

Manoel Gehrke

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ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

University of Pisa, Italy

Research Fellow, Department of Political Science & Bridging the Gaps in Evidence, Regulation, and Impact of Anticorruption Policies (BridgeGap) [Horizon Europe], 2024-

University of Birmingham, United Kingdom

Postdoctoral Research Fellow, Centre for Elections, Democracy, Accountability and Representation (CEDAR), 2023-2024.

Bocconi University, Italy

Postdoctoral Research Fellow, Department of Social and Political Sciences, 2019 - 2023.

Fundação Getúlio Vargas (FGV), Brazil

Visiting Scholar, Center for Politics and Economics of the Public Sector (CEPESP), 2018

EDUCATION

University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), United States of America

Ph.D., Political Science, 2013-2019.

Bocconi University, Italy

M.Sc., Economics, 2009-2012. [Bocconi's Graduate Merit Award Scholarship.]

Barcelona Institute of International Studies (IBEI), Spain

M.A., International Relations: Political Economy of Development, 2007-2009. [IBEI's Academic Merit Award.]

Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS), Brazil

B.A., Economics, 2003-2007. Study Abroad: Autonomous University of Madrid (UAM), [Center of Latin American Studies (CEAL)/Santander Bank Mobility Grant.]

PUBLICATIONS

Luciano Da Ros and **Manoel Gehrke**. "How to Bring Authoritarians to Justice." *Journal of Democracy*, 2026.

Manoel Gehrke and Luciano Da Ros. "From Reform to Weaponization: Anticorruption and Autocratization in El Salvador". *Sociology of Development*, Special Issue: Anti-Corruption and Illiberal Turns in National Politics in the Global South, 2026.

Luciano Da Ros and **Manoel Gehrke**. "Anticorruption, Political Backlash and Brazil's Illiberal Turn". *Sociology of Development*, Special Issue: Anti-Corruption and Illiberal Turns in National Politics in the Global South, 2026.

Manoel Gehrke and Feng Yang. "High-Profile Corruption Convictions, Government Reactions and Public Approval: A Comparative Analysis across Levels of Democracy." *Governance*, 2025.

Luciano Da Ros and **Manoel Gehrke**. "An Institutional Fail-Safe? How the Gap in Judicial Independence between High and Low Courts Explains the Reversal of Corruption Convictions of Former Heads of Government." *Public Integrity*, 2025.

Nic Cheeseman, Marie-Eve Desrosiers, Licia Cianetti and **Manoel Gehrke**. How to Strengthen Democratic Resilience: Five Lessons for Democratic Renewal., *Democracy Deep Dive Report, European Democracy Hub*, 2024.

Luciano Da Ros and **Manoel Gehrke**. “Convicting Politicians for Corruption: The Politics of Criminal Accountability” *Government & Opposition*, 2024.

Manoel Gehrke. “Digital Technology, Citizens’ Engagement, and Electoral Corruption in Colombia” In: Mattoni, Alice (ed.) *Digital Media and Grassroots Anti-Corruption: Contexts, Platforms and Data of Anti-Corruption Technologies Worldwide*. Edward Elgar Press, 2024.

Daniel Uhr, Julia Uhr, Renan Peres, **Manoel Gehrke** and Magnum Eltz. “Does Reaching the Statute of Limitations Affect the Recidivist Behavior of Environmental Aggressors in Brazil?” *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*. 2023.

Manoel Gehrke. “Elections and Corruption in Municipal Governments in Brazil” In: Marengo, André and Noll, Maria Izabel (eds.) *Politics, policies and controls. How are Brazilian cities governed?* Tomo Editorial, 2018. [In Portuguese]

BOOK MANUSCRIPT

Corruption Unveiled: Examining Politicians’ Responses to Investigations and Enforcement in Brazil *Book manuscript in preparation*

UNDER REVIEW

- How Elected Officials Navigate Anti-Corruption Investigations: Elite Fragmentation and Cooptation

WORK IN PROGRESS

- How Personalist Parties in Power Reshape Public Perceptions of Corruption. with Feng Yang (Peking University).
- How Banning Convicted Politicians Strengthened Incumbents in Brazil: Insights from the Clean Slate Law
- Family Connections, Nepotism, and Political Bargaining with Yuri Barreto (Bocconi) Diego Britto (Bocconi), Alexandre Fonseca (UFPE and Receita Federal), Paolo Pinotti (Bocconi), and Breno Sampaio (UFPE).
- Prosecuting Power: Specialized Prosecution and Criminal Accountability in Europe. with Salvatore Sberna (University of Pisa).
- Political Favoritism and Environmental Degradation in Brazil (1985-2020). with Cesar Martinez-Alvarez (UC Santa Barbara).
- Do Biometric Identification Machines Help to Clean Up Elections? Evidence from Colombia
- Politicians Fight Back: How Corruption Convictions Against Former Leaders Impact Judicial Independence and Powers with Luciano Da Ros (UFSC).
- Industrial Emission Reductions as Political Favors with Dafni Kalatzi Pantera (Birmingham) and Lorenzo Crippa (Strathclyde).
- Political Corruption. *Handbook on Latin American Politics*, Edited by Malu Gatto (UCL) and Néstor Castañeda (UCL), De Gruyter. with Letícia Barbabela (Marburg).

