

Norms versus Action: Voting Against Malfeasance in Brazil*

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Abstract

Given the prevalence of official wrongdoing in democracies around the world, whether voters punish malfeasant politicians is a substantively important question. In this paper, we show that Brazilian voters strongly sanction malfeasant mayors when presented with hypothetical scenarios but take no action when given the same information about their own mayor. Partnering with the State Accounts Court of Pernambuco, we conducted a field experiment during the 2016 municipal elections in which the treatment group received information about official wrongdoing by their mayor. The treatment has no effect on self-reported voting behavior after the election, yet when informing about malfeasance in the context of a vignette experiment, we are able to replicate the strong negative effect found in prior studies. We argue that voters' behavior in the abstract reflects the comparatively strong norm against corruption in Brazil. Yet on election day, their behavior is constrained by factors such as loyalty to local political dynasties and the greater salience of more pressing concerns like employment and health services.

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1 Introduction

Malfeasance by elected officials is an important problem in democracies around the world. Some politicians engage in actions that are corrupt: accepting bribes, diverting public funds into personal bank accounts, or otherwise using their office for private gain. Others stop short of outright corruption but engage in gross violations of the law, such as issuing no-bid contracts, failing to pay pension contributions for state employees, or ignoring mandated budgeting targets for social services. Both forms of malfeasance impinge upon citizens' welfare and impose significant economic costs on society. They can also contribute to disillusionment with democracy and support for authoritarian alternatives.

Democracy also offers a solution to the problem of political malfeasance: vertical accountability. Provided that voters obtain credible information about official wrongdoing, they will have an opportunity to sanction politicians who break the law while in power. Vertical accountability requires that voters condemn malfeasance by elected officials, versus believing that politicians are entitled to govern as they see fit, that accomplishments excuse illegal behavior, or that lawbreaking while in office amounts to a minor transgression. It also requires that voters act upon this norm when they go to the polls, rather than being constrained by personal loyalties, partisanship, clientelism, intimidation, or a belief that the opposition is no better than the incumbent.

In recent years, survey experiments in democracies around the world suggest that voters react negatively to malfeasance by public officials when presented with hypothetical vignettes. Such studies tell respondents to imagine a mayor or legislator who is running for reelection and ask about their likelihood of voting for him or her. In the treatment condition, voters are informed about an accusation of corruption, an illegal action, or some other form of wrongdoing by the elected official. Such studies have found significant negative effects on vote intention in countries ranging from Sweden to Peru to Moldova (Botero et al., 2015; Klačnja and Tucker, 2013; Vera Rojas, 2017). The electoral punishment is particularly large in Brazil, where corruption has been highly salient in recent years and is also a longstanding problem (Avenburg, 2016; Weitz-Shapiro and

Winters, 2017; Winters and Weitz-Shapiro, 2013, 2016).

In this study of Brazil, we argue that punishing malfeasance in the context of vignette experiments reflects norms against corruption that may not translate into action in real life. Partnering with the State Accounts Court of Pernambuco, a governmental auditing agency, we conducted a field experiment during the 2016 municipal elections in which the treatment group received information about official wrongdoing, or lack thereof, by their mayor. The treatment has no effect on self-reported voting behavior after the election, yet when providing the same information in the context of a vignette experiment, we are able to replicate the strong negative effect found in prior studies. Voters' behavior in the abstract reflects a comparatively strong norm against corruption and other forms of malfeasance in Brazil. Yet behavior at the polls is constrained by other factors, including a tendency to judge politicians more harshly in the abstract than in real life, tradeoffs with more tangible performance criteria, and personal loyalties to local political dynasties.

2 Malfeasance and Electoral Accountability: Prior Findings

In recent years, scholars have sought to use vignette experiments to gain new leverage on the causal effect of information about official malfeasance on voting behavior. In pioneering work on the United States, such studies took the form of lab experiments on student samples (Funk, 1996; Rundquist, Strom and Peters, 1977). More recently, they have been conducted in the context of population-based surveys. In their most basic form, electoral accountability vignette experiments ask respondents to imagine that they were considering voting for a mayor or legislator who is running for reelection. In the control condition, the politician is either described as honest, or else no information about probity is provided; in the treatment condition, he or she is accused of corruption or illegal activity. The outcome measures self-reported likelihood of voting for the reelection of this fictitious incumbent (Avenburg, 2016; Botero et al., 2015; Klašnja and Tucker, 2013; Vera Rojas, 2017; Weitz-Shapiro and Winters, 2017; Winters and Weitz-Shapiro, 2013, 2016). Variations on the basic vignette experiment examine different outcomes, such as a choice among multiple hy-

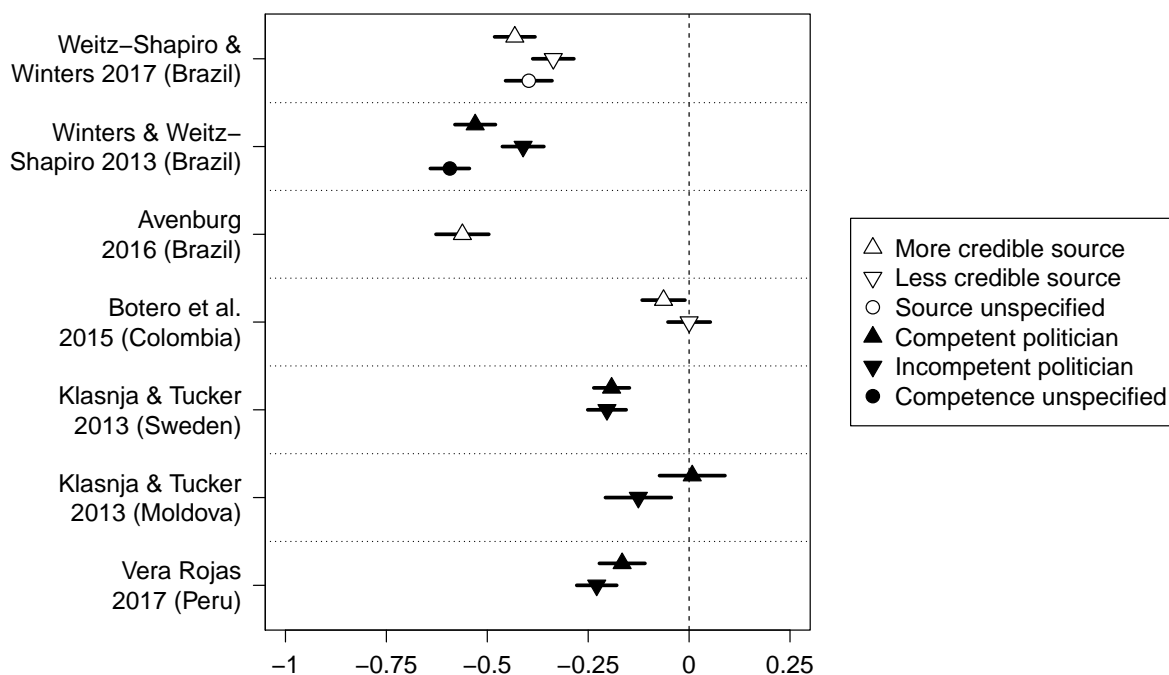
pothetical candidates or support for administrative sanctions against the politician (Banerjee et al., 2014; Weschle, 2016), or else hold constant the allegations of malfeasance and explore how other factors, such as co-partisanship and source credibility, moderate any punishment effect (Anduiza, Gallego and Muñoz, 2013; Avenburg, 2016; Barros and Pereira, 2015; Botero et al., 2014; Konstantinidis and Xezonakis, 2013; Muñoz, Anduiza and Gallego, 2016).

Vignette experiments have almost universally found that information about malfeasance by elected officials significantly reduces the likelihood of voting for their reelection. Figure 1 plots average treatment effects (rescaled 0–1) and 95% confidence intervals from vignette experiments on electoral accountability in Brazil, Colombia, Moldova, Peru, and Sweden. Each of these studies involves a corrupt incumbent in the treatment condition; an honest one, or no information about probity, in the control condition; and an outcome measuring vote intention for the incumbent on a 4- or 7-point Likert scale. Though the size and significance of the treatment effect depends on whether the information comes from a credible source and whether the fictitious politician is otherwise competent at delivering public goods, each of these studies suggests that, under at least some conditions, voters will reduce their support for corrupt incumbents. Similar results have been found in vignette experiments that examine alternate outcomes (Banerjee et al., 2014; Weschle, 2016) as well as those where the treatment involves accusations of electoral violence rather than corruption (Gutiérrez-Romero and LeBas, 2016; Rosenzweig, 2016).

As many studies based on vignette experiments acknowledge, electoral accountability effects in the real world are likely to be smaller than in hypothetical scenarios, for a variety of reasons. A first set of factors concerns the information provided to voters (Winters and Weitz-Shapiro, 2013). Real-world accusations of malfeasance are often vague in terms of what allegedly occurred and who is responsible. The source of the information—quite often an opposition party or candidate—may lack credibility because of a vested interest in the election outcome. Moreover, relevant information may be delivered weeks, months, or even years before the election, rather than immediately prior to the voting decision, as in a hypothetical vignette.

A second reason why electoral accountability effects may be smaller in the real world than in

Figure 1: Malfeasance and Voting Behavior: Information Effects in Vignette Experiments



NOTE: Icons give average treatment effects (rescaled 0–1) and lines indicate 95% confidence intervals.

vignette experiments concerns the campaign context in which voters make their decisions (Banerjee et al., 2014; Barabas and Jerit, 2010; Botero et al., 2015; Klasnja and Tucker, 2013). Charges of malfeasance, especially those leveled just before an election, are likely to be met with denials and counteraccusations from the incumbent who is targeted. The wealth of competing information circulating during campaign season—about candidates’ platforms, personalities, prior accomplishments, and so on—may limit the effect of any single corruption accusation even if it is delivered just prior to election day. Moreover, the salience of other issues that are more directly relevant for individual welfare, such as the state of the economy, may reduce the weight that voters attach to information about politicians’ probity in office.

