Information About Corruption and Politicians' Proposals

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- Use of populist rhetoric
- Use of extreme language
- ▶ What is Populism?

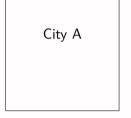
This Paper

Information about Corruption in Brazilian Municipalities ↓
Proposals made by mayoral candidates

This Paper

Information about Corruption in Brazilian Municipalities \$\psi\$ Proposals made by mayoral candidates

- Information about Corruption: Randomized Audits Program in Brazil
 - How many irregularities?
 - In which areas?
 - Irregularities



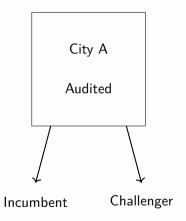
City B

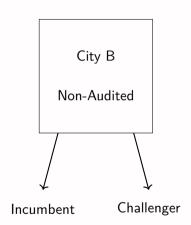
City A

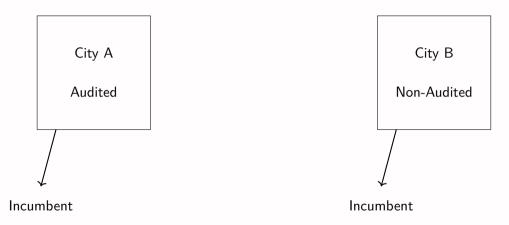
Audited

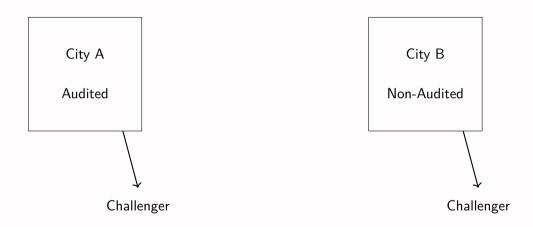
City B

Non-Audited

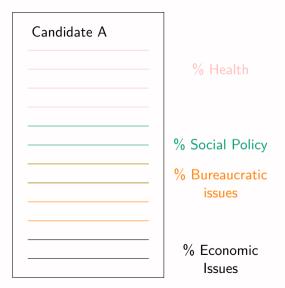


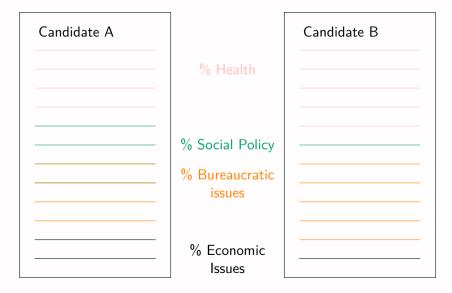


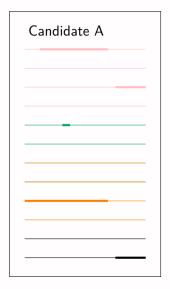




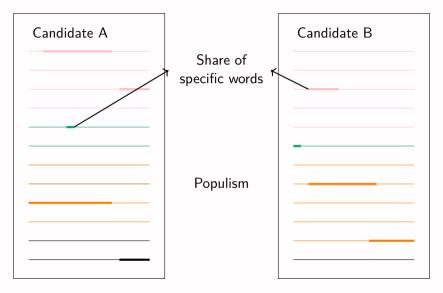
Candidate A

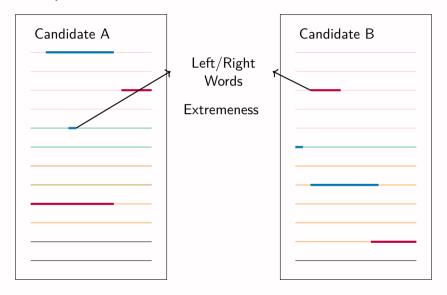


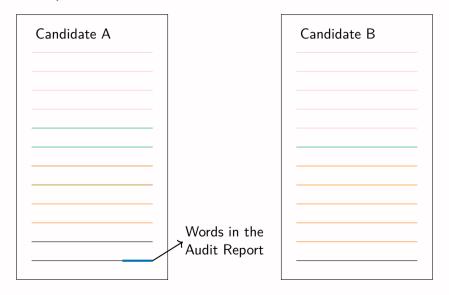












Summary of the Results: Agenda

- Audits affect the agenda:
 - \uparrow % vocabulary used in audit reports: 8-16% of the mean.
 - \uparrow % focus on topics **by challengers** in municipalities that were audited when a high number of irregularities is found.
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- Audits affect political positioning:
 - Low corruption municipalities:
 - Challengers reduce the use of populist and extreme rhetoric.
 - High corruption municipalities:
 - Incumbents increase the use of populist rhetoric.

