

Electoral Manipulation and Regime Support: Survey Evidence from Russia

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Abstract

Does electoral fraud stabilize authoritarian rule or undermine it? The answer to this question rests, in part, on how voters evaluate regime candidates who engage in fraud. Using a survey experiment conducted after the 2016 elections in Russia, we find that voters withdraw their support from ruling party candidates who commit electoral fraud. This effect is especially large among strong supporters of the regime. Core regime supporters are more likely to have ex ante beliefs that elections are free and fair. Providing them information about fraud significantly reduces their propensity to support the ruling party. These findings illustrate that fraud is costly for autocrats not just because it may ignite protest, but also because it can undermine the regime's core base of electoral support. Because many of its strongest supporters expect free and fair elections, the regime has strong incentives to conceal or otherwise limit its use of electoral fraud.

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Does electoral fraud stabilize authoritarian rule or undermine it? On one hand, electoral fraud may help the regime “win” elections and signal strength to elites (Simpser, 2013; Rozenas, 2016). This view suggests that manufacturing dominant electoral victories deters potential challengers. But electoral fraud also carries a clear set of risks. If knowledge of fraud becomes widespread, the opposition may take to streets as the Colored Revolutions clearly demonstrate (Tucker, 2007; Bunce and Wolchik, 2011).

However, fraud holds another potential liability for autocrats that is underappreciated: it can erode popular support for the regime. In this paper, we examine how voters in contemporary Russia respond to information that the regime is manipulating elections. We argue that because voters view fraud as morally inappropriate, they disapprove of its use and withdraw support from candidates that use it.

The effects of increasing awareness of electoral fraud are largest among core regime supporters. In electoral authoritarian regimes, regime partisans are more likely to believe, *ex ante*, that elections are conducted fairly. This can happen for a number of reasons. Regime supporters are more exposed (and possibly susceptible) to regime propaganda, and partisanship biases may inhibit the internalization of rumors about fraud. Alternatively, they may support the regime precisely *because* they believe it is holding free and fair elections. Given these pre-conceived notions, the regime’s core supporters will be most likely to punish regime incumbents when information about fraud is revealed to them. By contrast, swing or weakly aligned voters are already skeptical about electoral integrity. Hence, the revelation of new information about fraud will do less to affect their vote choice. Expectations of electoral fraud are already factored in for these voters.

To test these claims, we conducted a framing experiment through the 2016 Russian Election Study, a nationally representative survey following that year’s State Duma Election. The survey experiment randomly exposed respondents to information that a hypothetical United Russia (UR) candidate engaged in different types of fraud and then asked them to rate their likelihood of voting for the candidate. We find that all types of electoral fraud—ballot-box fraud, vote buying, and intimidation—reduce support for the UR candidate.

Using data from the same survey, we report several other findings in support of our main arguments. First, the vast majority of Russians express moral disapproval of electoral fraud, regardless of their affinity for the regime in power. Second, a surprisingly large share of Russians believe that elections are held honestly, and more importantly for this study, regime supporters are much more likely to believe that elections are free and fair. Finally, we find that learning about fraud by UR candidates produces a much larger reduction in support among strong regime backers than it does among weakly aligned voters. We conclude that if information on fraud were to become widespread in Russia, the size of Putin's electoral coalition would diminish significantly. We replicate these findings with a second survey experiment conducted in Russia in May 2018, which also examines how an individual's likelihood of voting depends on perceptions of fraud.

Our findings demonstrate that excessive use of fraud can destabilize autocracy not just because it leads to mass protest, but also because it erodes the regime's base of electoral support. Some recent accounts suggest the opposite. [Svolik \(2017\)](#), for instance, argues that regime supporters in polarized societies will endorse illiberal acts if it helps their party defeat the opposition. Our experiments suggest this is not the case in Russia. Polarization is not strong enough that regime supporters are willing to excuse regime candidates for fraud. Instead, they punish them for it.

Whereas many neo-institutional accounts of autocracy suggest regimes should publicize fraud in order to convey strength, our argument helps explain why autocrats in fact go to such lengths to conceal their use of it. Indeed, contemporary electoral autocracies such as Russia often commit significant resources to improve public perceptions of electoral integrity. More generally, our findings suggest that autocratic regimes maintain a façade of electoral democracy because many voters believe in that façade and express support for democratic principles. The neo-institutional literature on autocracy has also usefully pointed out that elections can provide dictators with important instrumental benefits, such as information and cooptation. But our findings suggest that scholars of autocracy should not overlook the more prosaic reasons that they retain (or introduce) elections. Elections are held because voters value them.

Electoral Manipulation and Voter Behavior

Autocrats turn to electoral manipulation for a number of reasons. Most obviously, such tactics can help the regime “win” elections. Ballot-box fraud adds votes in a straightforward manner and several studies show that vote-buying can be effective (Cantú and García-Ponce, 2015; Vicente, 2014).¹ And while there is less research on intimidation, at least one recent study has found that threatening voters can be effective at turning out the vote (Frye, Reuter, and Szakonyi, 2018). Fraud may have other benefits as well, such as allowing the regime to manufacture large vote margins that convey an image of strength (Simpser, 2013). Fraud can signal to potential challengers that resistance is futile. To regime insiders, it demonstrates that defection will not be rewarded with success. Finally, some have argued that fraud can make opposition voters believe that their vote is useless and, thereby, reduce opposition turnout (McCann and Dominguez, 1998; Simpser, 2012, 2013).

But fraud is not an electoral panacea for autocrats. One of the main contributions of the new literature on electoral authoritarianism is to point out that these regimes actually use electoral manipulation sparingly. It is rare for these regimes to simply fake the election (Magaloni, 2006; Levitsky and Way, 2010). Instead, they invest considerable effort securing electoral victories that reflect the revealed preferences of voters. Genuine’ victories are preferable to manufactured ones because electoral manipulation is costly. Administrative costs are one factor—it is expensive to coordinate and implement nationwide fraud campaigns—but most accounts imply that the more important downside of fraud is that the masses react negatively to it. Indeed, the fact that autocrats usually try to hide fraud indicates that they believe they would suffer some consequence for committing fraud openly.

Electoral fraud, it has been argued, can undermine the legitimacy of an autocrat’s electoral victory (Cornelius, 1975; Norris, 2014; Birch, 2011). Legitimate victories, it is argued, are preferable for autocrats because they convey a more convincing image of invincibility (Magaloni, 2006).

¹This view has recently been challenged by Guardado and Wantchékon (2018), among others

More worryingly for autocrats, a number of models link electoral fraud to the eruption of mass protest (Tucker, 2007; Fearon, 2011). These models assume that the opposition detests electoral manipulation and will, under certain circumstances, pour onto the streets in order to overthrow incumbents deemed responsible.

But fraud has another potential cost. It may reduce levels of political support for the regime. In almost all countries, electoral manipulation is illegal. Those who commit fraud are breaking the law. Moreover, individual acts of electoral manipulation have moral valence. Voter intimidation involves coercion, which in most cultures is viewed as immoral. To the extent that voters prefer virtuous candidates, they should punish those who use coercion to win votes. Moral evaluations of vote buying are more complicated, but available evidence indicates that most voters view it as morally inappropriate (Gonzalez Ocantos, Jonge, and Nickerson, 2014).² Finally, while the moral calculus of ballot-box fraud has not been explored in the literature, it is conceivable that voters find ballot box fraud inappropriate if they view it as a form of stealing or cheating.

Thus, there are good reasons to think that incumbents may lose votes if voters were to discover that they manipulated elections. However, there are few studies that examine this empirically. On one hand, work by Kramon (2016) suggests that vote-buying helps candidates demonstrate competence, trustworthiness, and electoral viability to potential voters in places where patronage is pervasive. In contrast, Weitz-Shapiro (2014) uses a survey experiment in Argentina to show that middle-class voters withdrew their support from candidates who engaged in vote buying. Using vignette experiments, Gutierrez-Romero and LeBas (2015) show that voters in Kenya are less likely to express support for candidates who are rumored to have engaged in pre-election violence.

These studies are relevant for our research, but it is hard to directly compare our findings with theirs. Acts of physical violence—Gutierrez-Romero and LeBas (2015) reference murder in their experiment—hold much greater moral valence than the types of electoral manipulation that

²Gonzalez Ocantos, Jonge, and Nickerson (2014) study the acceptability of vote buying in a larger sample of countries, but they focus on how individuals evaluate *voters* who receive payment for their vote.

we study here. [Mares and Young \(2018\)](#) conduct a survey experiment in which they examine how rumors of vote buying and intimidation affect support for hypothetical candidates in rural Bulgaria. Their research is the closest to ours, but as we discuss below, their main focus is on how socio-demographic factors affect evaluations of manipulation. We also use an expanded definition of electoral manipulation that includes intimidation, vote-buying, and ballot-box fraud.

Consequences of Electoral Manipulation: A Survey Experiment in Russia

Our main goal in this paper is to examine which voters autocratic regimes risk losing when they commit fraud. But before turning to that question, we first seek to determine whether electoral manipulation affects mass support for the authorities at all. We begin addressing this question by examining how Russians view the moral appropriateness of different types of electoral manipulation. The 2016 Russian Election Study, our main data source for this study, included a battery of questions that tapped respondents' views on the acceptability of different types of electoral subversion.³ The question wordings and distribution of responses are given in Table 1.