A third set of factors concerns features of the broader political context that serve to constrain campaign effects on voting behavior. In some countries or localities, strong partisanship may mean that there is little potential for new information to change voters’ minds. Dynastic politics and personal loyalties may have the same effect even where partisanship is weak. Vote buying and other

forms of clientelism, or voter intimidation and threats of violence, may mean that voting decisions respond to material necessities rather than sincere preferences. Moreover, as suggested by Fenno's Paradox (Fenno, 1978)—the observation that Americans hold much more favorable attitudes toward their local member of Congress than toward Congress as a whole—cognitive biases may mean that voters are more willing to judge politicians harshly when thinking in the abstract than when evaluating “their” mayor or legislator (Mutz and Flemming, 1999).

Finally, the choices available to voters in a real election may also serve to limit electoral accountability (Vera Rojas, 2017). Where the election is uncompetitive, perhaps because the incumbent's political machine dominates local politics, people may feel they have no capacity to punish corruption with their vote. Alternatively, a politician may be so unpopular for other reasons, such as economic mismanagement, that it is difficult to further lower her base of support by providing specific information about malfeasance. Politicians' assessments of their electoral viability can affect the decision to run again; those who are vulnerable to accusations of malfeasance might opt out, leaving only those who feel confident that such charges will not hurt their performance. Moreover, where corruption and lawbreaking are endemic, opposition candidates may not be considered any better than the incumbent.

Seeking to replicate findings from hypothetical scenarios in the context of a field experiment thus presents a tough test. Yet the consensus in the survey experimental literature is that corresponding real-world effects, while smaller, should be non-zero (Banerjee et al., 2014; Barabas and Jerit, 2010; Winters and Weitz-Shapiro, 2013). One can maximize the likelihood of finding a significant effect from a real-world intervention through a combination of research design and site selection. In particular, treatments should be designed in order to maximize the specificity, credibility, and availability of the information provided to voters. And in terms of study location, it makes sense to focus on the country where vignette experiments have demonstrated the largest electoral accountability effects: Brazil.

3 Anti-Corruption Norms and Institutions in Brazil

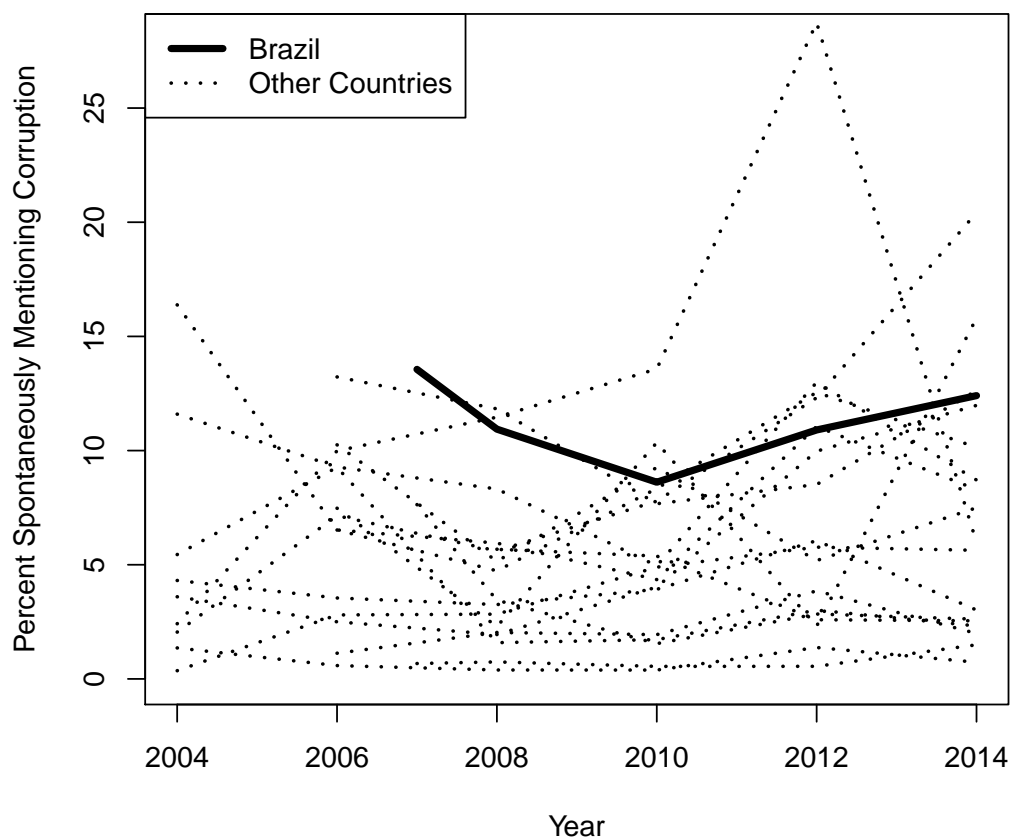
As shown in Figure 1, when presented with hypothetical scenarios, voters in Brazil judge malfeasance by elected officials much more harshly than those from other countries. In this section, we argue that they do so because of a particularly strong anticorruption norm. Political corruption is a longstanding problem in Brazil, and in recent years, it has prompted successful civil society activism to strengthen the sanctions on malfeasant officeholders. Moreover, at the time of our research, the issue of official malfeasance was made particularly salient by the recent impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff and the ongoing Lava Jato (Operation Car Wash) investigation into that had engulfed the Brazilian political class. If there is any national context in which we should expect to replicate electoral accountability vignette experiments in the real world, Brazil would be it.

Data from cross-national public opinion surveys demonstrate the strength of anti-corruption sentiment in Brazil. The biennial AmericasBarometer survey asks respondents an open-ended question about the most serious problem facing the country. Figure 2 plots the percentage in each Latin American country who spontaneously mentioned corruption. While some countries have had higher spikes in response to particular scandals, Brazil has the highest sustained levels of popular concern with corruption in the region.

Data from the World Values Survey show that Brazil's anti-corruption norm is also strong in global context, especially in recent years. As plotted in Figure 3, the percent who say that accepting a bribe is "never justifiable" has consistently been higher in Brazil than in the other countries—including Sweden—where vignette experiments have demonstrated smaller electoral accountability effects. Moreover, moral opposition to bribery in Brazil has grown substantially over time. In Wave 5 of the survey, fielded in 2006 in Brazil, the country ranked slightly below the median (32nd out of 57) on this metric. By Wave 6, fielded in 2014, it had moved up to 8th out of 60 countries, or 87th percentile.

Public opinion regarding corruption reflects the deep roots of this problem in Brazil's politi-

Figure 2: Corruption as the Most Important National Problem

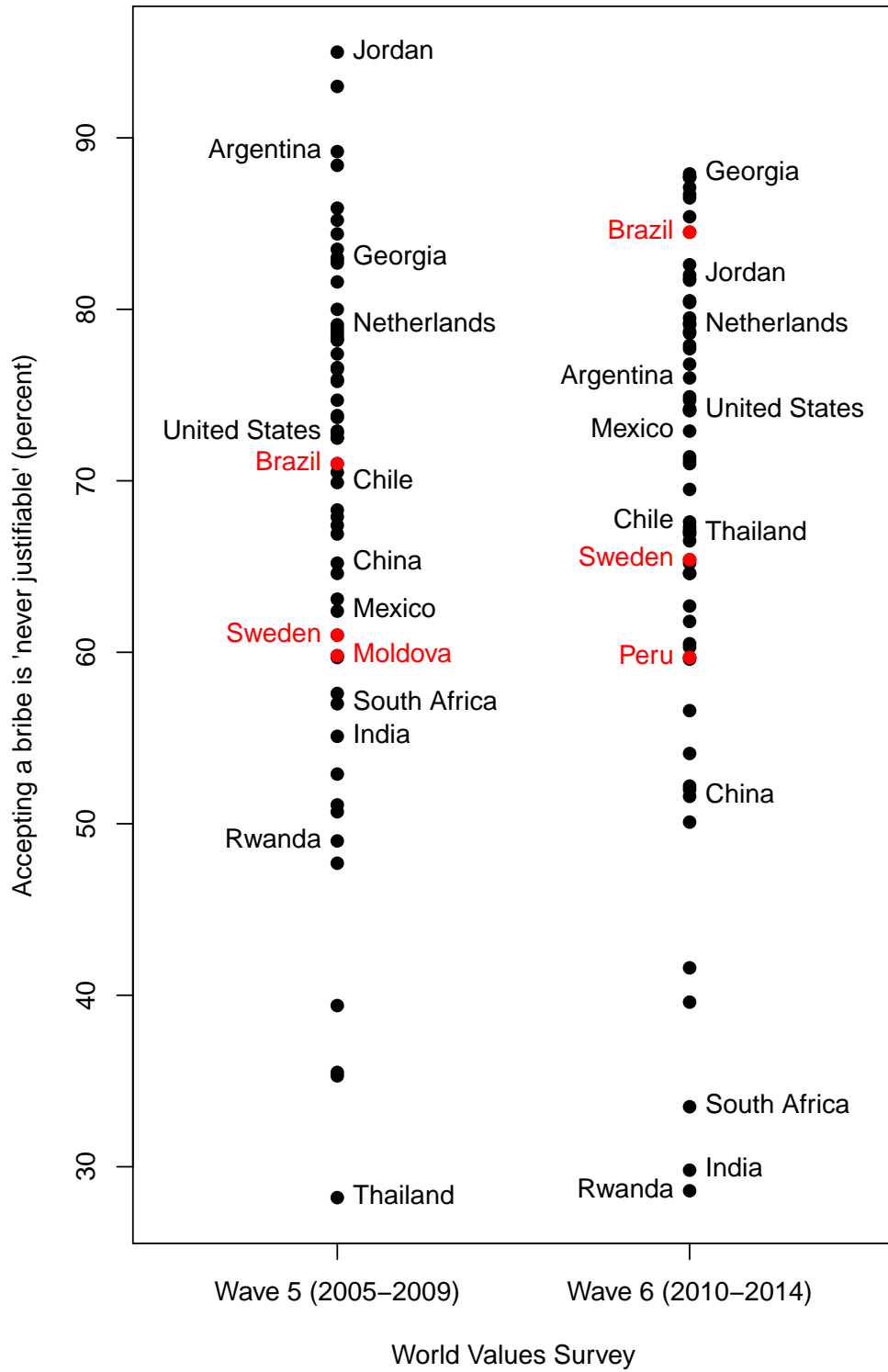


NOTE: Data are from the AmericasBarometer by the Latin American Public Opinion Project, for all Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking countries of Latin America (except Cuba) and all available years from 2004–2014.

cal system. Yet there have also been longstanding efforts to create laws and institutions that can prevent and punish malfeasance by elected officials. Brazil’s Constitution establishes auditing institutions—the Federal Accounts Court (Tribunal de Contas da União, TCU) and State Accounts Courts (Tribunais de Contas dos Estados, TCEs)—that are charged with monitoring government compliance with laws regarding budgeting and public administration.¹ The main form of supervision is through an annual audit of accounts, followed by a recommendation as to whether these accounts should be “approved,” “approved with reservations,” or “rejected.” Recommendations are based on evidence gathered by court auditors and are issued in the form of a report (*parecer*

¹The TCU audits the federal government and use of federal funds by lower-level governments; the TCEs audit state and municipal governments. In a few states, there is a separate Municipal Accounts Court that handles only the municipal audits.