Related Work

- responses with changes in political agenda to changes in reputation (e.g. Aragonès,
 Castanheira, & Giani, 2015; Dragu & Fan, 2016; Riker, 1996)
- factors driving the rise of populism (Berman, 2021; Gennaro et al., 2021; Guriev & Papaioannou, 2022) and extremism. How do candidates respond to reputation shocks?
 (e.g. Bernhardt, Buisseret, & Hidir, 2020; Buisseret & Van Weelden, 2022; Groseclose & Milyo, 2005; Serra, 2010)
- Impact of information on politicians' effort, policy choices, and electoral choices.
 - committees participation (Snyder Jr & Strömberg, 2010)
 - city council candidates' quality (Cavalcanti, Daniele, & Galletta, 2018):
 - campaign spending (Poblete-Cazenave, 2021)
 - other audits (Amorim, 2022; Avis, Ferraz, & Finan, 2018; Colonnelli & Prem, 2020; Ferraz & Finan, 2008, 2011; Gonzales, 2021; Lauletta, Rossi, & Ruzzier, 2020)

Information about Corruption \Rightarrow ? Proposals

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- b. Ideological Positioning
 - Changes in reputation affect electoral competitiveness ⇒ positioning (e.g. Bernhardt et al., 2020; Buisseret & Van Weelden, 2022; Groseclose & Milyo, 2005; Serra, 2010)

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 - Corruption accusations are associated with populist rhetoric (Berman, 2021).
 - The existence of accurate information to negatively affect populist rhetoric (fake news are associated with this rhetoric (Guriev & Papaioannou, 2022)

Background: Brazilian's Case

Audits to Municipalities

- In 2003, Brazil introduced a **randomized** audits policy that disclosed information about corruption cases in local governments.
- Each audited municipality receives a report.
- Audits are targeted to specific areas for municipalities with population > 20,000.
 - ▶ Irregularities
- Had effects (e.g. Avis et al., 2018; Ferraz & Finan, 2008; Lauletta et al., 2020)

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Elections and Manifestos

- Municipal elections every four years.
- Since 2009, it is mandatory to present manifestos before the election for an executive position.

 Manifestos in the News

Data

- 2012 election in municipalities in Brazil.
 - 2,691 candidates ran for reelection (incumbents)
 - 5,049 candidates were challengers to incumbents (challengers)

- Audits

- Audited municipality if audited in 2009-2012 (Audited_{mst})
- 478 audited municipalities (out of 5,568) in 2009-2012.
- Data about corruption and irregularities Irregularities
- Data about the topic of the irregularity.
- Municipal characteristics (IBGE).
- Candidates manifestos at the local level in Brazil for the 2012 election.
 - ▶ Manifestos in the News
 - From the electoral authority website: Downloaded 16,173 pdfs and 13,724 texts.
 - After cleaning: 13,344 candidates from 5,394 municipalities
 - Descriptives

Dependent Variables: Agenda

- 1. Overlap With Audit Reports
 - Measure: Share of words in reports present in manifestos.
- 2. Agenda: Classified lines into topics
 - Supervised learning: Multinomial naive Bayes classifier (manually codified pprox 1%)
 - Labels: Titles, Introduction, Health, Social Policy, Economic/Sectoral and Environmental Policies, Bureaucratic issues, Infrastructure and Urban issues, and Crime.
 - Measure: how much of a specific agenda they discuss.
- Descriptives

Dependent Variables: Ideological Positioning

3. Populism

Dimension Example words (in English) Populism (Gennaro et al., 2021) elite, absurd, corrupt, establishment ▶ Methodology ▶ Geographical Variation ▶ Example

- 4. Manifestos Positioning in the Left-Right axis: Wordscores (Laver, Benoit, & Garry, 2003; Le Pennec, 2022).
 - Which words are used by the Left or the Right?
 - Data-driven
 - Compute scores for each document.

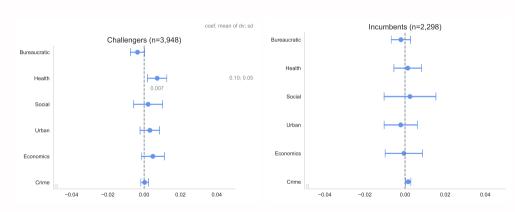
 Methodology

 Words

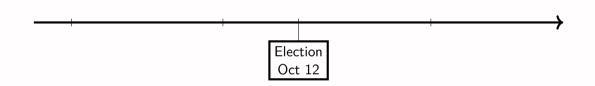
 Densities Ideological
- Descriptives

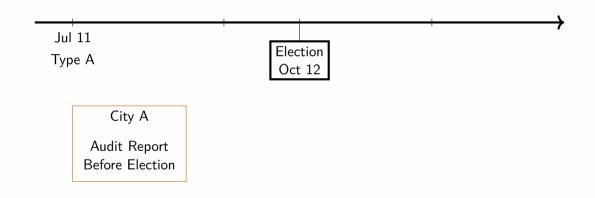
Exploratory Analysis

$$Shares_{imst} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Audited_{mst} + \gamma Controls_{imst} + \nu_s \varepsilon_{imst}$$