These specific acts were chosen because they are common in Russian elections. The first row is presented as a baseline. While attending ribbon-cutting ceremonies may be perceived by some as an abuse of state resources, it is unlikely to elicit a strong negative response from most voters. And indeed, as Table 1 shows, 55% of voters think that this is mostly acceptable. The next two rows assess the acceptability of two common forms of systemic manipulation: restrictions on opposition access to the ballot and the media. Voters strongly disapprove of both practices.

³The 2016 RES was a nationally representative survey of 2,010 respondents from 48 regions, carried out between November 8 and December 4, 2016, just after the State Duma elections held in October of that year. The survey was conducted by Levada Center and interviews were conducted face-to-face.

TABLE 1: ACCEPTABILITY OF ELECTORAL MANIPULATIONS

	Not Acceptable			Completely
	1	2	3	Acceptable
Parties and politicians use many strategies to attract votes. In your opinion, how acceptable are the following actions?				4
1. Attend opening ceremonies for cultural or sporting events during the month before elections	27%	17%	34%	22%
2. Limit opposition candidates from appearing on television	75%	17%	6%	2%
3. Create obstacles for opposition candidates to register	77%	17%	5%	1%
4. Hand out food packets to pensioners	37%	23%	24%	16%
5. Recruit people to attend political rallies with liquor or food	67%	20%	10%	4%
6. Tell workers of a local firm that they will lose their jobs if they don't vote correctly	82%	13%	4%	2%
7. Organize 'carousels' by which buses shuttle people to vote at multiple polling stations	75%	13%	8%	4%

The last four rows of the table show how Russians view different forms of election-day manipulation. Unsurprisingly, most voters disapprove of vote buying. But, interestingly, they evaluate various types of positive inducements differently. Thirty-nine percent of voters approve of distributing food packets to pensioners, but only 13% approve of handing out alcoholic drinks at rallies.

Unsurprisingly, row six shows that most voters (82%) strongly disapprove of electoral intimidation. Finally, the question in row seven taps voters' assessments of *karusels*, a type of ballot-box fraud.⁴ Voters are slightly less disapproving of *karusels*, but still the vast majority (88%) dis-

⁴In Russia, the term *karusel* may refer to two slightly different electoral practices. It may refer

approve to some degree. On the whole, voters find all types of electoral subversion—with the possible exception of some types of vote buying—to be unacceptable.

These descriptive statistics are informative: Russians find consensus when describing what they expect their elections to look like. Nondemocratic practices do not enjoy popular support among the vast majority of the population. The norms of democracy are strong even in authoritarian Russia. However, our primary goal is to determine how awareness of electoral manipulation affects support for the regime. These questions do not tell us whether voters punish the authorities at the ballot box for manipulating elections. Voters may view manipulation as unacceptable, but such considerations may not enter into their voting calculus or they may be crowded out by other concerns.

One way to approach this question is to ask respondents about their assessments of electoral manipulation and correlate such attitudes with regime approval ratings. Such a correlation is informative—and we explore such analyses below—but it suffers from several limitations. For one, the direction of causality is unclear; perceptions of electoral integrity might increase support for the regime, or support for the regime may make it more likely that voters evaluate regime institutions (e.g. elections) in a positive light. There are, of course, other endogeneity concerns as well. It could be that perceptions of electoral integrity have no effect on regime support, but rather that both attitudes are codetermined by some other factor or set of factors. Finally, the correlation does not tell us how the *revelation* of information about electoral manipulation might affect those who think elections are free and fair. Those who think that elections are honest may still turn against the regime if they were to discover that elections are manipulated.

To address such shortcomings, we analyze a survey experiment that we embedded on the 2016 RES survey (described above). The experiment was designed to assess the likelihood that respondents would vote for a hypothetical candidate from the ruling party United Russia in the next

to simple multiple voting, in which groups of voters are transported from poll to poll in order to vote multiple times, usually using assumed names and/or absentee certificates. It may also refer to a monitoring scheme for facilitating ballot fraud.

State Duma election, conditional on 1) electoral manipulation by the hypothetical candidate and 2) the candidate’s professional background. The experiment had a 3X4 factorial design and each respondent was asked the following question:

Imagine that during the next State Duma elections, a **[professional background treatment here]** is nominated by United Russia in your voting district. He is 50 years and his program focuses on increased support for local schools and building new roads in the district. During the campaign, there emerges some interesting information about the candidate. On the one hand, it becomes known that he adopted two disabled children from a local orphanage. On the other hand, he **[electoral manipulation treatment here]**. How likely is it that you would vote for this candidate?

Respondents were asked to rate their likelihood of voting for this candidate on a five point scale ranging from ‘definitely will not vote’ to ‘definitely will vote.’ Respondents were randomly assigned to one of 12 combinations of candidate professional background and electoral manipulation type as depicted in Table 2. Covariate balance checks presented in the Appendix indicate that randomization was successful.⁵ This type of candidate vignette is broadly similar to that used in a number of recent experimental studies that vary attributes such as gender and policy positions (Schwarz, Hunt, and Coppock, 2018; Doherty, Dowling, and Miller, 2016).

TABLE 2: COVERAGE TABLE

	Entrepreneur	Head Doctor	Factory Worker
No Electoral Manipulation	162	167	153
Gave Out Presents to Voters Before the Elections	124	136	142
Organized Carousels to Take Voters to Polls	142	133	153
Threatened Several Colleagues so They Voted	153	145	160

Total number of respondents who received “No Electoral Manipulation” (control): 535
 Total number of respondents who received “Any Fraud Treatment” (three treatments): 1475

We invoke three professional backgrounds in the first experimental arm: a doctor, an entrepreneur, and a worker (rabochii). Our experiment was designed with two purposes in mind:

⁵All respondents received one of the three professional background treatments. Twenty-five percent of respondents did not receive one of the electoral manipulation treatments, and, as such, constitute the control group for that experimental arm.

1) to examine voter assessments of workplace mobilization and 2) to examine how electoral manipulation affects regime support. We are interested in the second question here and focus on those parts of the experiment that are relevant to this question. As such, we collapse the professional background treatments in the subsequent analyses.

Three types of electoral manipulation were included as treatments. The first referred to vote buying. Although middle-income countries such as Russia typically see less vote-buying, the practice became well-known during the 1990s and poorer segments of the population still report being offered cash or gifts in exchange for their votes. Second, we included a treatment that references workplace threats against employees. This is by far the most common type of electoral intimidation in Russia (Frye, Reuter, and Szakonyi, 2018) and is likely familiar to respondents. Finally, we included a treatment that refers to ballot-box fraud. Specifically, we refer to a candidate that organized a multiple-voting scheme using buses to ferry voters to precincts. This type of ballot-box fraud is common in Russia and it is a type of fraud that respondents could envision candidates organizing. As Table 1 showed, respondents easily interpreted and evaluated all three treatments in terms of their acceptability during elections, with the latter two getting especially low marks.⁶

Several features of the experiment are worth noting. We hold constant the partisan affiliation of the candidate. The hypothetical candidate is from United Russia, and, as such, pro-regime. We also hold constant a distinctive and highly admirable trait: that he adopted disabled children. These were conscious design choices. One reason we focus on pro-regime candidates is because, as we discuss below, we are particularly interested in how pro-regime voters react to the revelation of electoral fraud. The inclusion of a partisan affiliation also reduces the need for speculation by the respondent. One common problem with hypothetical survey prompts is that a large proportion of respondents are unable to speculate about their behavior in an imagined situation. The inclusion of partisan affiliation, along with the inclusion of the adoption trait, makes it more likely that a large share of respondents can form an opinion about this baseline candidate.

⁶Importantly, the response rate for these questions was very high. The vast majority of respondents recognized each practice and felt comfortable passing judgment.

Secondly, we take care to choose wording for our treatment to account for potential concerns about the realism of the experiment. In non-experimental settings, citizens are both (1) differentially exposed to information on fraud and (2) differentially inclined to accept it as accurate. Some consumers believe all the information they receive from the media, while others may be more skeptical of particular outlets based on ownership or perceived political bias, among other characteristics. Our experiment is designed to solely analyze differential exposure by asking respondents to imagine scenarios in which information on electoral manipulation is revealed and internalized by the respondent with some degree of certainty. We do this through the formulation “it becomes known.”⁷ Respondents are prompted to think that the information about the candidate committing fraud is already accepted public knowledge, rather than being cued to think about whether the information is accurate or who might be disseminating it. Thus, the design elides the question of how people become aware of fraud. We return to this issue in the conclusion.