Figure 3: Moral Opposition to Bribery



prévio) that must be approved by a majority of nine ministers (of the TCU) or seven councilors (of the TCEs) who lead the court. In the case of executive branch audits, the recommendation is then sent to the corresponding legislature—federal, state, or municipal—for a final decision. At the municipal level, the court’s recommendation regarding a mayor’s accounts can only be overturned by a two-thirds vote of the city council (Avenburg, 2016; Speck, 2011).

Over time, decisions taken by Brazil’s auditing institutions have come to have potentially severe consequences for politicians, thanks in part to pressure from civil society. A 1990 law allowed politicians to be barred from running for office for 8 years if their accounts had been rejected, the legislature had upheld the decision (if necessary), and all possibilities for appeal had been exhausted. However, the long, draw-out appeals process meant that incumbents with rejected accounts were typically able to run again—and even finish a second term—before a final decision on their case could be rendered (Speck, 2011, p.145).

In 2010, a civil society campaign led to the passage of a new law, the “Clean Slate” (*Ficha Limpa*) Law, that closed the judicial appeals loophole, allowing candidates to be barred from running for office based solely on the rejection of their accounts by the TCU or TCE. This effort was spearheaded by the non-governmental organization Movement to Combat Electoral Corruption (Movimento pelo Combate à Corrupção Eleitoral, MCCE), which gathered 1.5 million signatures (more than 1 percent of the electorate) in order to introduce the bill in Congress via the popular initiative process. The bill initially faced long odds—many members of Congress would be ineligible to run again if it became law—but a intense grassroots campaign to pressure legislators for its passage was eventually successful (Breuer and Groshek, 2014; Doin et al., 2012). In August 2016, a Supreme Court decision significantly weakened the Clean Slate Law, ruling that, in the case of executive branch accounts rejection, candidates could only be disqualified if the rejection had been upheld by the corresponding legislature. Nonetheless, the successful passage of this law speaks to the strength of the anti-corruption norm in Brazilian society.

Support for the Clean Slate Law’s original sanctions regime remains strong, even after the Supreme Court decision that weakened them. In the second wave of the survey analyzed below,

conducted in the Brazilian state of Pernambuco just after the October 2016 municipal elections, we asked respondents whether mayors who had had their accounts rejected by the TCE should have the right to run for reelection. In the full sample of respondents—split equally among municipalities where the mayor’s accounts had been approved and where they had been rejected—91% answered “no.” Even among respondents who reported voting for the incumbent mayor and had been informed of the rejection of his or her accounts, 84% said that such mayors should not have the right to run again—effectively claiming that the candidate they supported should not have been on the ballot. Responses to this question are likely affected by social desirability bias, but the existence of such bias itself speaks to the strength of the anti-corruption norm in Brazil.

Finally, the issue of malfeasance by elected officials was made unusually salient by developments in national politics at the time of our study. Impeachment proceedings against President Dilma Rousseff—who was formally removed from office on August 31, 2016, one week before our baseline survey went to the field—were based on charges of fiscal irresponsibility raised by the TCU during its annual review of the federal government’s accounts, in which it recommended rejection. Beyond the presidential impeachment process per se, much of Brazil’s political class was engulfed in a massive corruption scandal relating to bribes for private sector contracts with state oil firm Petrobras, which, at the time of our study, had recently led to the expulsion from Congress of Eduardo Cunha, former President of the Chamber of Deputies.

4 Research Design

4.1 Field Experiment

To test whether the findings of electoral accountability vignette experiments could be replicated in the “most likely” real-world context of Brazil, we conducted a field experiment during Brazil’s 2016 municipal elections, in partnership with the State Accounts Court of Pernambuco (TCE-PE). We chose Pernambuco largely because of the professionalism and efficiency of the TCE-PE. The

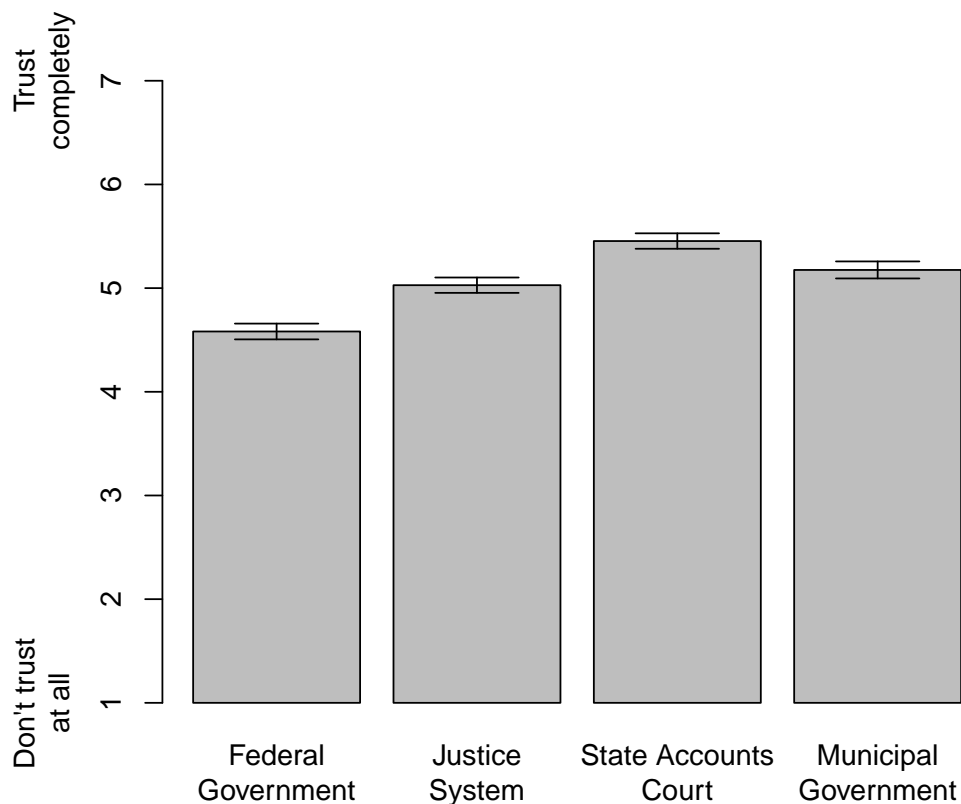
auditing agencies of Brazil's 27 states vary in the degree to which they are considered independent, professional organizations free from overt political meddling; the reputation of Pernambuco's court is among the best (Melo, Pereira and Figueiredo, 2009). Brazilian TCEs also vary widely in their efficiency. Some routinely take five or more years to review municipal accounts and issue summary judgments, meaning that information on a mayor's first four-year term is not available until after he or she has stood for reelection. In Pernambuco, the TCE typically completes its review in three years or less, meaning that for the vast majority of mayors, a judgment of their first year's accounts is issued prior to the next election.

The TCE-PE's professional reputation means that citizens place a high degree of confidence in the institution—an important factor when trying to design an informational intervention that has a decent chance of affecting voting behavior. In our baseline survey, we asked respondents about their level of confidence in the federal government, the justice system, their municipal government, and the TCE-PE. As shown in Figure 4, confidence in the TCE-PE was significantly higher than in any of the other institutions.

As discussed above, the magnitude of informational effects on voting behavior is likely to depend not only on the credibility of the information source, but also on the specificity of the charges and the timing of information delivery relative to election day (Winters and Weitz-Shapiro, 2013). With respect to both factors, our informational treatment sought to maximize the potential for large effects, subject to practical limitations and external validity concerns. Information delivery took place 2–3 weeks prior to the election, after candidacies had been declared, the campaign was in full swing, and voters were likely to be thinking about their decisions. This is far from the immediacy of information treatments in a vignette experiment, but also much more proximate than a decision communicated by the media a year or two before the election.

Our informational treatment also sought to provide as many details as were practical and to deliver the information in a fashion that would maximize comprehension. Treatments informed voters as to whether the accounts of the mayor in their municipality were approved or rejected by the TCE-PE in 2013, along with the percentage of other municipalities in the state that fell

Figure 4: Confidence in Institutions in Pernambuco



into the same category (12% rejected and 88% approved). Information was delivered to voters in the form of a flier handed out by enumerators during the baseline wave of our panel study; examples are contained in Appendix Figures A1 and A2. The front of the flier bears the logos of the TCE-PE and its affiliated academic institution, the Public Accounts School, and it briefly explains the court’s auditing responsibilities. The reverse side conveys the court’s decision for that municipality, including a pie chart with comparative metrics. Enumerators also summarized the information orally to maximize information retention and facilitate comprehension among illiterate voters.