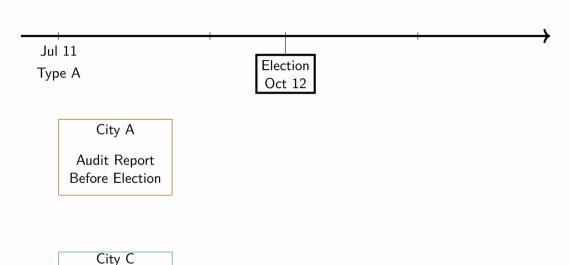


95% CI's. ► Means

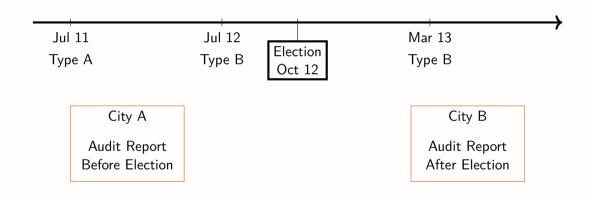


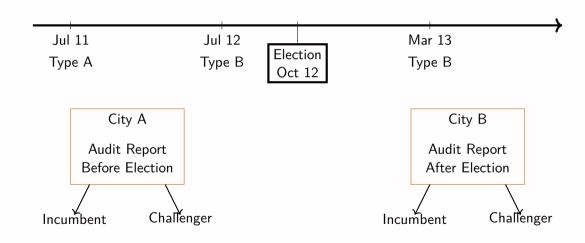


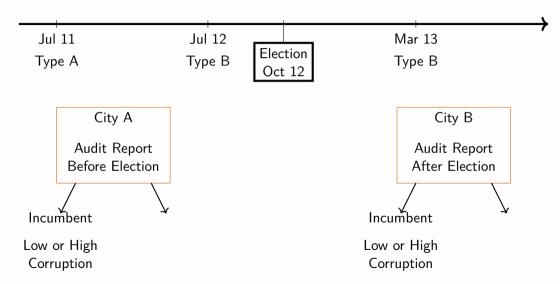
No Audit Report

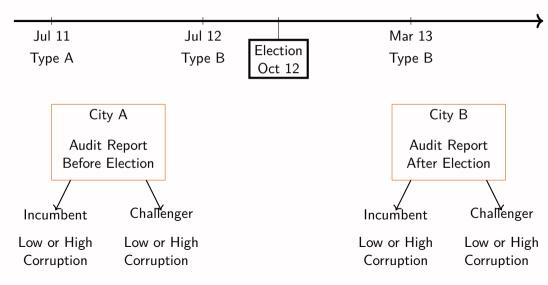


← (Before 2009, After 2012 or Never Audited)





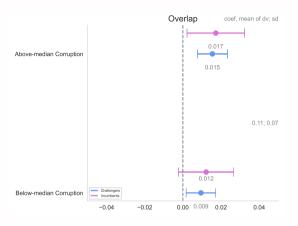




$$Outcome_{imst} = \alpha + \beta_0 Audited_{mst} + \beta_1 Audited_{mst} \times Corruption + \beta_2 Corruption + \gamma Controls_{imst} + \nu_s + \varepsilon_{imst}$$

- $Audited_{mst} = 1$ (municipality audit report disclosed before the 2012 election)
- $\textit{Corruption} = \mathbb{1}(\mathsf{number} \ \mathsf{of} \ \mathsf{acts} \ \mathsf{of} \ \mathsf{corruption} \ \mathsf{higher} \ \mathsf{than} \ \mathsf{the} \ \mathsf{median})$
 - ▶ Controls
- Used in Ferraz and Finan (2008) ▶ Balance ▶ Balance 2
- β_0 : effect of the audit results disclosed before the election, given the acts of corruption were below the median.
- $\beta_0 + \beta_1$: effect of the audit results disclosed before the election, given the acts of corruption were above the median.