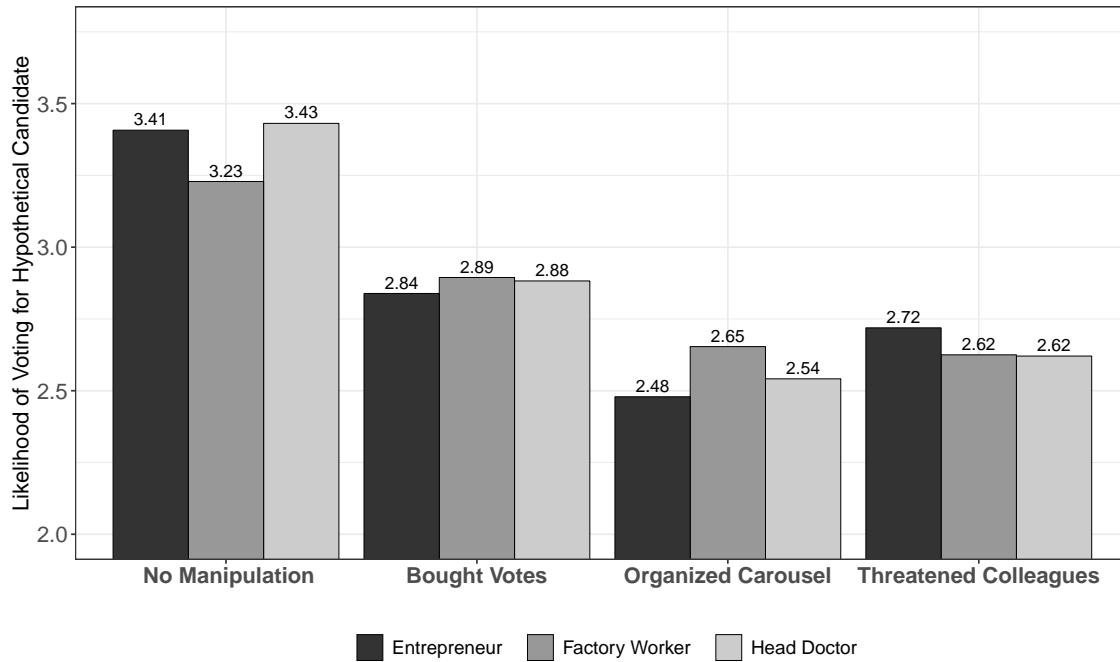
The full results of the experiment are presented in Figure 1. The Y-axis shows the mean response on the vote propensity scale. Differences between professional backgrounds are slight and not the focus of this paper. The most important result is the difference in mean vote propensity between the three electoral manipulation treatment groups and the control group, which did not receive a manipulation treatment. As the figure shows, respondents who were told that the hypothetical candidate engaged in some form of electoral manipulation were significantly less likely to express support for the candidate. This effect holds for all types of electoral manipulation, but there are interesting differences across types. Interestingly, voters are more turned off by ballot-box fraud than by vote-buying and threats.⁸ It is perhaps not surprising that vote-buying is less offensive, but this finding calls for further research.

Our main interest, however, is on the total effect of electoral manipulation on regime support.

⁷The Russian language formulation is “stanovitsiya izvestno, chto.” See the Appendix for the exact wording of the question in Russian.

⁸The difference between the mean response for the carousel treatment group and across the vote-buying and threat treatment groups is 0.21 and statistically significant.

FIGURE 1: SUPPORT FOR HYPOTHETICAL CANDIDATE BY TREATMENT STATUS



Therefore, for all subsequent analyses we collapse all of the manipulation treatment groups. The difference in means between the control group (the leftmost set of bars in Figure 1) and the remaining treatment groups (all other bars in Figure 1) is 0.67 ($p=.000$), which translates into a 13.4% decrease in vote propensity.⁹ This is a substantively large effect. However, since the vote propensity variable is an ordinal scale, this quantity cannot be directly interpreted as a 13% decrease in the probability of voting for the candidate. Rather it makes more sense to evaluate effect sizes across the range of the vote propensity variable. Appendix Figure A1 compares the distribution of responses on the 5-point vote propensity scale for the two groups. We see a sharp increase in the number of respondents indicates a very low likelihood of voting for the UR candidate (the values of 1 and 2 on the Y-axis) upon receiving any of the manipulation treatments.

⁹The mean response for the control group is 3.35. Across the three manipulation treatment groups, the mean is 2.69.

Electoral Manipulation and Core Supporters

The results in the previous section indicate that information about electoral manipulation committed by pro-regime candidates reduces support for such candidates. But what type of voters are turned off by electoral manipulation? One conditioning factor that has received little attention is regime affinity. Do so-called ‘swing voters’ recoil more upon learning about electoral fraud, or might strongly-aligned regime supporters be more likely to withdraw their support? If it is only swing voters, then electoral manipulation may not be so costly for the regime, since many of these voters would not, in the end, vote for the regime any way. If electoral fraud, however, leads to the loss of core supporters, then it could have important consequences for the regime’s ability to hold onto power.

In this section, we argue that strong regime supporters will be just as likely, if not more so, to punish UR candidates when they learn about electoral manipulation. This will happen if pre-existing awareness of fraud varies with regime affinity. If regime partisans have stronger pre-existing beliefs that elections are free and fair, they will be more likely to punish incumbents when information about manipulation is revealed. If, by contrast, swing or weakly aligned voters are already skeptical about electoral integrity, then the revelation of new information about fraud will do less to affect their vote choice. These voters have already incorporated expectations of significant electoral fraud into their political beliefs and therefore do not update.

There are a number of reasons to think that, on average, strong regime supporters will be less aware of electoral fraud. To the extent that voters disdain electoral fraud—indeed the previous section demonstrates that most do—strong regime supporters may only continue to support the regime because they have not been exposed to information about electoral manipulation. Fraud is not easy to perceive. It is an illicit activity, and regime officials go to great lengths to cover it up. Regime supporters might be even less attuned to it because they are apolitical or because they are more exposed to pro-regime media outlets and, therefore, regime propaganda.¹⁰ Alternatively (or additionally), strong regime partisans may be oblivious to fraud for some of the reasons sketched

¹⁰They may self-select pro-regime media outlets or their exposure to such outlets may be what

above: they have been exposed to rumors in the past, but discounted them because they conflicted with prior notions of the regime's propriety.¹¹ Indeed, a recent study in Mexico finds evidence of just this phenomenon (Cantú and García-Ponce, 2015).

The tendencies sketched above will necessarily be strengthened if propriety is a trait that regime voters value highly. To the extent that regime supporters—or some subset of them—support the ruling party precisely *because* they perceive it to be more trustworthy or honorable than the opposition, they will be more likely to withdraw support when information of malfeasance is revealed. In other words, if new information about fraud erodes a core assumption that they hold about the regime, regime supporters may punish it at the polls.

Two possible hypotheses can be derived from these observations. The *weak* version of the argument suggests that *both* strongly-aligned and weakly-aligned regime supporters will withdraw their support from UR candidates when information about electoral manipulation is revealed. The *strong* version of the argument suggests that strongly-aligned regime supporters will be *more* likely to withdraw their support than weakly-aligned voters. Both of these arguments contrast with the expectations derived from arguments based on motivated reasoning.

Alternative Explanations

There are few existing studies of our research question. However, a review of studies in adjacent literatures suggests that a strong case could be made that electoral manipulation will only affect vote choice among swing or weakly-aligned voters. On the other hand, strongly-aligned voters could be practicing motivated reasoning, and therefore be more accepting of negative information about United Russia.

Motivated reasoning is a well-established phenomenon in political behavior (Kunda, 1990; _____)
leads them to be regime supporters. Or both.

¹¹The treatment in our experiments propose that information on electoral manipulation by the candidate has become widely accepted.

Taber and Lodge, 2006). One particularly important contributor to politically motivated reasoning is partisanship. In many political settings, partisanship is as much a determinant of one's worldview as it is a consequence (Campbell et al., 1966; Bartels, 2002). Such partisan biases affect public opinion on a huge number of issues, from evaluations of the economy to foreign policy to public policy (Duch, Palmer, and Anderson, 2000; Jerit and Barabas, 2012) and can operate via several possible mechanisms.

One is selective exposure to information. Partisans may only seek out information that supports their existing views. This mechanism is not relevant for the present study since our experimental manipulation provides subjects with information about fraud. A second possible mechanism is motivated skepticism. Here individuals use their reasoning powers to downplay or denigrate information that runs counter to their existing beliefs (Taber and Lodge, 2006; Lebo and Cassino, 2007). In our case, motivated skepticism could lead strong UR partisans to discount information about electoral manipulation. They may reason that the use of fraud was somehow justified or that it serves a higher purpose.

There is little scholarship on how partisanship affects assessments of electoral manipulation, but related studies suggest that we could expect motivated reasoning to play a role. Several scholars show that voters downplay scandals that afflict leaders of their own party (Bhatti, Hansen, and Olsen, 2013; Wagner, Tarlov, and Vivyan, 2014). One recent study from Spain found that voters are more likely to tolerate corruption if the offending politician is from their own party (Anduiza, Gallego, and Muñoz, 2013). In Russia, Robertson (2017) finds that regime supporters are less likely to have knowledge of GOLOS, a vote monitoring organization sometimes viewed as oppositional, and to express trust in vote monitoring organizations. Finally, Svoboda (2017) provocatively argues that political polarization leads voters to tolerate undemocratic policies if it will help their preferred party defeat a detested opponent. In our empirical models below, we seek to adjudicate between this alternative hypothesis and our own.

Partisanship and Perceptions of Electoral Integrity

The previous section suggests that the costs of electoral manipulation depend on 1) whether fraud is already common knowledge and 2) who is aware of fraud. In this section, we investigate these questions. There are different views on the integrity of Russian elections. On one hand, election observer reports paint an altogether grim picture of opposition candidates being restricting from running, biased media coverage, intimidation, and fraud (ODIHR, 2003; GOLOS, 2012; Enikolopov et al., 2013).¹² Statistical election forensics paint a similar picture, demonstrating that ballot box fraud has become commonplace (Myagkov, Ordeshook, and Shakin, 2009; Rundlett and Svolik, 2016). All of this accords with the Western scholarly consensus, which generally views Russia as an authoritarian regime.