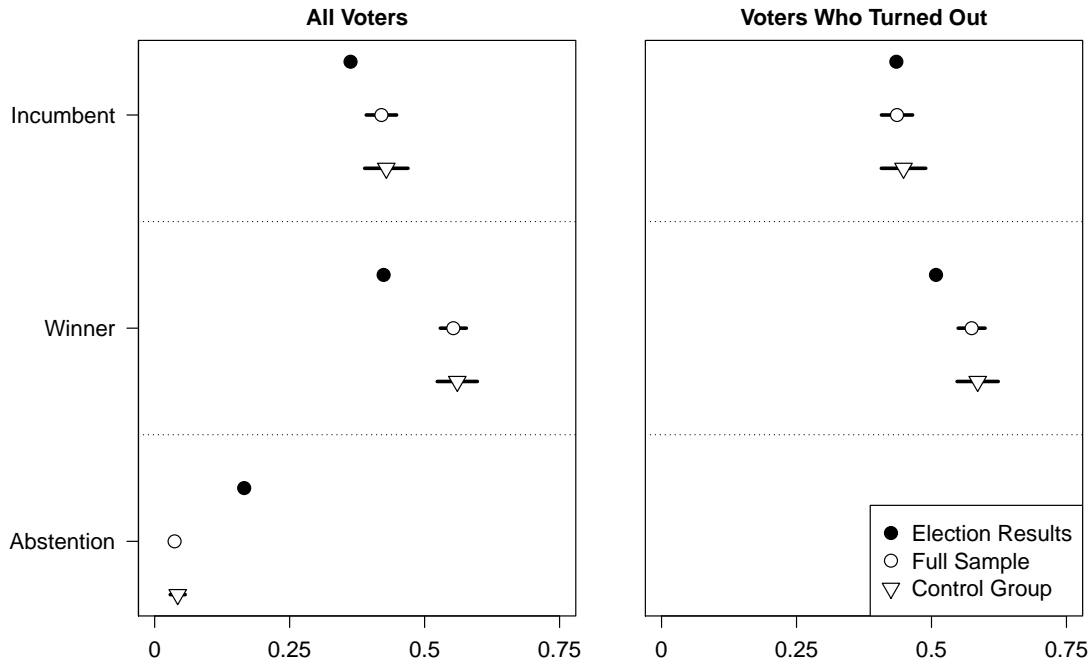
In some respects, the fliers were intentionally less specific than they could have been. At the TCE-PE’s request, we omitted the mayor’s name from the flier and corresponding survey question, in keeping with the court’s practice of not personalizing its decisions. However, numerous prior questions in the survey, including one measuring pre-treatment knowledge of whether accounts had

been rejected or accepted, did identify the mayor by name. We also chose not to include the specific reasons why accounts were rejected. While vignette experiments often convey a single, specific infraction, the TCE's rejection of accounts usually happens for a variety of reasons. It would be difficult to summarize these reasons succinctly; picking and choosing among them would require arbitrary decisions; and including municipality-specific details would have made treatments less comparable to one another.

The experimental sample consisted of 3,200 adult registered voters in 47 municipalities in the state of Pernambuco. The initial sampling frame included those municipalities in which the mayor was running for reelection in 2016 and the TCE-PE had already judged the 2013 accounts. Because there were only 7 municipalities where a mayor with rejected accounts chose to run for reelection, we included all of them in the sample. We sampled an additional 40 municipalities where the mayor's accounts had been approved. We interviewed 40 voters in each of the accounts approved municipalities, and between 80 and 416 voters in each of the accounts rejected municipalities, for a total of 1,600 respondents from each group. Respondents were randomly assigned with equal probability to a treatment group that received information about approval or rejection of their mayor's accounts, a pure control group that received no information, and a second treatment group that received information about the performance of municipal schools, which we do not analyze in this paper. Assignment was block-randomized at the census tract level (8 respondents per block in accounts approved municipalities; 16 in accounts rejected municipalities).

Outcome variables were measured during a second wave of the survey that was fielded 2–4 weeks after the election. This second wave reinterviewed 2577 respondents, for an attrition rate of 19%. Our primary outcome variable, *vote*, takes on a value of 1 if the respondent reported voting for the incumbent mayor, and 0 otherwise (including abstention or a blank or null vote). To reduce social desirability bias and demand effects when measuring vote choice, we used municipality-specific printed ballots, which respondents were asked to deposit in an envelope carried by the enumerator. Brazil uses electronic voting, so it was impossible to mimic the design of an actual ballot, but our paper ballots included all of the information displayed on the electronic voting con-

Figure 5: Vote for Mayor: Sample versus Election Results



firmation screen: name, candidate number, party, and a black and white photo. We also included a space to indicate a blank or null vote, as is possible with electronic voting. An example ballot is contained in Appendix Figure A3.

Comparing the vote distribution in the sample to the corresponding population figure suggests that respondents were honest about whether they voted for the incumbent mayor. To construct a population figure for comparison, we took the electoral results in each sampled municipality and weighted them according to that municipality's share of the final second-wave sample. Results are displayed in Figure 5. The biggest discrepancy is with respect to reported abstention, which is often subject to social desirability bias. However, official abstention rates include voters who have moved out of town and thus had no chance of being sampled in our survey. When we exclude abstentions, there is still a small tendency to overreport voting for the winner of the election. However, there is no significant difference between sample and population in the likelihood of voting for the mayor, our outcome variable of interest.

In addition to self-reported vote, we examine treatment effects on several other outcome vari-

ables. In the second wave, we measured knowledge of treatment information by asking respondents if their mayor's accounts had been approved or rejected in 2013. Because respondents might feel uncomfortable responding verbally to a test of information recall, we used a secret ballot for this question. We also asked for respondents' evaluations of mayoral performance in general, and in the administration of the municipality's accounts in particular, using the standard Brazilian five-point scale (great, good, so-so, bad, or terrible) for each question.

4.2 Vignette Experiment

While the information provided in our treatment condition is similar to what was conveyed in prior vignette experiments, it is not an apples-to-apples comparison. As noted above, vignette experiments typically provide details about specific infractions, whereas our treatment does not explain why accounts were rejected. Likewise, most vignette experiments accuse the hypothetical mayor of corruption—accepting a bribe or otherwise personally profiting from illegal activity—whereas accounts are most often rejected for violations of budgeting laws. Moreover, prior vignette experiments in Brazil have used national samples, whereas ours is limited to specific municipalities in the state of Pernambuco. Differences between the results of our field experiment and those of prior vignette experiments could potentially be attributed to these differences in treatment or sample.

To facilitate a direct comparison of field and vignette experiments, we replicated the vignette experiment analyzed in Weitz-Shapiro and Winters (2017) and Winters and Weitz-Shapiro (2016), substituting our accounts rejection treatment for their bribery treatment and using the original Portuguese-language text for everything else. Our vignette experiment thus presents the following scenario:

Imagine that you live in a neighborhood like yours, but in a different city in Brazil. Let's call the mayor of the city where you live Carlos. Now imagine that Mayor Carlos is running for reelection. During the four years that he was mayor, the city had various

improvements, with economic growth and improved public health and public transport services. *Also in that city, the State Accounts Court rejected the accounts of Mayor Carlos in the year 2013 because it found serious problems in the administration of the budget.*

Respondents were then asked how likely they were to vote for Mayor Carlos, on a four-point scale. Though our vignette experiment treatment does convey a generic reason for accounts rejection, while our fliers did not, the survey itself explains to all respondents that “generally, the accounts are rejected if the Court finds serious problems in the administration of the budget.” Hence, the hypothetical and real-world treatments are presenting essentially the same information.

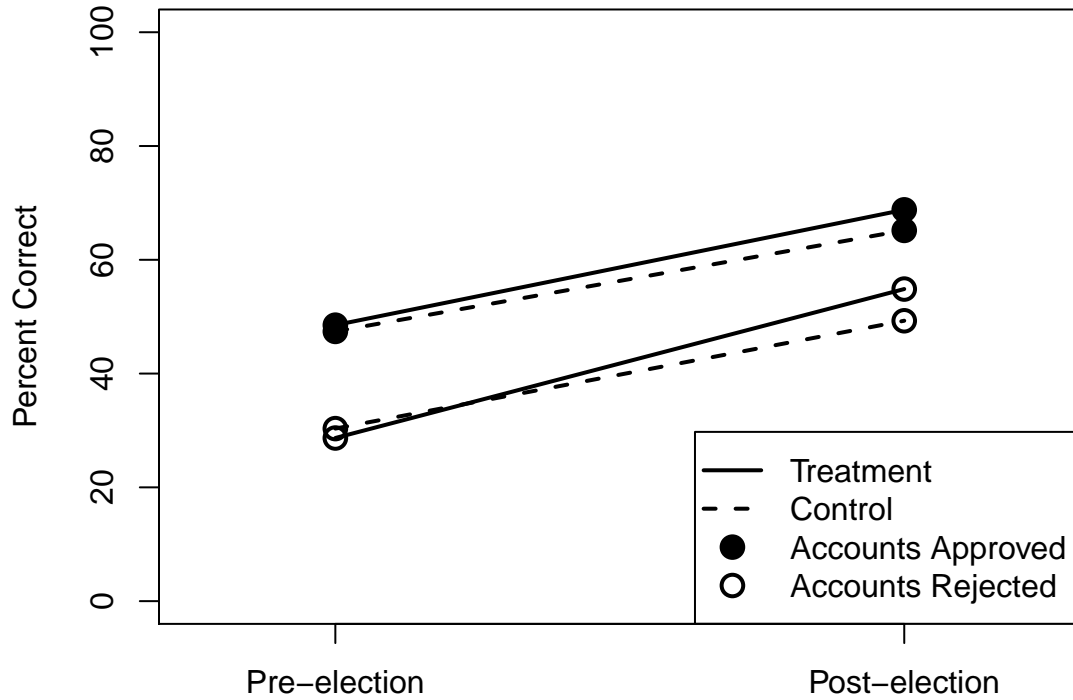
To ensure comparability of the field and vignette experiments while avoiding contamination between the two, we examine vignette experiment treatment effects only for respondents who live in municipalities where the mayor’s accounts were rejected but who never received a flier with this information ($N = 633$).

5 Results

Our field experiment presents clear evidence that informing respondents of the rejection of their mayor’s accounts boosts knowledge. Figure 6 shows the percentage of respondents who could correctly identify the TCE-PE’s decision on their mayor’s accounts in 2013 during the pre- and post-election waves of the survey, respectively. There is a distinct increase in knowledge among both treatment and control groups, which might be attributable to a testing effect, the general effect of the campaign, or the change in question format—in round two, the use of a secret ballot may have encouraged guessing among those who knew the correct answer but were unconfident. We also see that treatment group respondents in accounts rejected municipalities learned at a higher rate. Here, the within-subjects difference is significant at the 0.05 level for a one-tailed test.²

²Our pre-analysis plan specified one-tailed tests but not a within-subjects analysis or testing accounts rejected and accounts approved subgroups separately. The pooled, between-subjects difference in the second round is smaller, but also significant at the 0.05 level.