Results I: Effect of the Audit on the Content

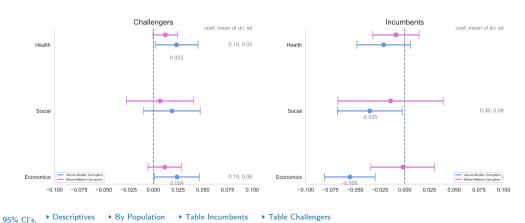


- N Challengers: ; N Incumbents
- Heterogeneous effects: reputation shock matters.

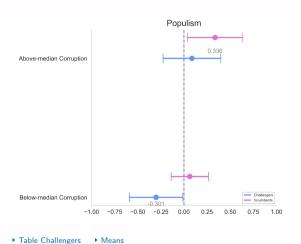
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95% Cl's. ► Table Incumbents ► Table Challengers ► Means ► Irregularities
```

Results II: Effect of the Audit on the Agenda (cond. on Corruption)

 $Corruption_{mst} = 1$ (Share of Irregularities in that Topic higher than the median)

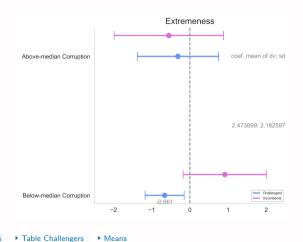


Results III: Effect of the Audit on Populism (cond. on Corruption)



95% CI's. ► Table Incumbents ► Table Challengers ► Mean

Results IV: Effect of the Audit on Extremeness (cond. on Corruption)



95% CI's. ► Table Incumbents ► Table Challengers ► Means

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↑	Overlap	↑
Conditional on Reputation	Topic Distribution	Conditional on Reputation

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↑	Overlap	↑
Conditional on Reputation	Topic Distribution	Conditional on Reputation
	Ideological Positioning	
Conditional on Reputation	Populism	Conditional on Reputation
No	Extremeness	Conditional on Reputation

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- Role of the media (Avis et al., 2018)
- We knew monitoring interventions affect corruption.
- Affect responsiveness and political climate.

Thank you!

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Manifestos in the News

ELEIÇÕES 2020

Conheça o plano de governo de Pepe Vargas, candidato a prefeito de Caxias

Pioneiro apresenta as propostas dos 11 candidatos à prefeitura de Caxias

Manifestos in the News

ELEICÕES 2020

Conheça o plano d de Pepe Vargas, ca prefeito de Caxias

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Propostas

A chapa "Curitiba Inovação e Amor" foi composta por sete partidos: PMN, PSDB, PSB, DEM, PTN, PSDC e PTdoB.

Durante a campanha, o candidato afirmou em programas eletorias, entrevistas e debates que pretende tomar o atendimento na saúde pública municipal mais eficiente. Uma das propostas, que segundo ele, pode ser concretizada em 180 dias, é implantar um modelo de agendamento nos posto de saúde que fará com que as pessoas não precisem passar a madruga na fila para conseguir constituir.

CURITIBA

- População estimada (2016) 1.893.997
- 1.289.215
- 0,823
- PIB per capita (2013) R\$ 42.934,38
- Orçamento (2016) R\$ 8,3 bilhões

* medida resumida do progresso em renda, educação e seúde; IDH do país é 0,755

G

Fontes: IBGE, TSE, prefeituras e câmaras

Em dois anos, afirma Greca no plano de governo, pretende criar o Centro de Especialdades Metropolitano no Portão, garantindo consultas especializadas com cardiologistas, endocrinologistas, geriatras, por generalo, e equipe multificipionar.

Quando falava em mobilidade urbana, Greca era enfático ao afirmar que vai retornar a integração do transporte público de Curitiba com o da Região Metropolitana.

Ainda sobre transporte público, Greca prometeu criar uma tarifa diferenciada, para horários alternativos, diminuindo a sobrecarga nos horários de alto fluxo e revitalizar os terminais de ônibus.

Sobre educação, Greca afirmou que nos primeiros dias de gestão vai identificar a real necessidade de vagas no ensino fundamental e na educação infantil na cidade.

