Lower secondary education	.219 (.224)	.097 (.158)	-.092 (.231)
Upper secondary education	.323 (.214)	.319* (.150)	.068 (.218)
Post-secondary education	.363 (.320)	.604** (.203)	-.234 (.379)
Short-cycle tertiary education	.170 (.256)	.919*** (.163)	-.051 (.263)
Bachelor or equivalent	.462* (.221)	.486** (.158)	-.003 (.230)
Master or equivalent	.368 (.089)	1.051*** (.177)	-.158 (.317)
Doctoral or equivalent	.889 (.565)	1.457*** (.371)	.461 (.634)
Urban/Rural	-.438*** (.097)	-.193** (.066)	-.342** (.108)
Marital Status			
Married	-.212 (.121)	-.290*** (.089)	.067 (.141)
Living together as married	.216 (.261)	.582*** (.156)	.769** (.261)
Divorced	-.132 (.267)	.212 (.163)	.384 (.281)
Separated	-1.147 (.722)	.298 (.259)	.509 (.439)
Widowed	-.133 (.275)	.161 (.169)	.166 (.324)
Employment Status			
Full time	.287 (.463)	.692 (.394)	1.060 (.719)
Part time	.121 (.481)	.699 (.404)	1.270 (.728)
Self employed	.208 (.469)	.799* (.397)	.679 (.726)
Retired/pensioned	-.005 (.492)	.986* (.406)	.850 (.745)
Housewife not otherwise employed	-.148 (.480)	.418 (.403)	.590 (.732)
Student	.135 (.492)	.556 (.412)	.725 (.747)
Unemployed	-.151 (.486)	.434 (.405)	.647 (.736)
Country-level covariates			
GDP per capita (log)	.070 (.146)	-.552*** (.099)	.000 (.164)
Women's Civil Liberties	-3.344*** (.378)	-1.680*** (.248)	-3.289*** (.431)

Note: **p ≤ .05; **p ≤ .01; ***p ≤ .001.*

Table 9

Political Participation in Countries with Free Political Regimes

	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9
Variables	Boycotts	Demonstrations	Strikes
Constant	-2.350*** (.347)	-.629* (.263)	-1.852*** (.359)
Main Predictors			
Female	-.047 (.151)	-.205 (.115)	-.198 (.163)
Corruption Perception	.060*** (.018)	.047*** (.009)	.026* (.013)
Female × Perception of Corruption	-.034 (.018)	-.021 (.014)	-.032 (.019)
Individual covariates			
Age	-.005** (.002)	.002 (.001)	.001 (.002)
Level of Education			
Primary education	-.348*** (.104)	-.022 (.083)	.172 (.111)
Lower secondary education	-.119 (.098)	.010 (.081)	.028 (.111)
Upper secondary education	-.334*** (.096)	.115 (.077)	.069 (.106)
Post-secondary education	.086 (.107)	.181* (.089)	.478*** (.117)
Short-cycle tertiary education	.010 (.112)	.233** (.090)	.259* (.124)
Bachelor or equivalent	.011 (.101)	.540*** (.082)	.535*** (.111)
Master or equivalent	.387*** (.117)	.705*** (.094)	.781*** (.126)
Doctoral or equivalent	.691*** (.182)	.975*** (.149)	1.285*** (.189)
Urban/Rural	-.262*** (.049)	-.165*** (.037)	-.204*** (.049)
Marital Status			
Married	-.038 (.061)	-.079 (.047)	-.158* (.063)
Living together as married	.209* (.093)	.051 (.072)	.205* (.093)
Divorced	-.204 (.127)	.072 (.098)	-.100 (.141)
Separated	-.129 (.169)	-.026 (.119)	.100 (.152)
Widowed	-.184 (.142)	-.213* (.101)	-.347* (.145)
Employment Status			
Full time	-.094 (.197)	-.242 (.140)	-.229 (.183)
Part time	-.232 (.206)	-.364* (.147)	-.233 (.192)
Self employed	-.177 (.200)	-.168 (.142)	-.221 (.185)
Retired/pensioned	-.183 (.215)	-.393** (.152)	-.355 (.202)
Housewife not otherwise employed	-.841*** (.212)	-.832*** (.150)	-.802*** (.199)
Student	.030 (.211)	-.185 (.153)	-.135 (.199)
Unemployed	-.196 (.206)	-.404** (.147)	-.506** (.194)
Country-level covariates			
GDP per capita (log)	.196 (.082*)	-.421*** (.062)	-1.083*** (.088)
Women's Civil Liberties	-1.360*** (.173)	.605*** (.134)	.257 (.174)

Note: **p ≤ .05; **p ≤ .01; ***p ≤ .001.*

Table 10

Political participation in countries with Fully free political regimes

	Model 10	Model 11	Model 12
Variables	Boycotts	Demonstrations	Strikes
Constant	-9.390*** (.456)	-2.264*** (.351	-.830* (.393)
Main Predictors			
Female	-.140 (.117)	.086 (.100)	-.218 (.121)
Corruption Perception	.043*** (.011)	.033*** (.009)	.081*** (.011)
Female × Perception of Corruption	-.007 (.015)	-.017 (.013)	-.045** (.015)
Individual covariates			
Age	.011*** (.002)	.009*** (.001)	.016*** (.002)
Level of Education			
Primary education	.037 (.290)	.252 (.206)	-.119 (.178)
Lower secondary education	.324 (.274)	.459* (.198)	.111 (.168)
Upper secondary education	.679* (.268)	.862*** (.194)	.325* (.164)
Post-secondary education	1.323*** (.270)	1.015*** (.197)	.586*** (.169)
Short-cycle tertiary education	1.309*** (.272)	1.133*** (.199)	.626*** (.172)
Bachelor or equivalent	1.604*** (.268)	1.580*** (.194)	.853*** (.165)
Master or equivalent	1.828*** (.271)	1.919*** (.197)	.860*** (.171)
Doctoral or equivalent	2.000*** (.281)	2.193*** (.210)	.986*** (.194)
Urban/Rural	-.102* (.046)	-.316*** (.041)	-.156*** (.045)
Marital Status			
Married	-.228*** (.049)	-.301*** (.043)	-.110* (.051)
Living together as married	.255*** (.060)	.184*** (.052)	.324*** (.061)
Divorced	.032 (.077)	.075 (.067)	.181* (.077)
Separated	-.180 (.120)	.066 (.093)	.163 (.104)
Widowed	-.435*** (.102)	-.501*** (.084)	-.496*** (.094)
Employment Status			
Full time	-.348** (.130)	-.164 (.126)	.172 (.160)
Part time	-.310* (.140)	-.089 (.133)	.202 (.168)
Self employed	-.141 (.140)	-.071 (.133)	-.037* (.168)
Retired/pensioned	-.436*** (.135)	-.049 (.130)	.375* (.163)
Housewife not otherwise employed	-.533*** (.152)	-.433** (.141)	-.512** (.180)
Student	-.066 (.155)	.137 (.143)	.335 (.181)
Unemployed	-.280 (.149)	-.090 (.139)	.084 (.175)
Country-level covariates			
GDP per capita (log)	1.664*** (.123)	-.025 (.093)	-.340*** (.106)
Women's Civil Liberties	-.977* (.439)	.433 (.335)	-.983** (.367)

Note: **p ≤ .05; **p ≤ .01; ***p ≤ .001*