Figure 6: Learning About Treatment Information

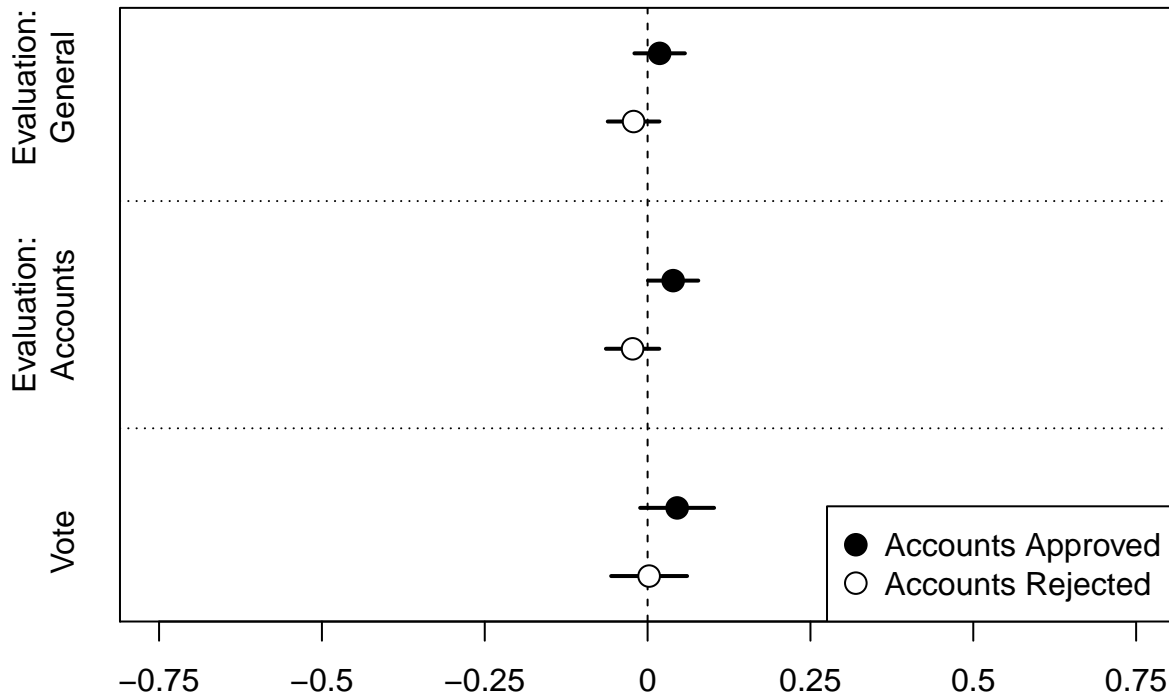


NOTE: “Don’t know” answers treated as incorrect.

While the treatment boosts knowledge of the rejection of accounts, providing voters with this information has no significant effect on their opinions or voting behavior. Figure 7 plots treatment effects on approval of the mayor in general and in the management of the municipality’s accounts in particular, as well as on a binary vote variable. Though in the expected direction, all of these effects are substantively small and statistically insignificant. In particular, the estimated effect of the accounts rejection treatment on voting behavior is almost exactly zero.

Informing voters of the rejection of their mayor’s accounts may not change voting behavior in the real world, but providing this same information in the context of a vignette experiment has large effects on intended vote, in line with prior studies. Figure 8 plots the results of the vignette experiment, alongside similar quantities calculated from the replication data for Weitz-Shapiro and Winters (2017). We calculate treatment effects on the four-category outcome variable (rescaled from 0–1), as well as dichotomizing the scale in two different ways, treating “a great chance” and

Figure 7: Treatment Effects on Mayoral Approval and Vote

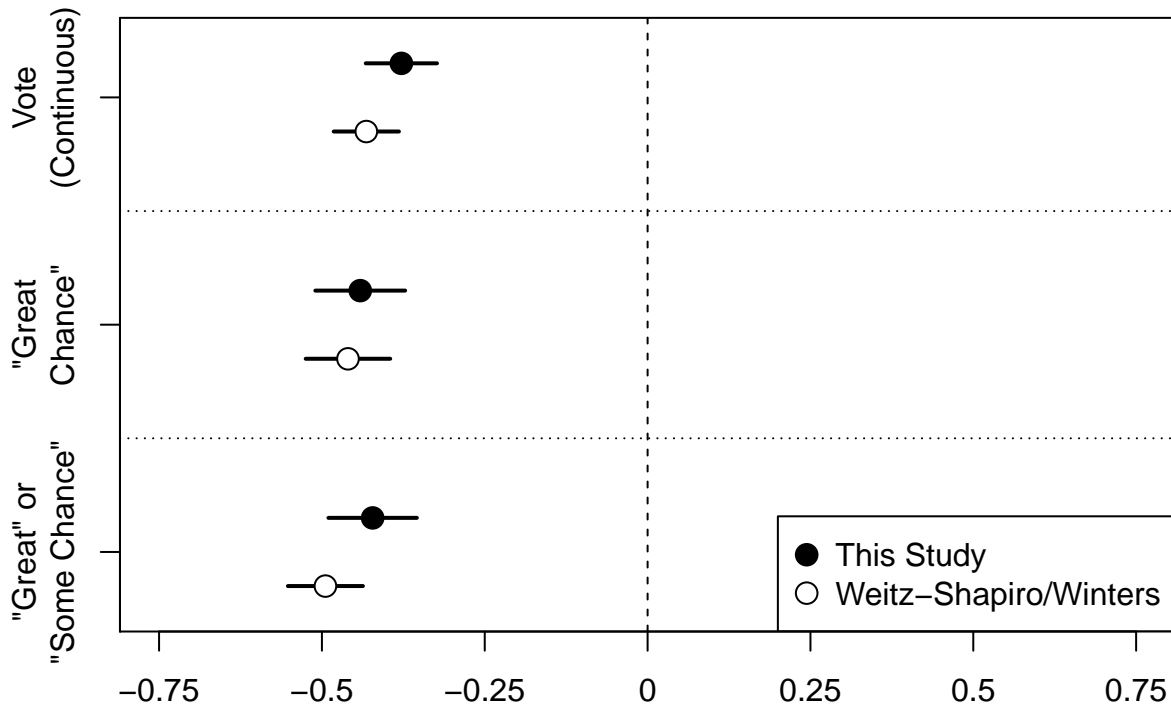


NOTE: Lines give 95% confidence intervals.

“some chance” as indicating a vote for the incumbent (as in Winters and Weitz-Shapiro, 2013) or considering only the most likely category as equivalent to a vote. The latter two estimates can be directly compared to field experiment treatment effects on our binary vote variable. Regardless of how intended vote is measured, the treatment effects from our vignette experiment are large, significant, and statistically indistinguishable from those obtained by Weitz-Shapiro and Winters (2017). Informing voters that their mayor’s accounts have been rejected by the TCE reduces the likelihood of voting for him by 42 to 44 percentage points in a hypothetical scenario, versus 0 percentage points in real life.

In sum, our study provides clear evidence that voters in Pernambuco, like those in the rest of Brazil, respond to the strong norms against corruption and malfeasance in hypothetical scenarios. However, when it comes to real-world voting decisions, those norms do not translate into action at the polls.

Figure 8: Vignette Experiment Effects on Intended Vote



NOTE: Lines give 95% confidence intervals.

6 Explaining the Divergence Between Norms and Action

Why do norms regarding the punishment of malfeasant officeholders not influence voters' behavior on Election Day? To address this question, we evaluate the role of factors discussed in section 2 as to why electoral accountability effects in the real world should be smaller than those in hypothetical vignettes. We argue that the divergence between norms and action is unlikely to be attributable to uncompetitive elections, weak incumbents, the self-selection involved in standing for reelection, or voters' assumptions that all politicians are corrupt. Instead, we highlight the role of cognitive biases, dynastic politics, and tradeoffs with more tangible performance criteria. First, as with Fenno's Paradox in the United States, Brazilians show a tendency to judge politicians in the abstract more harshly than their own elected officials. Second, while corruption is seen as a problem at the national level, malfeasance by local officials is a particularly low-salience concerns compared to health, job creation, and other issues that people directly experience in their day-to-day lives.

Finally, while mass partisanship is weak in Brazil, attitudes toward local political dynasties often serve as a functional equivalent to strong party identification, limiting the potential for information to change voting behavior.

In this section, in addition to electoral results and data from our survey and others, we leverage several sources of qualitative data. For the fourteen municipalities listed in Table 1—all seven with rejected accounts, and another seven, largely similar in terms of population, region, and electoral competitiveness, where the mayor’s accounts had been approved—we had Brazilian research assistants write background reports on the local political climate and campaign dynamics, based on press coverage and telephone interviews with local journalists and bloggers. In three of these municipalities—Tabira, Flores, and Itaíba—we commissioned post-electoral focus groups with local residents, half of whom had participated in the panel study. As part of the pre-testing of our survey instrument, we also conducted a series of eight focus groups in Camaragibe and Abreu e Lima, which were included in final sample of municipalities, and Aliança, which was not. One of us attended each of these 11 focus groups as an observer; the discussion below draws upon our own notes as well as reports prepared by the survey firm.

Table 1: Case Study Municipalities

Region	Municipality	Accounts	Population	Vote Margin
West	Bodocó	Approved	35,158	4.1
West	Santa Maria da Boa Vista	Approved	39,435	3.7
West	Santa Filomena	Rejected	13,371	3.9
West	Trindade	Rejected	26,116	3.1
North	Sertânia	Approved	33,787	8.6
North	Tabira	Approved	26,427	2.1
North	Custódia	Rejected	33,855	24.7
North	Flores	Rejected	22,169	4.1
East	Primavera	Approved	13,439	12.1
East	Gameleira	Rejected	27,912	14
South	Caetés	Approved	26,577	18.4
South	Pedra	Approved	20,944	9.4
South	Bom Conselho	Rejected	45,503	27.1
South	Itaíba	Rejected	26,256	9.2