No plano de governo, uma das propostas e colocar Centros Municipais de Educação Infantil

(Cmeis) em funcionamento, abrir turmas de berçário e aumentar as vagas para crianças entre zero e três anos.

Manifestos in the News

Série traz as propostas de Carlos Eduardo para Natal

Prefeito eleito da capital assume o cargo no dia 1º de ianeiro de 2013. Propostas do plano de governo serão mostradas em série de 8 reportagens.



O prefeito eleito de Natal. Carlos Eduardo (PDT), assume o comando da cidade no dia 1º de igneiro de 2013. Dentre os desafos que ele se propós a enfrentar no Plano de Governo estão problemas nas áreas de saúde, educação, acessibilidade, mobilidade, moradia, esgotamento

A série "Copie e Cobre" do Q1 irá apresentar as possíveis soluções que Carlos Eduardo apresentou aos eleitores. Serão oito reportagens - que irão ao ar de sexta (28) até a próxima segunda-feira (31).

▶ Back to Background ▶ Back to Data

sanitário, drenagem urbana e coleta regular de lixo.

ι o plano d Vargas, ca de Caxias

Propostas

A chapa "Curitiba Inovação e Amor" foi composta por sete partidos: PMN, PSDB, PSB, DEM, PTN, PSDC e PTdoB.

Durante a campanha, o candidato afirmou em programas eleitorais, entrevistas e debates que pretende tomar o atendimento na saúde pública municipal mais eficiente. Uma das propostas, que segundo ele, pode ser concretizada em 180 dias, é implantar um modelo de agendamento nos posto de saúde que fará com que as pessoas não precisem passar a madruga na fila para

População estimada (2016) 1.893.997

- 1.289.215
- 0.823 PIB per capita (2013)
- P\$ 42 934 38 Orçamento (2016) R\$ 8,3 bilhões

* medida resumida do progresso em renda, educação e * medida resumida do prog saúde: IDH do país é 0,755

Forter IBOE TSE prefetures a climara.

- Em dois anos, afirma Greca no plano de noverno pretende criar o Centro de Especialidades Metropolitano no Portão. garantindo consultas especializadas com cardiologistas endocrinologistas periatras por exemplo, e equipe multidisciplinar
- Quando falava em mobilidade urbana. Greca era enfático ao afirmar que vai retornar a integração do transporte público de Curitiba. com o da Região Metropolitana.
- Ainda sobre transporte público. Greca prometeu criar uma tarifa diferenciada, para horários alternativos, diminuindo a sobrecarga nos borários de alto fluvo e revitalizar os terminais de Anihus
- Sobre educação. Greca afirmou que nos primeiros dias de gestão vai identificar a real necessidade de vagas no ensino fundamental e na educação infantil na cidade.
- No plano de governo, uma das propostas e colocar Centros Municipais de Educação Infantil

(Cmeis) em funcionamento, abrir turmas de bercário e aumentar as vacas para crianças entre zero e três anos.

Descriptives: Controls

Table: Controls

	Mean	SD
Income (logs)	9.19	0.71
Share Literate	85.59	8.84
Share Urban	0.66	0.22
radioAM	0.25	0.43
Gini	0.51	0.06
Population	32590	59698
PT	0.12	0.32
Same Party as Governor	0.15	0.36
Count Parties	3.40	1.58
Audit Previous 2008	0.26	0.44
Audited	0.09	0.29

[▶] Back to Empirical Analysis

Descriptives: Issues and Ideological Content

	Mean	p50	p90	se	Ν
Bureaucracy	0.08	0.07	0.13	0.04	13344
Social	0.36	0.36	0.47	0.09	13344
Health	0.10	0.10	0.16	0.05	13344
Urban	0.12	0.11	0.19	0.06	13344
Economic	0.15	0.15	0.23	0.06	13344
Crime	0.02	0.02	0.04	0.02	13344