However, substantial portions of the Russian electorate hold a much rosier view of how these same elections were held. Nationally representative polls find that although citizens detect weaknesses in the electoral process, their perceptions of electoral integrity are generally much more favorable than one might expect from reading election monitor reports. To demonstrate this, we draw on data from Russian Election Surveys (RES) between 2000 and 2016. Each survey included the same set of questions asking respondents about their appraisal of democracy in Russia. Respondents were asked whether they agreed with the following statements: elections in Russia are conducted honestly (on a five-point scale, where 5 indicates that they were completely honest), voting makes a difference to what happens in the country (also on a five-point scale), and that Russia is a democracy (yes or no). Figure 2 plots the averages from respondents following five national election rounds.¹³

¹²In 2008, the Central Election Commission banned access for OSCE observers into the country for future elections. Since then, most of the objective information on electoral integrity in Russia comes from domestic organizations, such as Golos.

¹³Only means are shown here. The variance in responses also changes little over time, with standard deviations in the range of 1.4-1.5 for the questions in the top two panels, and 0.45 for the

We see that throughout the period, a large share of the electorate believes that elections are conducted honestly and outcomes, to a slightly lesser degree, can affect their daily lives (Panels A and B).¹⁴ Interestingly, opinions on these two issues do not appear to shift markedly over time, even as steps were taken by the Russian government to consolidate media ownership in state hands and limit the ability of opposition parties to contest elections. Even more strikingly, the percentage of citizens that believe Russia is currently a democracy has been steadily on the rise since 2000. By 2016, nearly two-thirds of the country thought as much, a figure that had nearly than doubled over just the previous eight years. Of course, some caution is required when interpreting this particular result, as personal definitions of democracy are may vary.

The results from the RES polls are by no means unique among work on Russia. Separate opinion polls have found that since 2000, a majority of Russian citizens believe votes are being counted honestly, media outlets are covering campaigns fairly, and real competition takes places between candidates (McAllister and White, 2011; Rose and Mishler, 2009). Less than 15% of respondents felt that electoral results in general could not be trusted.¹⁵

Nor do Russian respondents appear to be unique in viewing their country as democratic, when most outside observers think otherwise. Pietsch (2015) reports that most respondents in Southeast Asian electoral autocracies also think they are living in a democracy. Appendix Table E1 presents summary statistics from the latest wave of the World Values Survey (2010-2014) about how respondents living in electoral autocracies (the top panel) view the state of democracy in their own countries. We see that even in regimes generally considered to be unfree, such as Jordan, Singa-

bottom panel.

¹⁴In 2016, the distribution of responses was as follows: 25% responded 5 (honest); 22% said 4; 28% said 3; 14% said 2 ;and 12% said 1 (dishonest).

¹⁵For comparison's sake, roughly 70% of the U.S. electorate were very confident or somewhat confident that their votes were accurately cast and counted from the period of 2004-2016. McCarthy, Justin and Jon Clifton. "Update: Americans' Confidence in Voting, Election". *Gallup*, November 1.

pore, and Zimbabwe, substantial portions of the population believe that their country is democratic, often to the same degree as in more established democracies, such as Germany and Poland (the bottom panel). Similarly, perceptions vary widely about the quality of elections, with many respondents from electoral autocracies believing that votes are counted fairly, opposition candidates face few restrictions, and the media present fair coverage of political events.

Digging deeper into the 2016 RES survey results, we find that supporters of the regime are much more likely to have positive perceptions of electoral integrity. Table 3 presents the results from a series of multivariate regressions where the outcome variables are the same measures of election integrity perceptions discussed above (Columns 1-3). Interestingly, basic demographics, such as gender, age, employment status, and economic situation, explain little of the variation in how people view the quality of elections.¹⁶ What matters most is people's political leanings. Respondents who approve of President Putin's performance in office or support the ruling party United Russia are significantly more likely to believe that elections were held fairly (Column 1), voting in elections can influence political events in the country (Column 2), and that Russia is currently a democracy (Column 3).¹⁷

However, regime supporters may also define democracy differently, which could be driving the correlation between partisanship and views of electoral integrity. By holding electoral processes to a lower standard, they may be more likely to believe that the government is performing adequately in its administration of elections and that a more minimal definition of integrity is being met. We explore this possibility in Columns 4-6 of Table 3 which investigates whether respondents believe whether certain common electoral violations are broadly acceptable.¹⁸ We find no evidence that support for Putin and/or the ruling party United Russia is associated with holding a different definition of what electoral integrity actually means. Moreover, there are few predictors consistently

¹⁶For the exact question wordings, please refer to the Appendix.

¹⁷These findings hold when either *United Russia Support* or *Putin Support* are entered into the regression individually

¹⁸The exact question wordings are in Table 1.