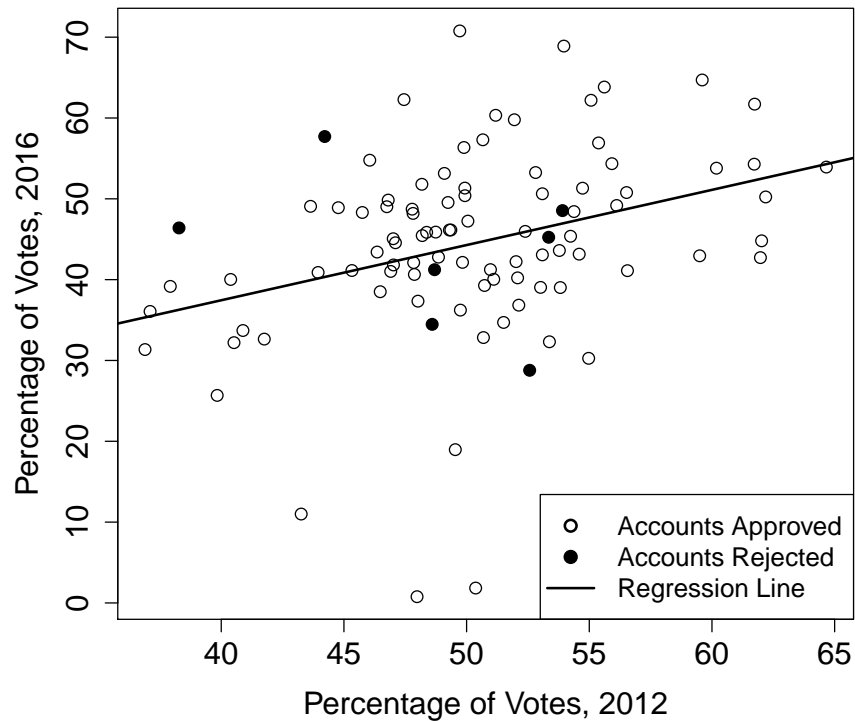
6.1 Unlikely Explanations

In contrast to the reputation of Brazil’s Northeast as a region dominated by local political machines, we found little evidence that uncompetitive elections should have limited treatment effects in the field experiment. The median margin of victory in the 2016 mayoral elections in all of Brazil was 11.7 percentage points. Pernambuco was somewhat more competitive, at 10 percentage points; our 47 sampled municipalities were even more competitive, at 9.4 percentage points; and the seven accounts rejected municipalities were the most competitive of all, with a median margin of victory of 9.2 percentage points. While a lead of this size might feel comfortable to the front-runner in a heavily-pollled presidential election, there are few published surveys of vote intention in most of these small towns, so residents have little basis for deciding *a priori* that the race is wrapped up and their vote does not matter.

We also found little evidence that incumbents with rejected accounts had unusually low baseline levels of support, which might limit the potential for treatment effects. While mayoral approval at baseline is significantly higher in municipalities with approved accounts, the difference is relatively small: 0.15 points on a 5-point scale, or about one-tenth of a standard deviation. We can also compare mayors in terms of their change in vote share *vis-à-vis* the prior election to see if voters punished those with rejected accounts more severely, perhaps due to other aspects of poor performance in office. Figure 9 plots vote share for all rerunning incumbents in 2012 versus 2016. Those with rejected accounts straddle the regression line; on balance, they are quite similar to those with approved accounts.

One might suspect that self-selection into the sample of candidates—i.e., the strongest incumbents with rejected accounts choosing to run for reelection, while the more vulnerable ones opt out—accounts for our null finding in the field experiment. Prior studies of Brazil have shown that being accused of corruption reduces the likelihood of running for reelection (Pereira, Rennó and Samuels, 2011; Rennó, 2008). We find a similar bivariate relationship among mayors in Pernambuco: of 14 first-term mayors whose accounts were rejected, 7 chose not to run for reelection

Figure 9: Mayoral Vote Share: 2012 versus 2016



NOTE: Vote share calculated based on votes cast, including those that were subsequently declared invalid due to disqualification of a candidate.

(50%), versus 27 out of 120 (22.5%) whose accounts had been approved or not yet judged. It is certainly plausible that the 7 accounts rejected mayors who bowed out had weaker reelection prospects than those who did.

However, results from a full-scale ($N = 2000$), cross-sectional pilot study underscore that the lack of a punishment effect is not driven by candidate self-selection. Our pilot study was conducted in July 2016, prior to the candidate registration deadline; it thus included all 14 mayors with rejected accounts who were eligible to run for reelection. The design of the pilot was identical to that of the panel, with the exception that our vote question, asked immediately after delivering the treatment information, inquired about intended vote for the mayor if he were to run for reelection. As will be shown in the Appendix, we obtained similarly null results when informing voters about the rejection of their mayor's accounts in the pilot study. This finding suggests that even if the potentially more vulnerable mayors with rejected accounts had chosen to run for reelection and

been included in our field experiment, our conclusions would not have changed.

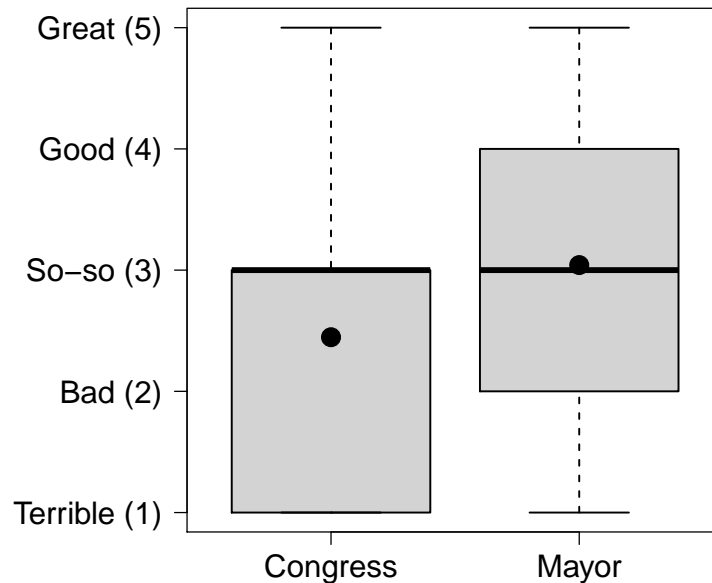
Finally, one might posit that our null finding is attributable to voters assuming that all candidates—incumbent and opposition alike—are equally guilty of malfeasance. In the vignette experiment, following prior studies, we only ask about the likelihood of voting for a single hypothetical incumbent; in the actual election, incumbents faced specific opponents. In some instances, these opponents were quite clearly corrupt. In Custódia, for instance, the incumbent mayor’s accounts were rejected in 2013, but his opponent, a former vice-mayor, had been convicted of a rigging bids for municipal contracts to benefit his own company. In the vignette experiment, voters might have been willing to punish Mayor Carlos because no information was provided about his opponent, whereas in a real election, they may have known or assumed that transgressions were committed on all sides.

However, two key pieces of evidence argue against the conclusion that voters’ assumptions of an equally corrupt opposition underlie our null effects. First, if voters’ priors are that all politicians are dishonest, we should see larger positive effects when informing them that their mayor’s accounts were approved. Yet, as shown in Figure 7, we do not. Second, we also obtain null effects on vote intention in our pilot study, which was, like the vignette experiment, a simple referendum on the incumbent without mentioning specific opponents. Since mayoral candidates had not yet registered at the time this survey was fielded, our vote intention question only included options for the incumbent, “another candidate,” and abstention or a null or blank vote.

6.2 Likely Explanations: Cognitive Biases, Tradeoffs, and Dynastic Politics

Rather than uncompetitive elections, unpopular incumbents, the self-selection of rerunners, or voters’ assumptions of pervasive corruption, we argue that the divergence between norms and action is attributable to a combination of cognitive biases, tradeoffs with more salient performance criteria, and voters’ attitudes toward local political dynasties. This section examines evidence for each explanation.

Figure 10: Approval of Mayor versus Congress



NOTE: Dots give mean values and thick lines give median values. Data are from 44 surveys conducted by Datafolha between 1998 and 2010, in various cities of Brazil.

First, Fenno’s Paradox appears to apply to Brazil as well as the United States: voters are inclined toward harsh judgment of politicians in the abstract but are more forgiving of mayors they know personally. To address this question, we examined 44 municipal-level surveys conducted throughout Brazil from 1998 to 2010, asking respondents to evaluate the performance of their mayor (who was named) as well as “the senators and federal deputies that are currently in Congress.”³ As shown in Figure 10, the distribution of mayoral evaluation is symmetric and centered on the intermediate category, whereas evaluation of Congress is skewed toward disapproval. The difference might be attributable to more favorable attitudes toward local rather than national-level officials, but it also suggests that Brazilians judge their own mayor less harshly than elected officials in the abstract.

Case study evidence is also consistent with the notion that municipal residents are more lenient than outsiders in their judgment of poor-performing mayors. In March 2015, political bloggers

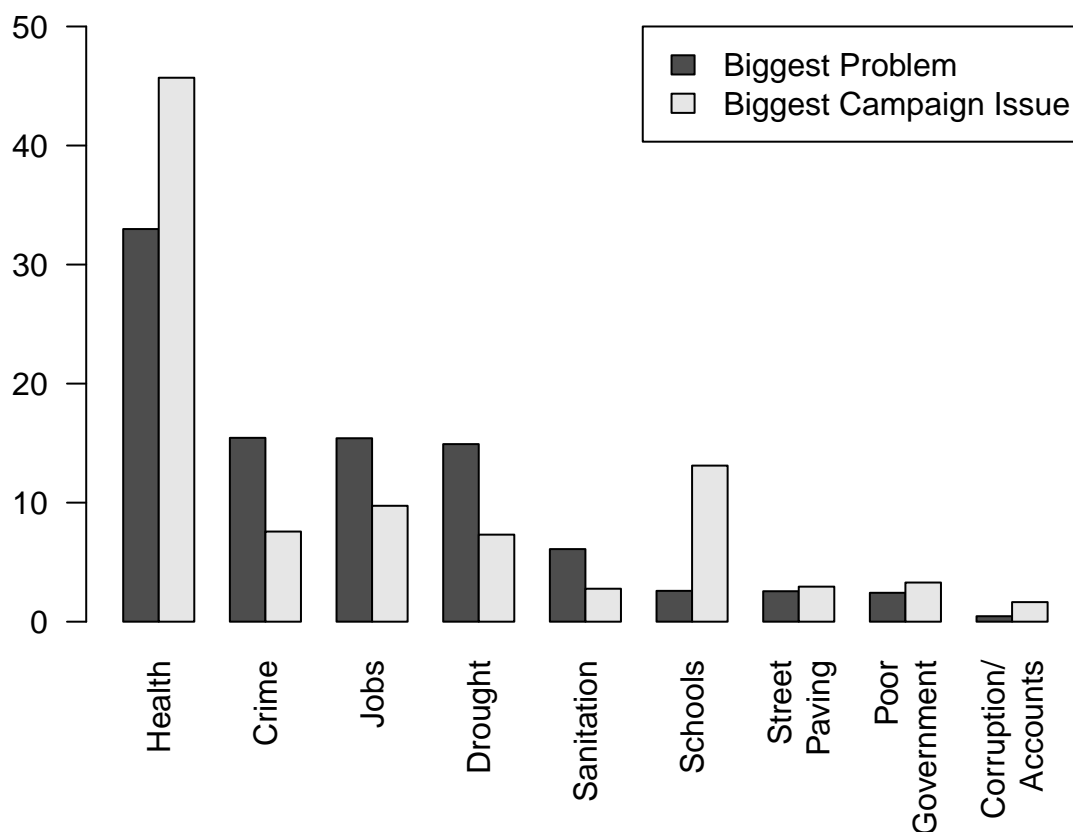
³These were all surveys in the collection of the Centro de Estudos de Opinião Pública of the Universidade de Campinas that asked these two questions. A more apt comparison for testing Fenno’s Paradox might be evaluation of one’s senators (by name) versus Congress in general, but we could not find any surveys asking these two questions.