Overlap	0.11	0.10	0.19	0.07	1554
Populism	0.05	0.04	0.12	0.06	13706
Extremeness	2.47	2.14	4.77	2.18	13322
Count	2150	1446	4472	2578	13344

[►] Back to Data 1 ► Back to Data 2 ► Back to Data 3 ► Back to Exploratory Analysis ► Back to Results 1 ► Back to Results 2

[▶] Back to Results 3 ▶ Back to Results 4

Balance Audits

Table: Add caption

	mean	sd	mean	sd	dif	se
linc	9.085503	.6704504	9.030838	.685051	-0.0185	[0.060]
Total	84.28485	8.837632	83.51522	9.333198	-0.161	[0.546]
shareurb	.6396398	.2216757	.6262824	.2081788	-0.00451	[0.014]
radioAM	.2	.4012177	.1987315	.399468	0.00490	[0.041]
2010	.504843	.0620201	.5095829	.0614012	0.00200	[0.004]
lpop	9.406071	1.108585	9.470213	1.101596	0.0742	[0.053]
count_par	2.915152	1.236666	3.004228	1.314837	0.0943	[0.105]
Observations	165		473			

[▶] Back to Empirical Analysis

Balance Timing

Table: Mean Comparisons between municipalities before the 2012 Election Audited and Municipalities audited after the 2012 election

	Non-audited		Audited		Difference	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Coefficient	S.E.
GDP pc (logs)	9.09	0.65	9.04	0.68	-0.006	[0.045]
Literacy (%)	84.43	8.42	83.91	9.04	0.13	[0.360]
% in Urban Areas	0.63	0.21	0.63	0.21	0.004	[0.013]
AM Radio	0.19	0.40	0.20	0.40	-0.024	[0.031]
Gini	0.50	0.06	0.51	0.06	0.013	[0.003]
Pop (logs)	9.42	1.04	9.47	1.09	0.002	[0.057]
Number of candidates	2.87	1.21	2.91	1.20	0.072	[0.112]
N	218		381			

[▶] Back to Empirical Analysis

Geographical Variation

- Platforms show variation across municipalities.
- Increase in the use of populist vocabulary (? dictionary).





Figure: Percentage of local party manifestos in Brazil that include a populist word (Left: 2012. Right: 2020)

▶ Back to Data

Examples

Populism "It is a summarized and serious platform that I present to the people from serrano, who wish to see true progress in our municipality, coming to put an end to the excesses, corruption and dishonesty of politicians who have no commitment to the people from serrano." (Jesus dos Passos Vaz, Serra/ES)

▶ Back to Data

Ideological Positioning

- Classification of parties given by the literature, Parties
- For each word w, frequency of w in all the manifestos in the right

$$p_w^R = \frac{\sum_{j \in R} c_{wj}}{\sum_{j \in R} m_j}$$

 c_{wj} is the count of word w in document j; m_j is the word-count of j.

- Using these frequencies, I can compute the right-wing score of each word w

$$s_w^R = \frac{p_w^R}{p_w^R + p_w^L} - \frac{p_w^L}{p_w^R + p_w^L} \tag{1}$$

- A manifesto *j* score is then calculated by:

$$S_j^R = \frac{\sum_w p_{wj}^R \times s_w^R}{S_R} \tag{2}$$

- Extremeness is computed as $|S_i|$
- Partisanship is measured by performing this for each party q (q vs. others instead of right vs. left)

Populism

What is populism?

- the people as a homogeneous and pure entity (e.g., "people")
- the elite as a homogeneous and corrupt entity (e.g., "establishment", "corruption")
- the people and the elite as two antagonistic groups (e.g., "arrogant", "betray")
- the need to give power back to the people (e.g., "direct", "referendum").

Populism

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- the need to give power back to the people (e.g., "direct", "referendum").

Procedure

- (i) Computed TF-IDF matrix.
- (ii) Sum of the TF-IDF values for each word of a document on each dimension