GRANTS, AWARDS AND FELLOWSHIPS

American Bar Foundation, Member of the Research Team, “Anti-Corruption and Illiberalism in the Global South”, US\$ 60,320, 2023-25.
Bank of Italy, Einaudi Institute for Economics and Finance (EIEF), Research Grant, PI, €10,000, 2021-22
UCLA, Dissertation Year Award, \$35,000, 2018-19
J-PAL Governance Initiative, Research Grant, PI, \$5,000, 2018
International Institute, UCLA, Fieldwork Fellowship, PI, \$2,000, 2017
Latin American Institute, UCLA, Tinker Field Research Grant, PI, \$1,000, 2017
Latin American Institute, UCLA, Working Group Grant, PI, \$5,000, 2017
UCLA, Graduate Dean’s Scholar Award, \$15,000, 2014-2016
Fulbright-CAPES Doctoral Fellowship, \$467,000 (declined)

FIELD RESEARCH

Brazil: Rio Grande do Sul, São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro (Jul-Aug 2014), Rio Grande do Sul and Rio de Janeiro (Aug 2015), Minas Gerais and Rio Grande do Sul (Jul-Aug 2017), Rio Grande do Sul (Apr 2018), Distrito Federal, Pernambuco, São Paulo, and Rio Grande do Sul (Sep-Oct 2018).

Colombia: Bogotá and Curdinamarca (Oct 2015), including work for the *Misión de Observación Electoral* as Electoral Observer and Bogotá (Oct 2019), invited by the Colombian National Electoral Council (CNE) as an International Election Observer.

ADDITIONAL TRAINING

UC Berkeley, Empirical Implications of Theoretical Models (EITM), NSF Summer Institute, 2017.

TEACHING

University of Pisa

Instructor, Department of Political Science

- Analysis, Prevention, and Combating of Organized Crime and Corruption [Graduate Level] *Spring 2026, Spring 2025*

University of Birmingham

Guest Lecturer, Department of International Development

- Governance and State-Building [Graduate Level] *Spring 2023*

Bocconi University

Guest Lecturer

- Economic Analysis of Crime [Graduate Level] *Spring 2020, Spring 2021*

University of California, Los Angeles

Instructor of Record, Department of Political Science

- Government and Politics in Latin America *Summer 2019*

Teaching Fellow/Associate/Assistant, Department of Political Science

- Politics and Strategy [Introduction to Game Theory] *Fall 2017*
- Political Institutions and Economic Development *Winter 2017*
- Government and Politics in Latin America *Spring 2017, Winter 2016, Spring 2015*
- Political Economy of Development *Spring 2016*
- Introduction to Comparative Politics *Fall 2015, Fall 2014*
- Introduction to American Politics *Winter 2015*

Italian National Institute for Educational Evaluation of Instruction and Training (INValSI)

Main Instructor, 2013

- Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Methods for Policy Evaluation

ADDITIONAL WORK EXPERIENCE

University of California, Berkeley

Research Assistant, Berkeley Initiative for Transparency in the Social Sciences (BITSS), 2015

European Commission

Traineeship, Econometrics and Applied Statistics Unit, 2012-2013

Bocconi University

Research Assistant

Brazilian National Center for Scientific Development (CNPq)

Research Assistant as an Undergraduate Student

INVITED PRESENTATIONS/WORKSHOPS

FGV EBAPE (Rio). Research Seminar, 2026.

University of Bologna. Research Seminar, 2026.

FGV São Paulo Law School. Law, Elites, and the Reproduction of Wealth: Research Workshop, 2025.

LUISS Guido Carli & BridgeGap Workshop. The Europeanization of Anticorruption: From Criminal Law to Enforcement, 2025.

Bocconi University. BOSDIC Roundtable, Latin America: democratic and economic challenges, 2025.

IPSA World Congress, Congress Theme Roundtable: Courts and the Rule of Law in Resisting Autocratization, 2025.

Birmingham-Leiden Workshop on Democratic Resilience, 2025.

BridgeGap Talk Series: Anticorruption in Progress, 2025.