who cover the Pajeú microregion, encompassing 17 municipalities in the north-central part of the state, voted Flores mayor Soraya Morioka as the worst in the area (Rádio Pajeú, 2015). Press coverage of the final year of her term was overwhelmingly negative, highlighting deteriorating school and public health infrastructure, abandoned construction projects, unsustainable spending on personnel salaries, and a judicial investigation related to no-bid contracts (Finfa, 2015, 2016; Rodrigues, 2016*a,b,c*). Yet evaluations of Morioka in our baseline survey were not significantly lower than those of other mayors in the state (2.84 versus 2.96 on a 5-point scale; $p = 0.37$ for a two-tailed test). And in the Flores focus group, participants had plenty of positive things to say about her tenure; one graded her 8 out of 10, and others noted accomplishments in the areas of health and education, such as implementing a school lunch program.

Second, while Brazilians often mention corruption when asked about major problems at the national level, this issue is much less salient in municipal politics, especially compared to tangible issues that affect people's everyday lives. In the baseline survey, we asked respondents to name the biggest problem in their municipality, and in the endline survey, we asked what issue candidates had most discussed during the campaign. Figure 11 shows the results for those issues in the top ten on both lists, plus the issue of corruption or accounts management (13th on the list of problems and 10th on the list of campaign issues). At the top of both lists are issues that impact people directly on a day-to-day basis—health services, crime, employment, and dealing with a severe drought affecting much of the state. Municipal corruption and malfeasance are clearly at the bottom of the priority list for both voters and candidates.

Evidence from the focus groups accords with these findings from the survey. Asked about problems in their municipality, participants most often mentioned poor employment prospects. In small towns in rural areas, many people are farmers by trade, but the drought has made it difficult to earn a living in agriculture. There were also major complaints related to health services, such as a shortage of doctors and medications in local clinics and needing to travel outside of town for emergency care. Issues related to corruption and municipal accounts never arose spontaneously, even in municipalities where the mayor's accounts had been rejected. When asked about the quality

Figure 11: Biggest Problem and Biggest Campaign Issue in the Municipality



of the municipal government’s “financial management,” a term used in the survey to refer to the status of the mayor’s accounts, participants talked instead about whether the municipal government paid public servants on time—a major issue in places where the town is a major employer but budgets often run short.

Indeed, the salience of job creation and the municipality’s key role as an employer mean that accounts rejection may be negatively correlated with the qualities that voters attribute to a good mayor. Brazil’s Law of Fiscal Responsibility requires municipalities to spend no more than 54% of their budget on personnel, and exceeding this limit is a common reason for the rejection of accounts. Yet the more municipal workers they hire, and succeed in paying, the more mayors are likely to be rewarded for creating jobs in areas with few promising options beyond public employment.

Given the greater salience of more tangible performance criteria, information about municipal malfeasance is likely to carry relatively little weight in an individual's voting calculus. Our argument encompasses the familiar notion of “rouba mas faz,” or “he steals but he gets things done”—voters are likely to excuse the transgressions of a mayor who delivers in terms of health services and job creation. Yet it is also more general. If a mayor gets *nothing* done, his poor performance in salient areas is likely to push voters toward support of the opposition; additional information about malfeasance should make little difference in their voting decisions.

A final explanation for the divergence of results between the vignette and field experiments concerns aspects of the broader political environment that might limit the effects of information—even about salient issues such as job creation or health—on voting behavior. In advanced democracies, strong partisan attachments are a traditional explanation for why information gleaned during campaigns often has limited effects on how people vote (Berelson, Lazarsfeld and McPhee, 1954; Campbell et al., 1960; Converse, 1962; Zaller, 1992). In Brazil, as in many newer and developing democracies, mass partisanship is much weaker, leaving more room for informational effects on voting behavior (Baker, Ames and Renno, 2006; Samuels, 2006; Samuels and Zucco, 2014). Nationally, only around 40% of Brazilians identify with a political party; in our survey, the figure was even lower, at 26%. Moreover, given Brazil's vast array of parties (28 won seats in the last congressional election) and the differences between national and local-levels patterns of competition, a partisan preference does not necessarily provide voters with a clear choice in local elections. For example, only 16% of voters identified with a party that was running a candidate for mayor in their town.

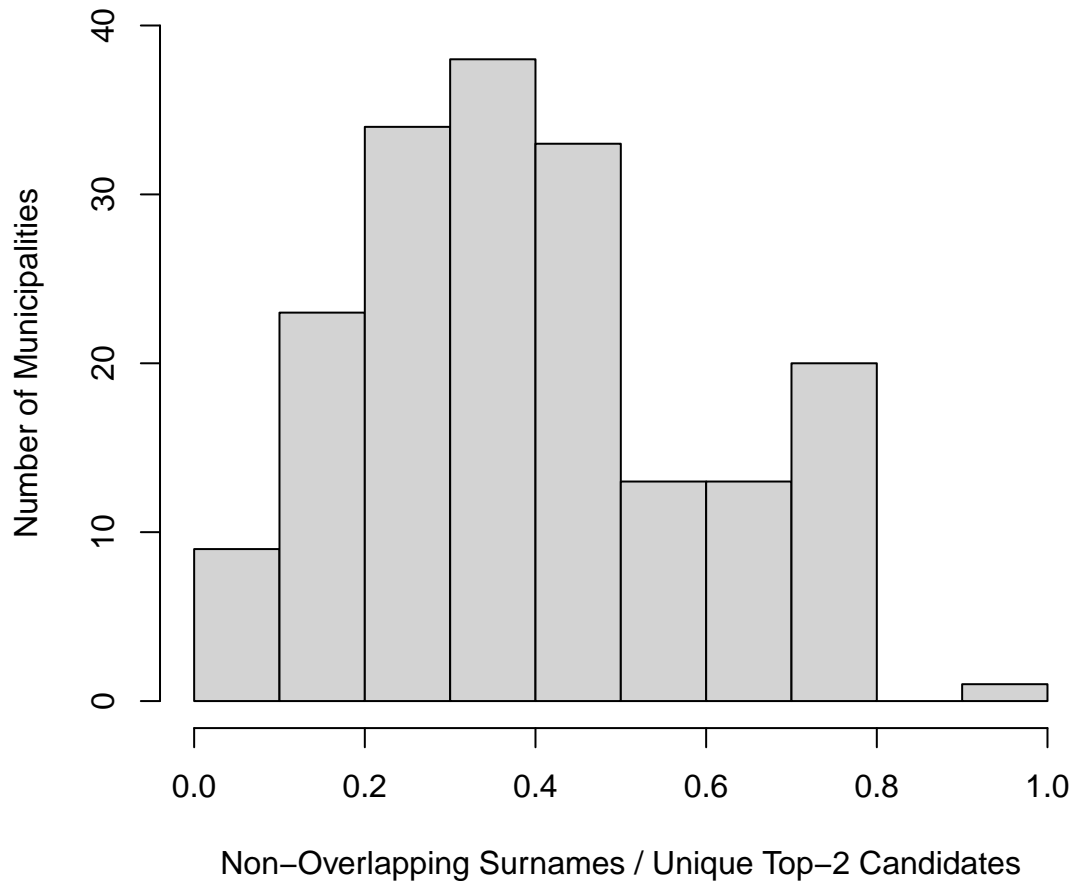
While levels of traditional partisanship may be low in Pernambuco, dynastic politics serves as a functional equivalent in many towns. In the majority of our fourteen case study municipalities, one or more of the principal candidates for mayor in 2016 was a close relative—parent, child, grandchild, sibling, niece/nephew, or current or former spouse—of a former mayor in that municipality (Domingos and Rocha, 2017). In some instances, candidates' families had dominated municipal politics for decades. In Gameleira, all but one mayor from 1988 to the present was from the two

families that presented the major candidates in 2016. In Flores, challenger Marconi Santana, a two-term former mayor himself, was related to seven prior mayors in the town, dating back to 1929. Candidates' campaign strategies often make these family ties explicit. For example, in Custódia, the son of a former mayor who had gone by the nickname "Zé do Povo" ran as "Manuca de Zé do Povo." Oftentimes, dynastic candidates are widely seen as stand-ins (*laranjas*) for former mayors who cannot run again due to term limits or disqualification based on prior transgressions, including the rejection of their accounts. For example, in the Tabira focus group, one respondent explained that the wife of a former mayor was jokingly referred to as "the mute" during the campaign because "she never spoke... he was the one who spoke."

To measure quantitatively the degree of family dominance of local politics in Pernambuco, we examined the surnames of the top two finishers in every mayoral election from 1988 to the present. For each municipality, we eliminate repeat candidacies and then take the ratio of candidates with non-overlapping surnames—that is, neither their maternal nor paternal surname matches that of any other candidate—to unique top-two finishers in these elections. Figure 12 plots the distribution of this ratio for the 184 municipalities in the state. In only one municipality did the top candidates for mayor share no surnames in common; in the median municipality, fewer than 40% of these candidates had non-overlapping surnames.

In many towns, support for or opposition to political dynasties and other non-partisan groups serves as a functional equivalent to partisanship, leading voters to make up their mind about the election well before the campaign. Local political groups sometimes maintain a consistent partisan affiliation, but often they do not. In Flores mayoral elections from 1988 to the present, members of the Santana clan have run with the PSB, PTB, PMDB, and PFL. Yet focus group members often used the term "party" to refer to voters' loyalty to these groups and the stability of political competition among them. According to one participant in Flores, "all my life it's been two parties, either one of them has 5000 votes guaranteed, and there are 2–3000 votes left for them to dispute... the candidate can be Joe Nobody [*Zé Ninguém*], he enters and gets 5000 votes." In Tabira, another participant said that "whoever votes for that party never ceases to be [loyal]... it's a real tradition.