- (iii) Standardized Variable
- ▶ Back to RQ ▶ Back to Data

Irregularities

Table: Number of Irregularities per Policy Area

	N	Percentage
Bureaucracy	58	0.2%
Crime	138	0.4%
Economics	1,494	4.1%
Health	10,207	28.2%
Social	21,644	59.8%
Urban	1,818	5.0%
Other	811	2.2%

- Source: TSE

[▶] Back to Backgroud → Back to Data

Party Classification: Parties

Table: Parties in the 2012 Election and how they are labeled to measure extremeness

Left	Center	Right
PCO	MDB	PTB
PSTU	Avante	SDD
PSOL	PMN	Podemos
PCB	PHS	PRTB
PCdoB	PSDB	PRB
PT	PSD*	PTC
PSB		PRP
PDT		PR
PV		PSL
PPS		PSC
UP*		DC
PPL*		Progre
		DEM

a Notes: This table shows distribution of parties in the left, center and right-wing groups following Tarouco and Madeira (2015). They are ordered from left (above) to right (below).

▶ Back to Data 21 / 21

^{*} Parties classified using Bolognesi, Ribeiro, and Codato (2022).

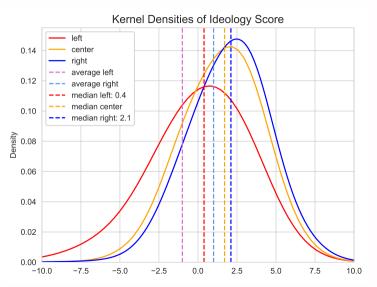
Party Classification: Words

Table: Words with the lowest (left-wing) and highest (right-wing) scores

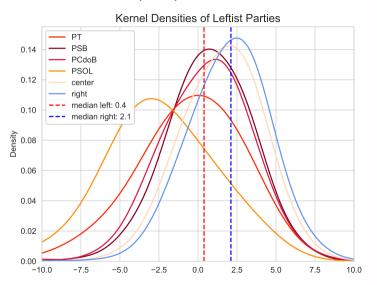
Leftist Words	Right-wing Words	
cidasc	democratas	
petista	cristao	
capitalista	crista	
petistas	democrata	
socialismo	republicano	
inverter	farei	
deliberativos	indeb	
desiguais	renova	
socialistas	equoterapia	
dominante	grafias	

[▶] Back to Data

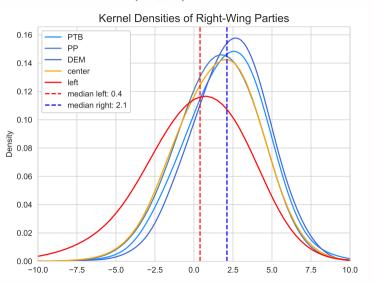
Party Classification: Densities



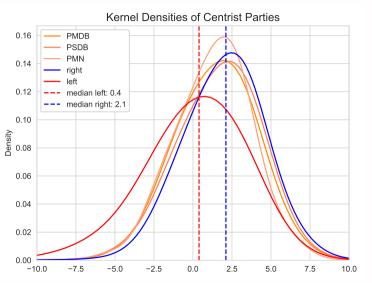
Party Classification: Densities (Left)



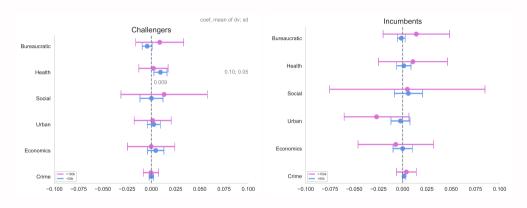
Party Classification: Densities (Right)



Party Classification: Densities (Center)

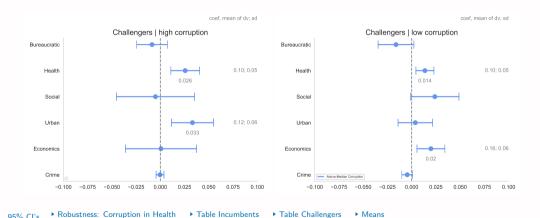


Effect of the Audit on the Agenda (cond. on Corruption) - Population



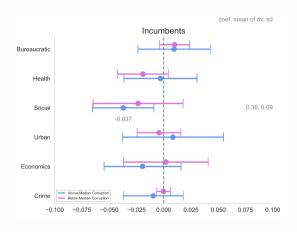
95% Cl's. ▶ Back to Results

Effect of the Audit on the Agenda (cond. on Corruption) for Challengers



▶ Means

Effect of the Audit on the Agenda (cond. on Corruption) for Incumbents



95% Cl's. ightharpoonup Robustness: Corruption in Health ightharpoonup Table Incumbents ightharpoonup Table Challengers ightharpoonup Mea

Challengers Agenda

Table: Audits on Shares - Challengers

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Bureaucratic	Social	Health	Urban	Economy	Crime	count	overlapa
Audited	-0.016*	0.024*	0.014***	0.004	0.020***	-0.005	65.533	0.009**
	(0.009)	(0.012)	(0.004)	(0.009)	(0.007)	(0.003)	(228.117)	(0.004)
corrup_au	0.008	-0.029*	0.012	0.029**	-0.019	0.004	121.428	0.006
	(0.011)	(0.016)	(0.007)	(0.013)	(0.016)	(0.004)	(225.223)	(0.006)
corr	-0.009	0.016	-0.016*	-0.039**	0.009	-0.005	4.414	-0.021***
	(0.013)	(0.014)	(0.009)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.003)	(337.023)	(0.005)
Observations	474	474	474	474	474	474	474	459
R-squared	0.116	0.138	0.204	0.189	0.137	0.167	0.619	0.856
$\Delta_0 + \beta_1 + \beta_1$	-0.00856	-0.00500	0.0257	0.0331	0.000665	-0.000311	187	0.0155
pval	0.271	0.798	0.00181	0.00471	0.970	0.874	0.226	0.000605

^{***} pi0.01, ** pi0.05, * pi0.1

[▶] Back to Results

Incumbents Agenda

Table: Audits on Shares - Incumbents

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Bureaucratic	Social	Health	Urban	Economy	Crime	count	overlapa
Audited	0.010	-0.023	-0.019	-0.004	0.002	-0.000	66.836	0.012*
	(0.007)	(0.020)	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.019)	(0.003)	(264.176)	(0.007)