FIGURE 2: BELIEFS ABOUT DEMOCRACY OVER TIME

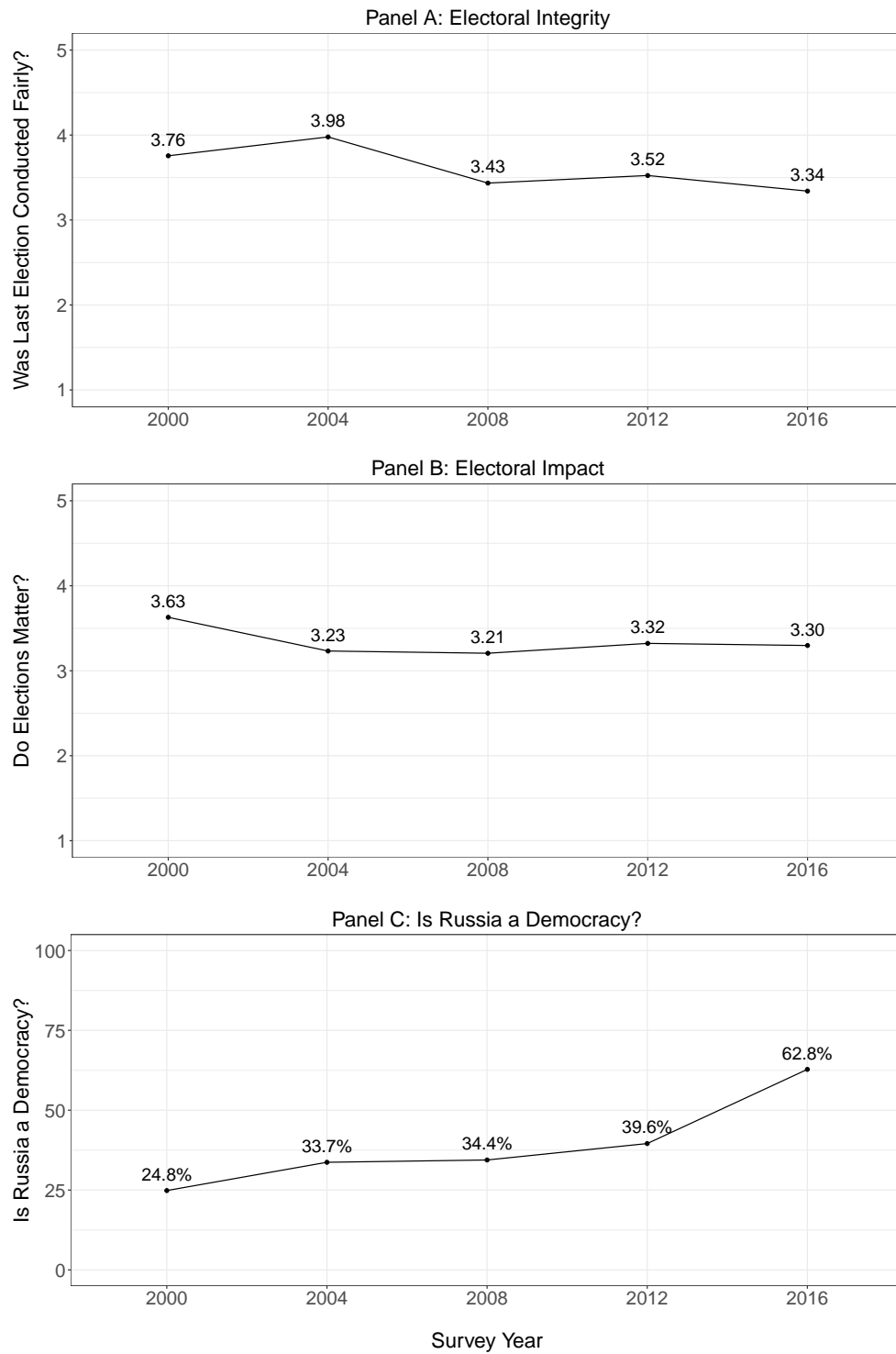


TABLE 3: PUTIN DEMOCRATS - REGIME SUPPORT AND VIEWS OF DEMOCRACY

	Perceptions of Democracy			Acceptability of Fraud		
	Electoral Integrity	Electoral Impact	Russia = Democracy	Opp. Blocked	Carousel Voting	Media Restrictions
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Male	-0.072 (0.069)	-0.113 (0.071)	-0.030 (0.031)	0.019 (0.029)	-0.022 (0.039)	0.014 (0.032)
Age (log)	-0.112 (0.099)	-0.125 (0.087)	-0.093 (0.049)	0.016 (0.038)	-0.097 (0.068)	-0.025 (0.050)
Education	-0.040 (0.027)	-0.047 (0.032)	-0.008 (0.010)	-0.015 (0.012)	0.0004 (0.015)	-0.027 (0.015)
Town Size	-0.049 (0.045)	0.046 (0.043)	0.034 (0.012)	-0.002 (0.019)	0.007 (0.031)	0.011 (0.022)
Economic Situation	0.014 (0.037)	0.102 (0.033)	0.042 (0.013)	0.002 (0.012)	-0.017 (0.019)	0.010 (0.017)
Employed	-0.027 (0.064)	-0.207 (0.071)	0.014 (0.023)	-0.004 (0.028)	0.0005 (0.035)	0.031 (0.033)
KPSS Member	0.063 (0.119)	-0.007 (0.093)	-0.077 (0.045)	-0.027 (0.055)	-0.038 (0.074)	0.025 (0.051)
Voted	0.116 (0.059)	0.440 (0.074)	0.014 (0.025)	0.023 (0.036)	0.062 (0.035)	0.036 (0.034)
No. Civil Society Orgs	-0.002 (0.035)	0.003 (0.060)	-0.004 (0.014)	0.009 (0.019)	0.042 (0.023)	0.032 (0.021)
Interest in Politics	0.029 (0.049)	0.120 (0.042)	0.003 (0.018)	-0.002 (0.019)	-0.016 (0.022)	-0.012 (0.024)
Putin Support	0.346 (0.042)	0.338 (0.042)	0.094 (0.016)	-0.029 (0.020)	-0.003 (0.027)	-0.043 (0.020)
United Russia Support	0.113 (0.020)	0.114 (0.015)	0.041 (0.008)	0.013 (0.007)	0.003 (0.011)	0.012 (0.011)
Region Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,589	1,725	1,456	1,641	1,704	1,647
R ²	0.292	0.304	0.261	0.122	0.159	0.105

This table examines the correlates of perceptions of democracy and the acceptability of different types of electoral fraud. The outcomes in the first two columns are measured on five-point scales (higher values indicate more positive perceptions), while Column 3 is a binary indicator for whether respondents believe Russia is currently a democracy. The outcomes in Columns 4-6 are all measured on four-point scales with higher values indicating greater acceptance of these activities. All models cluster standard errors at the region level.

associated with an individual's approval of different types of electoral malpractice, which may be expected given the tight distribution around unacceptable for these indicators shown in Table 1. Cross-national surveys tell a similar story. There is remarkable congruence worldwide, both among masses and elites, about the normative standards required to make an election free and fair (Norris, 2013).

Of course, these correlations do not allow us to identify the direction of causality. Respondents who view elections as free and fair may reward the regime for upholding democratic procedures. Or they may view elections as honest because they are under the influence of partisanship or propaganda. Either way, the important point for our study is that such a correlation exists. The next section explores some important implications of this finding.

Heterogenous Effects of Revealing Information about Electoral Manipulation

Our main argument is that core regime supporters should be more sensitive to new information about electoral fraud than are weakly aligned voters. We test this by examining the heterogeneous treatment effects from the framing experiment outlined above. We hypothesize that support for a regime-affiliated candidate will fall more among individuals with stronger pre-existing affinity towards United Russia (and President Putin) than among those with weaker commitments to the regime. We use several measures of regime support for these purposes: a 5-item scale measuring personal approval of President Putin's time in office, a 10-item scale measuring support for United Russia, and a binary indicator for whether or not a respondent voted for United Russia in the 2016 parliamentary elections. The first two indicators capture respondents' self-reported support for the regime, while the third question measures actual behavior taken in support of United Russia. For our main analyses, we collapse the three types of electoral manipulations employed in the framing experiment into a binary treatment indicator ('any fraud') for whether or not a respondent received any information about a candidate engaging in this type of behavior.

Table 4 presents a series of OLS models where we regress the likelihood of a respondent voting for the candidate described in the vignette on the 'any fraud' treatment indicator and a range of

covariates. However, in Column 1, we exclude the treatment group from the model to examine the benchmark case (the control group). Intuitively, we find that individuals with a stronger affinity for the party are more likely to support its candidates, but no other demographic characteristics predict support.¹⁹ Adding the ‘any fraud’ treatment in Column 2 confirms the results presented above in Figure 1: overall support for UR candidates drops when respondents learn about electoral manipulations being committed.

Columns 3-8 then present heterogeneous treatment effects along three measures of support for the regime. We find consistent evidence in favor of our main hypothesis: United Russia candidates who engage in fraud see their electoral support drop more among core supporters than among weakly aligned voters. It makes little difference how the survey population is subset, whether by high versus low approval ratings of Putin in office (Columns 3-4), high or low levels of support United Russia more broadly (Columns 5-6), or having voted for United Russia (Columns 7-8).²⁰ For the variables measuring Putin and UR approval ratings, the sample is subset among those at the very top of the scale (a rating of 5 out of 5 for Putin, or a rating above 8 out of 10 for United Russia) and those in the middle (a rating of 3 or 4 out of 5 for Putin, or a rating between 4 and 8 for United Russia).²¹ In each instance, the difference in coefficients on the treatment between regime and opposition supporters is large and statistically significant.

In Appendix Table B1, we show models including interactions between the treatment dummy and the three measure of regime support; the coefficient on the interaction terms are significant at the 95% level or above. Figure 3 is produced on the basis of Models 1 and 2, with the marginal

¹⁹This set of null findings is not particularly meaningful, given the inclusion of the *United Russia Support* variable.

²⁰All results remain statistically and substantively unchanged when we remove the controls for *Putin Support* and *UR support* in the respective models that examine the conditional effects of the other. These two variables are correlated at $r=0.53$.

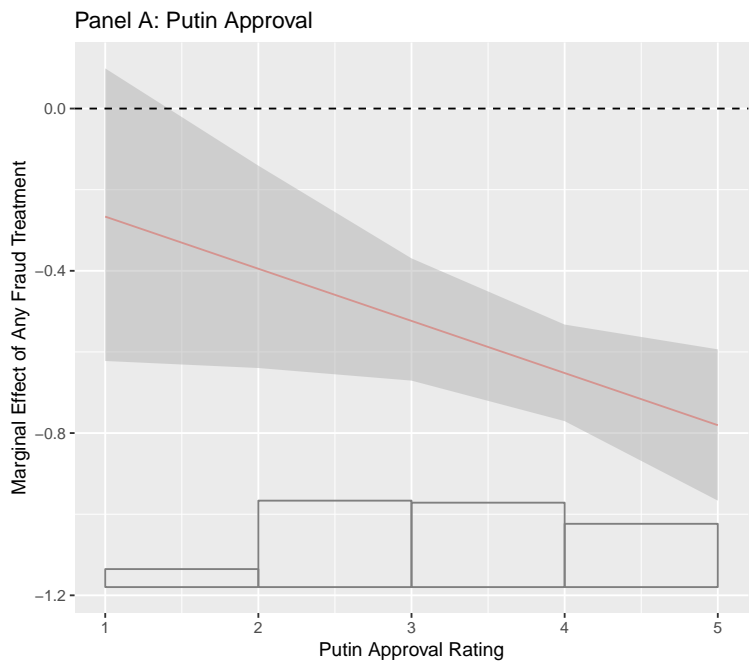
²¹The results are robust to including the bottom part of the distribution for both variables (the opposition) in the ‘low’ category.