University of Santa Catarina, Brazil, Department of Economics Seminar Series, 2025.

University of Marburg, Germany, Distributive Politics in the Global South Workshop: Elites and Representation, 2024.

Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, Applied Economics Seminar Series, 2024.

American Bar Foundation & Northwestern University, Anti-Corruptionism & Illiberal Turns in National Politics Conference, 2024.

University of Lisbon, Institute of Social Sciences, Social and Political Attitudes: Resilience and Change (SPARC) Research Seminar, 2023.

University of Milan, Yet they persist - Democracies in an age of autocratization, 2023

University of Birmingham, Politics of Development Workshop, 2023.

American Bar Foundation & Northwestern University, Anti-Corruption and Illiberalism in the Global South, Research Workshop, 2023.

University of Birmingham, POLSIS Annual Conference, 2023.

London School of Economics and Political Science, Political Science and Political Economy Seminar, WIP, 2023.

University of São Paulo and Latin American Institute (Berlin), The 2022 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections in Brazil: Results and Impacts, Government and Judiciary, 2023.

Catholic University of Milan, Political Economy Workshop, 2022.

European University Institute, Political Economy Seminar, 2022.

Bocconi University, Italian Ministry of Justice and Ministry of Interior: Knowledge That Matters for Legality and Security, 2022.

Princeton University, Climate Future's Workshop, 2022.

Bocconi University, Politics and Institutions Clinic, 2022.

Gothenburg University, Quality of Government Institute, Lunch Seminar, 2021.

FIBRA, Diálogo sobre Esforços Anticorrupção no Brasil: Justiça, Mídia e Lava Jato [“Dialogue on Anti-Corruption Efforts in Brazil: Justice, Media, and Operation Car Wash”], 2021.

Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS), Economics, Dept. Seminar, 2021.

Federal University of Pelotas (UFPEL), Economics, Dept. Seminar, 2021.

Cardiff University, School of Social Sciences, SURDUBB Research Group, Seminar, 2020.

University of Bologna, Bottom-up Initiative and Anti-corruption Technologies, 2020.

European University Institute, Natural and Field Experiments Seminar, 2020.

Bocconi University. 5th Workshop on The Economics of Organized Crime, 2019.

Federal University of Pernambuco (UFPE), Political Science, Dept. Seminar, 2018.

Stanford University. Tinker Conference: Rule of Law in Latin America, 2017

Court of Accounts of the State of Rio Grande do Sul. Plenary Session: Dialogue about Political Corruption, 2017.

UCLA Center for Brazilian Studies. What's behind Brazil's economic and political crises?, 2016.

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

24-hour Conference on Global Organized Crime (OC24), 2025.

International Political Science Association (IPSA), 2025.

American Political Science Association (APSA), 2015, 2018, 2020, 2022, 2024.

Italian Political Science Association (SISP), 2025.

Brazilian Political Science Association (ABCP), 2024.

Brazilian Social Sciences Association (ANPOCS), 2021.

European Consortium of Political Research (ECPR), 2020, 2023, 2025.

Midwest Political Science Association (MPSA), 2017, 2019, 2021 and 2022.

European Political Science Association (EPSA), 2020.

Academy Against Corruption in the Americas (ACA), 2020, 2021, 2025.

Annual Meeting of the Brazilian Econometric Society (SBE), 2019.

Graduate Conference on Political Economy, Alexander Hamilton Center (NYU), 2013 (Pre-PhD)

ORGANIZER/CO-
ORGANIZER

Researching and Strengthening Democratic Resilience: Building a New Community of Practice, co-organized with Nic Cheeseman, 2024.

Panel on Democratic Resilience in Latin America: Contemporary Argentina, Brazil and Guatemala in Comparative Perspective, co-sponsored by CEDAR and REPRESENT (University of Nottingham and University of Birmingham), 2023.

Workshop: Unintended Consequences of Combating Corruption, University of Birmingham, 2023.

Is democratic backsliding really happening, and if so what impact has this had on human rights and development?, University of Birmingham, co-organized with Nic Cheeseman, 2023.

Rethinking Democratic Backsliding, University of Birmingham, co-organized with Nic Cheeseman, 2023.

Speaker's Series: Contemporary Politics in Latin America, UCLA, 2017-2018.

OTHER ACADEMIC
SERVICE

Reviewer for: British Journal of Political Science, Government & Opposition, Latin American Research Review, Politics and Governance, Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics, Novos Estudos CEBRAP, Regulation and Governance, Revista Reflexión Política.

Country Expert, Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) Project, University of Gotenburg (Sweden), 2023-

Guest Editor, Special Issue on "Regulating the Invisible: Efforts to Map and Control Corruption", co-edited with Alina Mungiu-Pippidi and Julien Hanoteau. *Regulation and Governance*, Wiley, 2025.