corrup_au	-0.000	-0.014	0.016	0.013	-0.021	-0.009	-109.060	0.005
	(0.016)	(0.025)	(0.020)	(0.022)	(0.024)	(0.013)	(510.371)	(0.011)
corr	-0.002	-0.004	0.000	-0.007	0.023	0.008	133.891	-0.018
	(0.017)	(0.029)	(0.016)	(0.022)	(0.019)	(0.012)	(706.177)	(0.013)
Observations	257	257	257	257	257	257	257	248
R-squared	0.225	0.165	0.227	0.368	0.213	0.168	0.788	0.846
\$\beta_0 + \beta_1\$	0.00955	-0.0371	-0.00298	0.00843	-0.0194	-0.00957	-42.22	0.0172
pval	0.553	0.0124	0.854	0.708	0.264	0.475	0.920	0.0270

^{***} pi0.01, ** pi0.05, * pi0.1

[▶] Back to Results

Challengers Agenda, Cases on same Area

Table: Audits on Shares - Challengers

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
VARIABLES	Bureaucratic	Social	Health	Urban	Economy	Crime
Audited	-0.014**	0.007	0.012*	0.009	0.011	-0.004*
	(0.007)	(0.016)	(0.006)	(0.008)	(800.0)	(0.002)
corrup_au	0.016	0.012	0.011	0.001	0.009	0.006
	(0.016)	(0.019)	(0.014)	(0.007)	(0.013)	(0.007)
corr		-0.018	-0.001		0.007	
		(0.016)	(0.012)		(0.013)	
Observations	474	474	474	474	474	474
R-squared	0.117	0.136	0.207	0.183	0.146	0.169
$\Delta_0 + \beta_1$	0.00178	0.0190	0.0235	0.0105	0.0198	0.00247
pval	0.928	0.184	0.0378	0.255	0.0684	0.731

^{***} pi0.01, ** pi0.05, * pi0.1

[▶] Back to Results

Challengers Agenda, Cases on same Area

Table: Audits on Shares - Incumbents

	(1) Bureaucratic	(2) Social	(3) Health	(4) Urban	(5) Economy	(6) Crime	(7) count	(8) overlapa
A die - d	0.010	0.002	0.010	0.004	0.000	0.000	66.026	0.010*
Audited	0.010 (0.007)	-0.023 (0.020)	-0.019 (0.011)	-0.004 (0.010)	0.002 (0.019)	-0.000 (0.003)	66.836 (264.176)	0.012*
corrup_au	-0.000	-0.014	0.011)	0.013	-0.021	-0.009	-109.060	0.005
	(0.016)	(0.025)	(0.020)	(0.022)	(0.024)	(0.013)	(510.371)	(0.011)
corr	-0.002	-0.004	0.000	-0.007	0.023	0.008	133.891	-0.018
	(0.017)	(0.029)	(0.016)	(0.022)	(0.019)	(0.012)	(706.177)	(0.013)
Observations	257	257	257	257	257	257	257	248
R-squared	0.225	0.165	0.227	0.368	0.213	0.168	0.788	0.846
$\Delta_0 + \beta_1$	0.00955	-0.0371	-0.00298	0.00843	-0.0194	-0.00957	-42.22	0.0172
pval	0.553	0.0124	0.854	0.708	0.264	0.475	0.920	0.0270

^{***} pi0.01, ** pi0.05, * pi0.1

[▶] Back to Results

Political Positioning - Challengers

Table: Effect of the Audit on Political Positioning

	(1)	(2)	(3)	
VARIABLES	Standardized values of populis	extremeness_med	partisan_prob	
Audited	-0.301**	-0.661**	-0.254	
	(0.138)	(0.244)	(0.266)	
corrup_au	0.388**	0.348	0.194	
	(0.154)	(0.465)	(0.611)	
corr	-0.279**	-0.026	0.105	
	(0.110)	(0.368)	(0.630)	
Observations	474	474	422	
R-squared	0.134	0.154	0.126	
$\Delta_0 + \beta_1$	0.0864	-0.313	-0.0599	
pval	0.569	0.546	0.894	

Robust standard errors in parentheses *** pi0.01, ** pi0.05, * pi0.1

[▶] Back to Results 3 ▶ Back to Results 4

Political Positioning - Incumbents

Table: Effect of the Audit on Political Positioning

	(1)	(2)	(3)	
VARIABLES	Standardized values of populis	extremeness_med	partisan_prob	
Audited	0.063	0.914*	0.781	
	(0.096)	(0.520)	(0.657)	
corrup_au	0.273	-1.466*	-1.881*	
	(0.170)	(0.721)	(1.048)	
corr	-0.322	1.233*	1.067	
	(0.206)	(0.628)	(1.092)	
Observations	257	254	238	
R-squared	0.283	0.157	0.148	
$\theta_0 + \beta_1 + \beta_1$	0.336	-0.552	-1.100	
pval	0.0298	0.430	0.302	

^{***} pi0.01, ** pi0.05, * pi0.1

▶ Back to Results 3 ▶ Back to Results 4