TABLE 4: HETEROGENEOUS EFFECTS OF LEARNING ABOUT ELECTORAL FRAUD

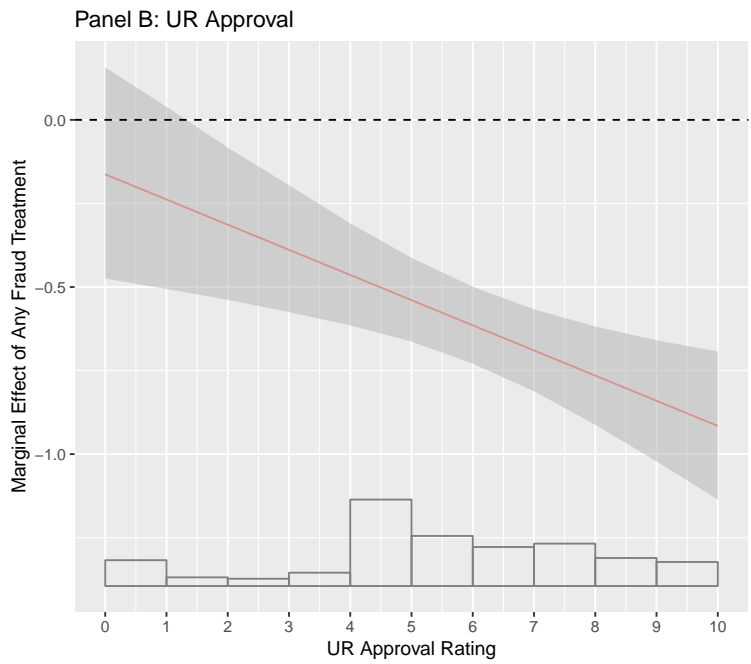
			Putin Approval		UR Approval		Voted for UR	
	Control	Full Sample	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Any Fraud Treatment		-0.642 (0.060)	-0.974 (0.124)	-0.589 (0.072)	-0.997 (0.173)	-0.621 (0.073)	-0.896 (0.109)	-0.444 (0.140)
Male	-0.204 (0.116)	-0.113 (0.059)	-0.161 (0.132)	-0.121 (0.070)	-0.201 (0.190)	-0.151 (0.069)	-0.108 (0.111)	-0.051 (0.132)
Age (log)	0.073 (0.168)	0.019 (0.079)	0.139 (0.185)	0.007 (0.092)	0.266 (0.246)	0.062 (0.092)	0.237 (0.156)	-0.117 (0.227)
Education	-0.058 (0.048)	0.016 (0.023)	0.049 (0.045)	0.004 (0.029)	-0.022 (0.066)	0.034 (0.028)	0.038 (0.040)	0.046 (0.053)
Town Size	-0.040 (0.046)	0.042 (0.023)	0.047 (0.052)	0.050 (0.029)	0.033 (0.074)	0.053 (0.028)	0.085 (0.045)	0.063 (0.057)
Economic Situation	0.054 (0.056)	0.003 (0.028)	0.034 (0.057)	-0.019 (0.034)	0.135 (0.079)	-0.010 (0.033)	0.069 (0.053)	-0.118 (0.065)
Employed	-0.034 (0.113)	-0.030 (0.060)	-0.037 (0.133)	-0.049 (0.071)	-0.218 (0.181)	-0.009 (0.072)	0.054 (0.116)	0.091 (0.144)
KPSS Member	0.076 (0.181)	0.145 (0.096)	0.240 (0.183)	0.080 (0.119)	-0.167 (0.252)	0.237 (0.122)	0.112 (0.164)	0.034 (0.174)
Voted	0.001 (0.116)	0.162 (0.061)	0.273 (0.135)	0.171 (0.072)	0.145 (0.192)	0.164 (0.073)		
No. Civil Society Orgs	-0.064 (0.057)	-0.018 (0.029)	-0.030 (0.053)	-0.029 (0.036)	0.080 (0.095)	-0.010 (0.033)	-0.071 (0.058)	-0.061 (0.058)
Interest in Politics	0.017 (0.058)	0.026 (0.029)	-0.016 (0.065)	0.017 (0.036)	-0.068 (0.087)	0.038 (0.036)	-0.059 (0.056)	0.033 (0.073)
Putin Support	0.100 (0.071)	0.064 (0.034)			-0.052 (0.125)	0.065 (0.041)	0.030 (0.068)	0.356 (0.065)
United Russia Support	0.111 (0.028)	0.070 (0.014)	-0.024 (0.028)	0.084 (0.016)				
Region Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	436	1,610	404	1,091	258	1,079	533	339
R ²	0.263	0.245	0.391	0.235	0.398	0.249	0.326	0.314

This table uses regression analysis to examine the framing experiment. Column 1 restricts the analysis to only the ‘control group’ (which received no information about the candidate engaged in electoral fraud). Column 2 estimates the same treatment effect graphically depicted in Figure 1, while including covariates. Columns 3 and 4 use a five-point scale to subset to respondents with high levels of approval of Putin’s performance in office (a value of 5) and low levels (values of 3 and 4). Columns 5 and 6 use a ten-point scale to subset the sample to respondents with high levels of approval of United Russia (values higher than 7) and low levels (values between 4 and 7). Columns 7 and 8 subset the sample by whether the respondent voted for United Russia in the 2016 Duma Election.

FIGURE 3: MARGINAL EFFECTS



CI(Max - Min): [-1.001, -0.03]



CI(Max - Min): [-1.23, -0.276]

effect of the ‘any fraud’ treatment shown on the y-axis across different values for Putin’s approval rating (Panel A) and support for United Russia (Panel B); a distribution of responses is shown as an inlaid histogram in each panel. We see that there is a strong negative relationship between the degree of support for the regime and the effect of learning about electoral fraud committed by affiliated candidates.

One concern is that these large differences are driven by a mechanical feature of our measurement strategy. Since regime supporters are more likely to back the United Russia candidate *ex ante* (i.e. without any knowledge of their campaign activities), their pre-treatment level of candidate support will obviously be higher, and, therefore, these respondents have farther to fall down the five point scale. For example, consider the extreme scenario in which the effect of revealing information on fraud is to induce all respondents to report that they will “definitely not vote” for the candidate (this is equal to one, the lowest point on the scale). Swing voters, whose pre-treatment level of support is three, exhibit a treatment effect of two, while core supporters, whose pre-treatment level of support is five, will exhibit a treatment effect of four. This scenario is patently implausible, but it illustrates the mathematical problem well.

However, our results basic results are not driven by this floor effect. The *percentage* drop relative to the group is still higher among strongly aligned regime partisans than it is among the weakly aligned. For example, support for the United Russia candidate among strong Putin supporters (Column 3) falls by 24 percent (relative to their baseline level) when they are informed of electoral fraud; among swing voters support drops 18 percent relative to the baseline. (Column 4). Differential effects are still present: regime supporters are more turned off by learning that United Russia candidates commit electoral violations.

Regime Perceptions and the Effect of Electoral Fraud

Why does evidence of electoral fraud more strongly affect core regime supporters? What are these voters learning that makes them withdraw their support? In Table 5, we explore several explanations. One possibility is that electoral fraud undermines the regime’s reputation for propriety.

Measuring a respondent's views on the honesty of the regime is difficult, especially since different respondents may conceive of the regime in different ways. In Russia, almost all regime supporters also support Putin and most associate United Russia closely with Putin. Thus, one adequate proxy could be respondent's view's of Putin's character.

Surveys find that Russians consistently identify several positive traits in Putin. In our survey, seventy-one percent of respondents agreed with the statement that he was a "strong leader" (24% said 'mostly yes').²² Another trait that voters associate with Putin is honesty. In the 2016, RES, 54% of respondents agreed with the statement that Putin is honest and deserving of trust (33% said 'mostly yes'). Moreover, most Russians expect their leaders to uphold democratic procedures; 77.8% of respondents in the 2016 RES agreed or mostly agreed with the statement that Russia should be governed democratically. This is not a new finding. [Colton and McFaul \(2002\)](#) demonstrated that most Russians in the Yeltsin era also supported democracy. More recently, [Hale \(2011\)](#) has presented convincing evidence for the idea that Russians prefer a strong ruler unchecked by horizontal institutions, but they want the ruler to be elected and held accountable through free and fair elections.

Learning about electoral fraud can undermine perceptions of Putin's virtues. Voters that receive objective information about their politicians being corrupt and dishonest are more likely to rescind their electoral support ([Ferraz and Finan, 2008](#)). Despite the appeal of lying to hide undesirable characteristics, honest candidates still enjoy electoral advantages since voters highly value trustworthy candidates, irrespective of their policy promises ([Callander and Wilkie, 2007](#)). Similarly, committing electoral fraud can signal weakness; autocrats must break the formal electoral rules in order to ward off challengers.

²²The question asked respondents whether they agreed with certain evaluations of Putin's character, prompting them with a four-point scale with values of 'no', 'mostly no', 'mostly yes', and 'yes'. Voters also view Putin as being competent (77%). Interestingly, it is not simply the case that voters evaluate Putin highly on every dimension. Only forty-four percent thought that he "really thinks about the interests of people like me".

TABLE 5: HOW ELECTORAL FRAUD UNDERMINES PERCEPTIONS OF THE REGIME

	Putin is Strong		Putin is Honest		Electoral Integrity		Russia = Democracy	
	High (1)	Low (2)	High (3)	Low (4)	High (5)	Low (6)	Yes (7)	No (8)
Any Fraud Treatment	-0.701 (0.072)	-0.466 (0.115)	-0.763 (0.087)	-0.492 (0.096)	-0.918 (0.139)	-0.579 (0.073)	-0.705 (0.085)	-0.603 (0.113)
Male	-0.101 (0.071)	-0.066 (0.107)	-0.155 (0.087)	-0.104 (0.092)	-0.046 (0.137)	-0.125 (0.070)	-0.079 (0.082)	-0.150 (0.106)
Age (log)	0.070 (0.095)	-0.134 (0.155)	0.126 (0.113)	-0.128 (0.131)	0.147 (0.168)	-0.051 (0.099)	0.184 (0.107)	-0.159 (0.166)
Education	0.015 (0.028)	-0.007 (0.044)	0.034 (0.034)	0.005 (0.037)	0.047 (0.051)	0.008 (0.028)	0.001 (0.033)	0.018 (0.044)
Town Size	0.064 (0.028)	0.004 (0.049)	0.053 (0.033)	0.035 (0.039)	-0.009 (0.066)	0.055 (0.028)	0.069 (0.035)	0.005 (0.043)
Economic Situation	-0.009 (0.033)	0.00004 (0.052)	0.007 (0.041)	-0.008 (0.044)	-0.037 (0.066)	0.017 (0.033)	0.033 (0.040)	-0.034 (0.051)
Employed	-0.026 (0.073)	-0.098 (0.110)	0.023 (0.090)	-0.062 (0.093)	-0.157 (0.147)	-0.034 (0.070)	-0.102 (0.084)	0.025 (0.109)
KPSS Member	0.119 (0.116)	0.156 (0.184)	0.180 (0.136)	0.164 (0.153)	0.099 (0.198)	0.153 (0.117)	-0.015 (0.135)	0.190 (0.166)
Voted	0.217 (0.075)	0.168 (0.110)	0.306 (0.092)	0.105 (0.093)	0.220 (0.159)	0.202 (0.071)	0.213 (0.086)	0.169 (0.113)
No. Civil Society Orgs	-0.006 (0.033)	-0.127 (0.068)	-0.010 (0.047)	-0.017 (0.042)	-0.043 (0.081)	-0.013 (0.034)	-0.027 (0.042)	-0.023 (0.051)
Interest in Politics	0.012 (0.036)	0.058 (0.056)	-0.020 (0.043)	0.058 (0.047)	-0.030 (0.074)	0.016 (0.036)	-0.024 (0.044)	0.062 (0.055)
United Russia Support	0.062 (0.015)	0.128 (0.022)	0.026 (0.020)	0.107 (0.018)	0.008 (0.030)	0.095 (0.014)	0.033 (0.018)	0.107 (0.021)
Region Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,157	436	794	661	366	1,077	828	499
R ²	0.228	0.399	0.239	0.305	0.367	0.243	0.260	0.329

This table uses regression analysis to examine additional heterogeneous effects of the framing experiment. Columns 1 and 2 use a four-point scale to subset the sample into that respondents rank Putin highly as a strong leader (top value of 4) and those that rank him lower (values less than 4). Columns 3 and 4 use a four-point scale to subset the sample into that respondents rank Putin highly as an honest person (top value of 4) and those that rank him lower (values less than 4). Columns 5 and 6 use a five-point scale about whether respondents believe elections are conducted honestly to subset the sample by those with positive views (top value of 5) and those less positive (values less than 5). Columns 7 and 8 subset according a binary indicator about whether respondents believe Russia is currently a democracy. All models also cluster standard errors at the individual level, on which the treatment was administered.