Discussant, *Judiciary and Politics*, Graduate Research Conference, Department of Political Science, University of São Paulo (USP), 2025.

Discussant, Corruption, Crime, and Political Stability: Understanding Democratic Erosion and Accountability, ECPR, 2025.

Chair, Critical Reflections on (Anti-)Corruption: Assessing Emerging Concepts, Metrics, and Theories, World Congress, International Political Science Association (IPSA), 2025.

Co-chair & Discussant, Paradoxes in Anti-Corruption Governance, IPSA World Congress, 2025.

Discussant, Distributive Politics in the Global South Workshop: Elites and Representation, 2024.

Discussant, Annual Conference of the Brazilian Political Science Association (ABCP): Law, Politics and Courts, 2024.

Discussant, Workshop: Yet they persist - Democracies in an age of autocratization, 2023.

Leader, *CEDAR Reading Group on Democratic Resilience and Autocratization*, 2023-2024.

Chair: *What's the difference? Governing citizens' welfare in democracies and autocracies* Rethinking Regimes Workshop, 2023

Discussant, Transatlantic Workshop on the Economics of Crime, 2022.

Chair and Discussant: *Titles, Tonics, Taxes in Latin America* MPSA Annual Meeting, 2017.

Hiring Committee Member, Political Science Department, UCLA, 2019.

OTHER WRITINGS &
MEDIA COVERAGE

Folha de São Paulo, Mudanças institucionais históricas e o julgamento de Bolsonaro [Historic Institutional Changes and the Judgment of Bolsonaro], 2025.

O Globo, Bolsonaro condenado: só nove chefes de Estado foram punidos por golpe no mundo, mostra levantamento [Bolsonaro Convicted: Only Nine Heads of State Worldwide Have Been Punished for a Coup, Research Shows], 2025.

Folha de São Paulo, Bolsonaro entra para a lista de dez chefes de Estado condenados por golpe no mundo [Bolsonaro Joins the List of Ten Heads of State Convicted for a Coup Worldwide], 2025.

PublicaABCP, Estudo revela que 36% das condenações criminais de ex-chefes de Estado são revertidas posteriormente, [Study Reveals That 36% of Criminal Convictions of Former Heads of State Are Later Overturned] 2025.

ECPR's The Loop – Future of Populism Series. How corruption convictions help leaders gain support, with Feng Yang, 2025.

Transparency International - Brazil. O que sabemos sobre os efeitos da proibição das doações empresariais no financiamento de campanhas eleitorais no Brasil? [What have we learned about the effects of banning corporate donations to electoral campaigns in Brazil?], 2025.

The Conversation. What remains of ‘Operation Car Wash’, Brazil’s historic anti-corruption probe?, with Luciano Da Ros, 2024.

Rivista ECO For Brazil’s Mani Pulite, A Legacy in Ashes, with Luciano Da Ros, 2024.

Rivista ECO Per la Mani Pulite brasiliana un’eredità in cenere, with Luciano Da Ros, 2024.

U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre. Accountability Deficit, with Nic Cheeseman and Licia Cianetti, 2023.

CEDAR Blog. The rise of authoritarianism is misunderstood – and it matters, with Nic Cheeseman, Petra Alderman, Licia Cianetti and Tim Haughton, 2023.

O Estado de São Paulo. Corruption crimes lose ground in control agencies requests to COAF., 2022.

Zero Hora. Studies indicate obstacles to combating malfeasance in the public sector., 2022.

Folha de São Paulo. Analysis: Friction between Bolsonaro and Governors Exposes the Paradox of Managing the Coronavirus Crisis., with Fernanda Cimini (UFMG), 2020.

UOL. Debate na UCLA indica que crises afetarão toda a classe política brasileira, 2016

UCLA Newsroom. What’s Behind Brazil’s Economic and Political Crises?, 2016

UCLA Latin American Institute. Brazil Hobbled by Political and Economic Crises, 2016.

CONSULTANCY &

KNOWLEDGE
CHANGE

- European Partnership for Democracy (EPD)
- EX- National Democratic Institute (NDI), United States of America
- Institute for Applied Economic Research (Ipea), Brazil
- Comptroller General of the Union (CGU), Brazil

Supreme Court (STF), Brazil
National Judicial Council (CNJ), Brazil
National Electoral Council (CNE), Colombia
El Faro, El Salvador

LANGUAGES Portuguese (native), English (fluent), Spanish (fluent), Italian (fluent) and French (advanced - DALF C1)

TECHNICAL SKILLS R, Shiny, Markdown, QGIS, L^AT_EX, GitHub, Obsidian, Stata, Qualtrics