Figure 12: Political Dynasties in Pernambuco, 1988–2016



They are people that put on the shirt of their team and never take it off.” In Itaíba, referring to a local political group that was perpetually in opposition to the dominant family, one person said that “all my life I was a Lombada [supporter], and all my life I lost, but I loved them.”

Finally, for voters whose choices are not strongly influenced by loyalty to local political groups, vote buying may serve a similar function. In our baseline survey, 23.4% of respondents said that it was “very likely” that the mayor or someone from his or her party would offer them food, a gift, or money in exchange for their vote in the upcoming election. In both the focus groups and the interviews with local journalists and bloggers, opinions were that vote buying is ubiquitous, routinely practiced by both incumbents and challengers (Domingos and Rocha, 2017). In this sense, vote buying serves a similar function as job creation, either through programmatic or clientelistic

means. For voters preoccupied with material necessities, choosing a mayor based on incidents of corruption or malfeasance that do not affect them directly may be an unaffordable luxury.

7 Conclusion

Malfeasance by elected officials remains a vexing problem in democracies around the world. In some places, a blasé attitude toward the phenomenon may explain why it is so difficult to stamp out. As shown in Figure 3, for example, the public has a relatively lax attitude toward bribery in India and South Africa, which may explain some of the challenges of combatting corruption in these developing democracies. In Brazil, by contrast, the struggle against official malfeasance benefits from a strong anti-corruption norm. Given pervasive scandals that have implicated much of the country's political class over the past decade, Brazilians have become some of the most intolerant of corruption in the world.

In the context of a strong norm against official malfeasance, survey vignette experiments have shown that Brazilians are willing to punish corrupt officials when confronted with hypothetical scenarios. While studies of this sort have found significant electoral punishment effects in a variety of democracies, from Sweden to Peru to Moldova, those conducted in Brazil stand out in terms of the magnitude of effects. Prior studies have involved accusing a fictitious incumbent of corruption, but we show that statistically indistinguishable effects can be obtained when the informational treatment concerns an administrative sanction commonly applied for less egregious forms of lawbreaking, such as violating budgeting guidelines. In the abstract, Brazilians have little tolerance for official malfeasance of any sort.

Yet in this paper, we also show that Brazil's strong anti-corruption norm fails to translate into action at the polls in a real municipal election. In partnership with the State Accounts Court of Pernambuco, we designed a field experiment in order to maximize the potential for information about incumbent performance to influence real-life voting behavior. Our informational treatments were distributed in close proximity to the election, were signed by a trusted institution of horizontal

accountability, and contained specific details that would allow voters to compare their mayor to others in the state. We do find that voters learn from and recall information about the rejection of their mayors' accounts by the TCE-PE. However, informing voters of the acceptance or rejection of their mayor's accounts has no effect on performance evaluations or the decision to vote for the mayor's reelection.

We argue that there are several reasons why Brazil's anti-corruption norm is not reflected in actual voting behavior. First, voters tend to evaluate local politicians they know more positively than elected officials in the abstract; they may thus be more forgiving of their own mayor's transgressions than those of "Mayor Carlos" in a vignette. Second, while Brazilians consider corruption a relatively important problem at the national level, it pales in comparison to more tangible concerns—most prominently, job creation and health services—when evaluating municipal governments. Third, loyalty or opposition to local political dynasties may play a similar role as partisanship in advanced democracies, leading many voters to make up their minds before the campaign begins. And finally, clientelism is likely to shift the calculus of some voters toward more immediate satisfaction of material needs.

One potential objection to this paper's argument about norms versus action concerns our focus on forms of lawbreaking that do not necessarily involve corruption. While we show that information about bribe-taking (Weitz-Shapiro and Winters, 2017) and the rejection of accounts have similarly large effects in the context of a vignette experiment, we cannot be certain that they have similarly null effects in real life. Rather, the gap between norms and action may be larger when malfeasance involves gross mismanagement than when it involves personal enrichment.

Demonstrating the effect of corruption-specific information on real-world voting behavior would require a different field experiment than the one we conducted. Yet it would also be one whose external validity and practical implications are more limited. While a mayor's accounts can be rejected for activities related to corruption, this sanction is much more commonly applied for activities that impinge upon public welfare without lining the mayor's pockets, such as excessive spending on personnel (often in a clientelistic fashion) or failing to spend required amounts on

social services.⁴ Egregious acts of corruption are more likely to lead to judicial sanctions, up to and including imprisonment, reducing the need for voters to exercise vertical accountability. In contrast, Accounts Courts are more limited in their ability to hold politicians accountable, especially after the 2016 Supreme Court decision that their recommendations must be confirmed by the corresponding legislature before an executive can be barred from running for reelection. The forms of malfeasance examined in this paper are precisely those where vertical accountability is most important.

Our findings should not suggest that Brazilian voters are indifferent to official malfeasance, but they do cast doubt upon the ability of horizontal accountability institutions to induce vertical accountability through public information campaigns. Dissemination of informational fliers signed by an impartial government agency is a relatively “low-dose” treatment compared to opposition political campaigns or denunciations in the media. Weitz-Shapiro and Winters (2017) show that corruption accusations made by an opposition party exert smaller effects on voting behavior than those attributed to a presumably more credible government audit. Yet they also control for the quantity and intensity of information. In real life, auditing agencies are unlikely to do much more than was done in our study—provide factual information to the public and let citizens draw their own conclusions—whereas opposition campaigns will repeat charges ad nauseam, embellish them with innuendo, and generally increase the “dosage” of an information treatment in an effort to amplify its effects. Investigative journalism will often do the same, especially where media outlets have clear political leanings. The drubbing taken by the Workers’ Party in the 2016 municipal elections is presumably much less attributable to the TCU’s recommendation that Dilma’s Rousseff’s accounts be rejected than to the drawn-out, highly partisan campaign for her impeachment as well as months of negative coverage in the press.

Our study, therefore, underscores the importance of horizontal as well as vertical accountability. Administrative sanctioning of malfeasant politicians may lead to an outcome that voters desire in principle but are unable to bring about in practice.

⁴We plan to document this point empirically in future versions of this paper.

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INFORMAÇÃO AO CIDADÃO

O presente formulário faz parte de uma pesquisa internacional, realizada em parceria com universidades brasileiras e do exterior, que busca melhorar a transparência na gestão pública. As informações nele contidas foram extraídas e estão disponíveis no site "Tome Contas" ou outras fontes de acesso público.

INFORMAÇÕES PARA O MUNICÍPIO DE
ABREU E LIMA

INFORMAÇÕES PARA O MUNICÍPIO DE
ABREU E LIMA

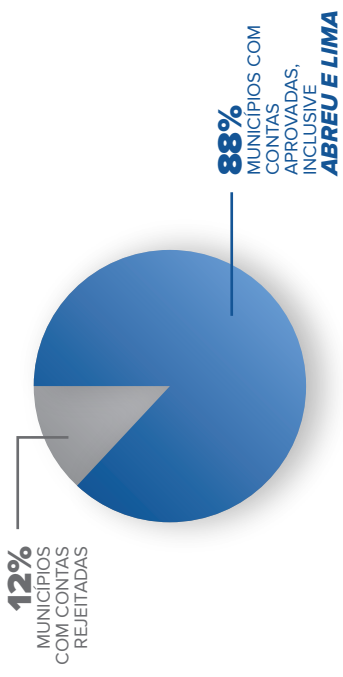


Em 2013, as contas do prefeito de **ABREU E LIMA** foram **APROVADAS**, como aconteceu em **88%** dos municípios de Pernambuco.



O Tribunal de Contas do Estado de Pernambuco (TCE-PE) é um órgão público que, dentre outras atribuições, examina as contas das prefeituras municipais, avaliando a gestão financeira auditada.

Você sabe se as contas do seu prefeito foram aprovadas ou rejeitadas pelo TCE-PE? Veja alguns dados.



Estas informações estão sendo fornecidas no contexto de uma pesquisa acadêmica conduzida por professores da **Universidade Federal de Pernambuco**, o **Instituto Tecnológico de Massachusetts** e a **Universidade de Boston**, em parceria com a **Escola de Contas Públicas Barreto Guimarães do TCE-PE**.

PARA MAIS DETALHES, VISITE WWW.METAKETA.ORG/TCE

Figure A1: Accounts Approved Flier


Tribunal de Contas
 ESTADO DE PERNAMBUCO


Escola de Contas Públicas
 PERNAMBUCO


TCE-PE

INFORMAÇÃO AO CIDADÃO

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INFORMAÇÕES PARA O MUNICÍPIO DE
BOM CONSELHO

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BOM CONSELHO

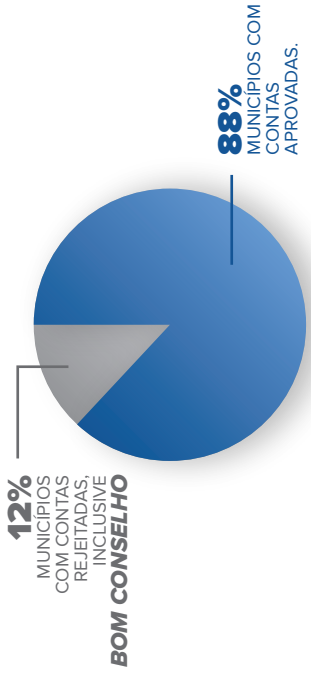


Em 2013, as contas do prefeito de **BOM CONSELHO** foram **REJEITADAS**, algo que aconteceu só em **12%** dos municípios de Pernambuco.



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PARA MAIS DETALHES, VISITE WWW.METAKETA.ORG/TCE

Figure A2: Accounts Rejected Flier

Figure A3: Secret Ballot for Measuring Vote Choice

PARA PREFEITO DE ABREU E LIMA

	<u>NOME</u>	<u>NÚMERO</u>	<u>PARTIDO</u>	
	KATIANA GADELHA	12	PDT	<input type="checkbox"/>
	FLAVIO GADELHA	15	PMDB	<input type="checkbox"/>
	PR. MARCOS JOSÉ	40	PSB	<input type="checkbox"/>
	BRANCO / NULO			<input type="checkbox"/>