In Table 5, we construct model specifications that are similar to those above to examine heterogeneity in treatment effects based both on respondents views of Putin’s character and their appraisal of democratic institutions in Russia. We find that those who believe that Putin is strong (Columns 1-2) and honest (Columns 3-4) are more likely to react negatively to information that a United Russia candidate has committed fraud.²³

Moreover, we see that becoming aware of electoral fraud reduces support more among those voters who think elections in Russia are honest than it does among those who believed that electoral integrity was already compromised. As above, the differences between coefficients between the columns of interest are significant at the 95% level. In the last columns we subset on whether respondents believe Russia is a democracy. Those who think Russia is a democracy were slightly more affected by the fraud treatment, but the difference is not statistically significant. This discrepancy is somewhat puzzling.

Replication and Extension

One shortcoming of our experiment is that it is not able to distinguish between two mechanisms that could be driving the observed drop in support among core regime supporters. Electoral fraud may be leading regime supporters to consider other candidates, or it could be leading them to consider abstention. Either way, the findings indicate that regime supporters are withdrawing their political support from regime candidates, but it is interesting to separate these potential mechanisms.

In particular, there is the possibility that fraud might drastically reduce turnout by the opposition, which would offset any decrease in support by regime supporters. Several studies find that fraud deters participation by the opposition (McCann and Dominguez, 1998; Simpser, 2012). Our findings would have less meaning if fraud produced a drop in regime support that was outweighed by a concomitant drop in opposition turnout. In other words, United Russia may not fear a slight

²³We divide respondents into two groups: those who said ‘yes’ when asked to evaluate Putin on these dimensions and those who gave any other answer.

deterioration of its core support if violations of electoral integrity also cause opposition supporters to disengage from politics and cease voting against the regime.

To address this, we placed two additional survey experiments on a representative survey of 1600 Russian adults, conducted in May 2018, roughly 18 months after the our original survey. Both ‘2018 Experiments’ had a near identical vignette to that used in September 2016: we give respondents information about a fictional 50-year old businessman from United Russia running for the State Duma during the next elections; this person had also adopted two children.²⁴ The experimental treatment gave half the sample additional information that this candidate had organized a multiple-voting scheme using buses to ferry voters to multiple precincts, using identical wording to the ‘Organized Carousel’ treatment used in the ‘2016 Experiment’ and shown in Table 2. See Appendix Section D1 for the exact wordings.

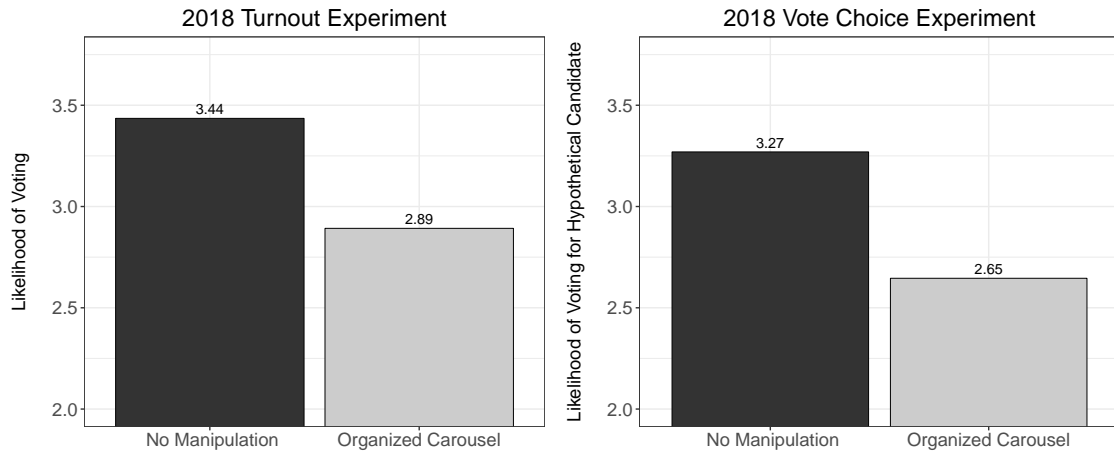
The important difference in this second set of experiments in 2018 is the outcome variable. Our ‘2018 Turnout Experiment’ asked respondents asked about their likelihood of turning out to vote on a 1-5 scale and was administered to half of the respondents. Our ‘2018 Vote Choice Experiment’ was given to the other half of the respondents, who were asked about their likelihood of voting for this candidate on a 1-5 scale. Thus, the outcome in the ‘2018 Vote Choice Experiment’ is identical to that asked in the ‘2016 experiment’ analyzed above, while the ‘2018 Turnout Experiment’ focuses only on whether respondents would vote at all. Table 6 presents the breakdown of respondents across the different treatment arms and outcome variables. Each respondent was assigned to receive either the Turnout or Vote Choice experiments, and within each one, each respondent had a 50% chance of receiving the treatment, i.e. learning that the UR candidate committed fraud.

TABLE 6: 2018 EXPERIMENTS COVERAGE TABLE

Experimental Outcome:	Turnout	Vote Choice
No Electoral Manipulation	363	371
Organized Carousels to Take Voters to Polls	362	350
Total respondents who received ‘Turnout’ outcome:		725
Total respondents who received ‘Vote Choice’ outcome:		721

²⁴Note that we use a single occupational background given constraints on sample size.

FIGURE 4: FRAUD, TURNOUT, AND VOTE CHOICE

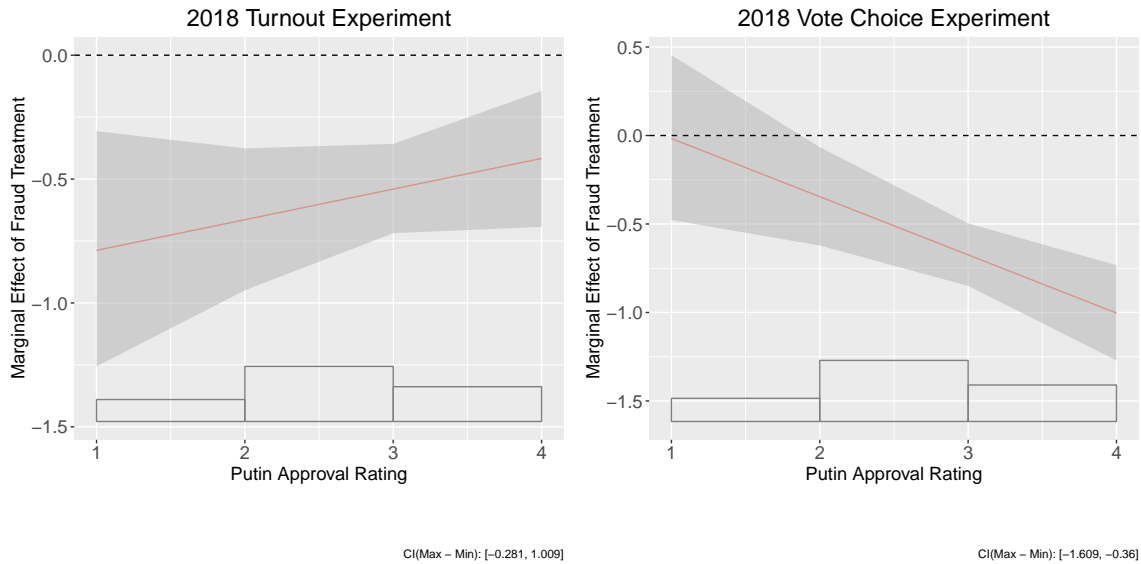


These experiments accomplish several objectives. First, ‘2018 Vote Choice Experiment’ is essentially a replication check of our initial results from the 2016 Experiment, albeit using a simplified set of treatment conditions. This helps build confidence that the patterns identified in the previous section analyzing the 2016 Experiment are not specific to the Russian political climate that year. Second, the ‘2018 Turnout Experiment’ allows us to investigate whether learning information about fraud decreases turnout and/or support for the candidate responsible for it.

Figure 5 presents the results. In the left panel, we see that the treatment effect of fraud on turnout is negative. In the control group, the mean turnout propensity on a 5-point scale, with 3 indicating uncertainty, is 3.44. When respondents learn that the candidate has committed fraud, that number drops to 2.89, an effect of -0.55 that is statistically significant at the 99% level. Voters in general are less likely to vote when electoral integrity suffers. In the right panel, we see again that support for the candidate committing the fraud also drops. The treatment effect of -0.62 is roughly the same using a 5-point scale measuring candidate support.

Finally, in Figure 6, we explore heterogeneity across different levels of support for Putin, measured on a four-point scale. As before, we show the marginal effects of the fraud treatment for each outcome: turnout (left panel) and vote choice (right panel); the point estimates come from models that control for demographics such as age, income, and employment status. First, we see a slightly

FIGURE 5: HETEROGENOUS EFFECTS OF FRAUD ON TURNOUT, AND VOTE CHOICE



positive, but not statistically significant, interaction effect of fraud and Putin support on turnout. In other words, both regime and opposition supporters are less likely to turn out after they receive information that a UR candidate committed fraud; the degree to which fraud dissuades them from voting is relatively small. Just as importantly, we replicate our findings from the 2016 Experiment in the right panel: regime supporters are significantly more turned off by new information on UR-sponsored fraud than are opposition supporters. The substantive effect sizes are roughly the same as they were two years prior. In the Appendix, we show that the effects are robust to interacting the treatment with a ten-point scale of support for United Russia.

There are several things to note about these results. First, contrary to some existing accounts, the findings demonstrate that fraud reduces turnout not only among the opposition, but also among regime supporters. Existing studies argue that fraud creates the perception that opposition votes will not count. But it stands to reason that fraud could produce a similar effect among regime supporters. If regime supporters realize that electoral outcomes are pre-determined, they should have less reason to think their vote will matter and less incentive to vote. Consistent with this, our experiment shows that fraud reduces turnout across the electorate. Indeed, observational evidence from the 2016 RES shows that perceptions of electoral manipulation reduced self-reported turnout

among regime supporters just as much as it did among the opposition and swing voters.²⁵

Note that this finding is not necessarily at odds with the theoretical arguments in previous work. Even if fraud reduces feelings of electoral efficacy among opposition supporters more than it does for regime supporters, it could still be the case that regime supporters would be more disillusioned by the revelation of new information about fraud. In other words, the mechanism we propose in this paper could be operating alongside the differential electoral efficacy argument to produce the findings we see in the 2018 Turnout Experiment.

Taken together the results suggest that the heterogenous effects in our main 2016 Experiment are being driven by changes in vote choice, rather than turnout. Since fraud appears to reduce turnout equally among both regime supporters and the opposition, it stands to reason that the larger treatment effects for regime supporters in the 2016 experiment (and in 2018 Vote Choice Experiment) are being driven by decisions to withdraw support from regime candidates. Once inside the ballot box, core regime supporters appear to be abandoning ruling party candidates that commit fraud.

Finally, these findings reinforce our contention that fraud is electorally costly for the regime. If fraud reduced opposition turnout to such a degree that it offset any loss of support from regime supporters, then fraud would not be electorally costly. Our findings suggest this is not the case. The 2018 Vote Choice Experiment shows that fraud reduces turnout for opposition and regime supporters to an equal degree. Moreover, fraud appears to be causing regime supporters to withdraw their support from fraudulent United Russia candidates.

Discussion and Implications

In sum, our findings suggest that voters in Russia punish regime candidates who engage in fraud. This effect is largest among those who are the strongest supporters of the regime. Polarization

²⁵Models in Appendix Table B2 show a positive and statistically significant relationship between perceptions of electoral integrity and turnout among both regime and opposition supporters.

is not so strong in Russia that regime supporters excuse regime candidates for fraud (c.f. [Svolik \(2017\)](#)). Instead they punish them for it. Most regime supporters believe that elections are free and fair and most believe that this is how it should be. Gaining awareness of electoral fraud dispels preconceived notions about the regime and its electoral propriety. When information on fraud is revealed, many pro-regime voters withdraw their support for the regime, which appears to be conditional on the government maintaining its commitment to democratic institutions.

These findings have important implications for both the comparative literature on autocracy and the study of contemporary Russian politics. For studies of comparative autocracy, our findings highlight an understudied consequence of electoral fraud. Much of the recent neo-institutional literature on electoral fraud has centered on how fraud sends a signal of strength to elites ([Rozenas, 2016](#); [Simpser, 2013](#); [Gehlbach and Simpser, 2015](#)). One puzzle that emerges from this literature is why autocrats commit so many resources to conceal fraud. If fraud deters all sorts of subversive and oppositional activity, then why do autocrats not publicize it? Scholars of contentious politics suggest that they do not publicize it because it may lead to opposition protest ([Tucker, 2007](#); [Bunce and Wolchik, 2011](#)). This seems hard to deny, but we highlight another reason that autocrats disguise fraud: they do so because their core supporters will be turned off by fraud and will withdraw their support from the regime if they learn of it. The fact that polarization is relatively limited in Russia suggests that findings from this survey experiment reflect real-world behavior: strong partisan biases are less likely to outweigh normative concerns in the voting booth than they might be in a polarized country such as Venezuela or the United States.

More generally, our study suggests that scholars of autocracy should pay more attention to the democratic features of non-democratic elections. The neo-institutional literature on autocracy has made great strides by pointing out the autocratic functions of nominally democratic institutions. But in the midst of the neo-institutional revolution, scholars have continued to point out that these elections serve a democratic function as well. Studies suggest that they improve accountability ([Miller, 2015](#)) and that they provide legitimacy to the regime ([Morgenbesser, 2017](#); [Gandhi and Lust-Okar, 2009](#)). Large parts of the electorate expect that elections will be democratic.

Finally, these findings also have important implications for how scholars study politics in Russia. This paper should serve as a reminder that demand for democratic institutions remains strong in Russia. In a revealing analysis of Putin’s *Pryamaya Liniya* call-in shows, [Wengle and Evans \(2018\)](#) note that Putin frequently touts the role of formal democratic institutions in these shows. The authors puzzle over why Putin seems to frame so much of his political discourse around institutions. Our account demonstrates why the performance is so important. Many voters believe in Russian democracy. Or at the very least, they behave as if they do. Thus, one of the reasons that elections are maintained in Russia is because voters support elections.²⁶ This is not to say that Russia is a democracy. It is not. But important parts of the electorate behave as if elections are democratic and expect them to be so. Analyses of authoritarian Russia would be remiss to ignore these voters. Understanding their behavior is key to understanding the stability of the regime.

We also provide insight into why the Putin regime goes to such great lengths to both hide and limit electoral fraud. After the 2011-12 election cycle, regime leaders made it clear to regional subordinates that they wanted future elections to be cleaner—or at the very least that the elections should be perceived as clean. The government spent over \$800 million to install live-streaming cameras in electoral precincts in 2012, and then later appointed the former human rights ombudsman Ella Pamfilova to oversee the Central Election Commission. And available evidence indicates that election cycles since 2011 have been marked by less blatant election-day fraud.²⁷ The conventional explanation for this new emphasis on electoral legitimacy was that the regime wanted to stem the opposition protest movement that had erupted during the 2011-12 cycle. But our findings suggest another possibility. Regime leaders believed that their electoral base would evaporate if the curtain was pulled back on fraud. The scope of these efforts suggests that regime leaders believed

²⁶Note that this is different from arguing that the authorities hold elections because it is a procedural norm. The regime needs to limit fraud—or limit the spread of information on fraud—because faking elections has real costs in terms of regime support.

²⁷GOLOS, “Statement about the Results of the September 18, 2016 Elections.” Golos Movement, September 19, 2016

that fraud could be a salient voting issue if voters were to find out about it.

We believe that such dynamics are at play in other electoral autocracies as well. Our analyses in Appendix Table E2 show that regime supporters in countries as diverse as Algeria, Malaysia, Singapore, and Yemen all give their governments high marks for upholding democratic practices. Their support for the regime may be contingent on a belief that electoral integrity continues to be respected. This may be especially true in countries where autocrats initially won free elections and stealthily undermined democratic systems in order to hold onto power. Voters may believe that electoral results fairly reflect the autocrat's popularity, but may not be fully aware of the degree of malpractice being committed. Providing information about fraud could change their calculus of support for the regime.

Beyond testing the findings in other settings, our study suggests some other avenues for future research. For one thing, there needs to be more work on how voters become informed about fraud. Our experimental intervention induced voters to believe that fraud had occurred. But in an autocracy with a partially closed media environment, it is difficult for voters to find out about electoral fraud. Social media clearly plays a role here ([Reuter and Szakonyi, 2015](#)), as do election monitors ([Robertson, 2017](#)). Less is known about how opposition activists can break through partisan biases to broaden awareness of fraud. The field seems to be moving in the right direction on answering these questions, but more work is needed.

Another unresolved question is how moral judgments about fraud affect the attitudes and behavior of regime elites. Most research in economics and political science assumes that such elites are purely office-seeking and have no moral convictions that affect their political behavior. For elites, fraud only enters their calculus to the extent that it sends signals about the strength of the regime. This assumption seems questionable. If citizens vary in their moral assessments of fraud, it is likely that elites do as well. The extent to which such assessments affect their behavior is unknown, but given that elites are the agents of such fraud, it may be even more important to understand how they view its moral appropriateness.

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