

Information About Corruption and Politicians' Proposals

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Politicians' Rhetoric: Why is this Important?

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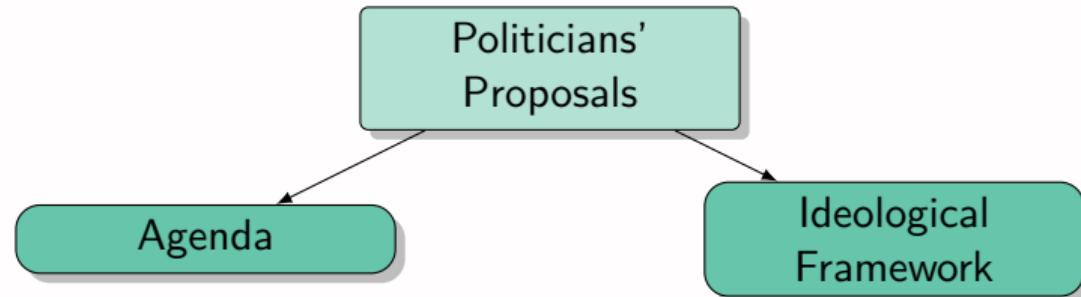
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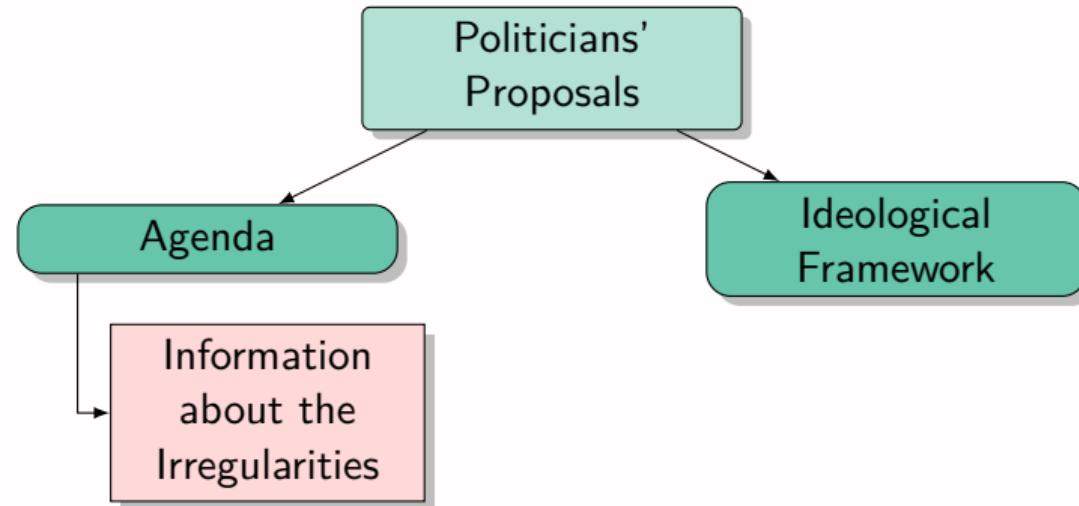
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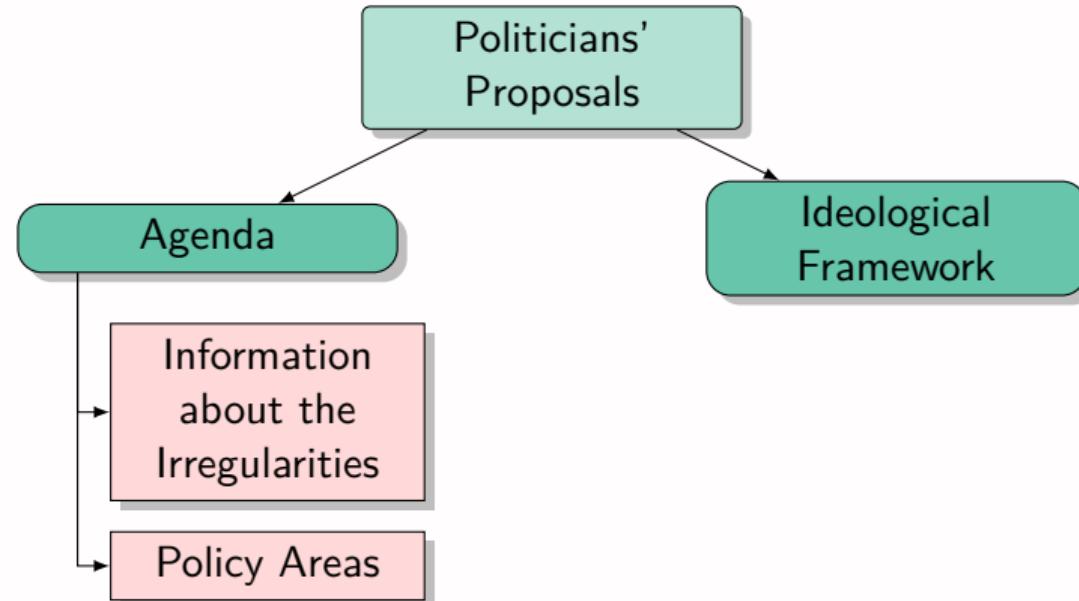
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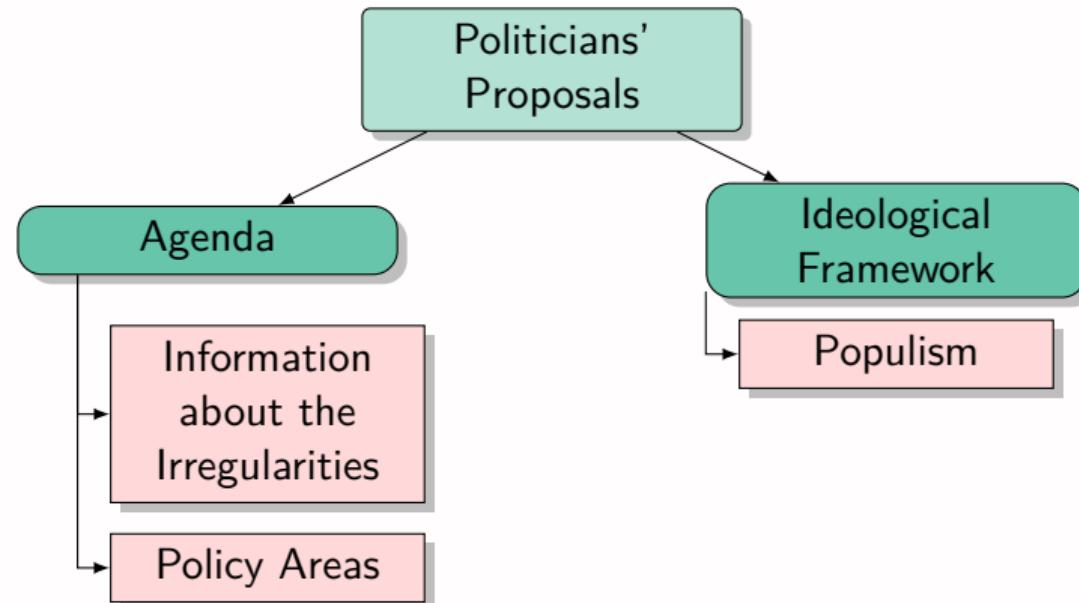
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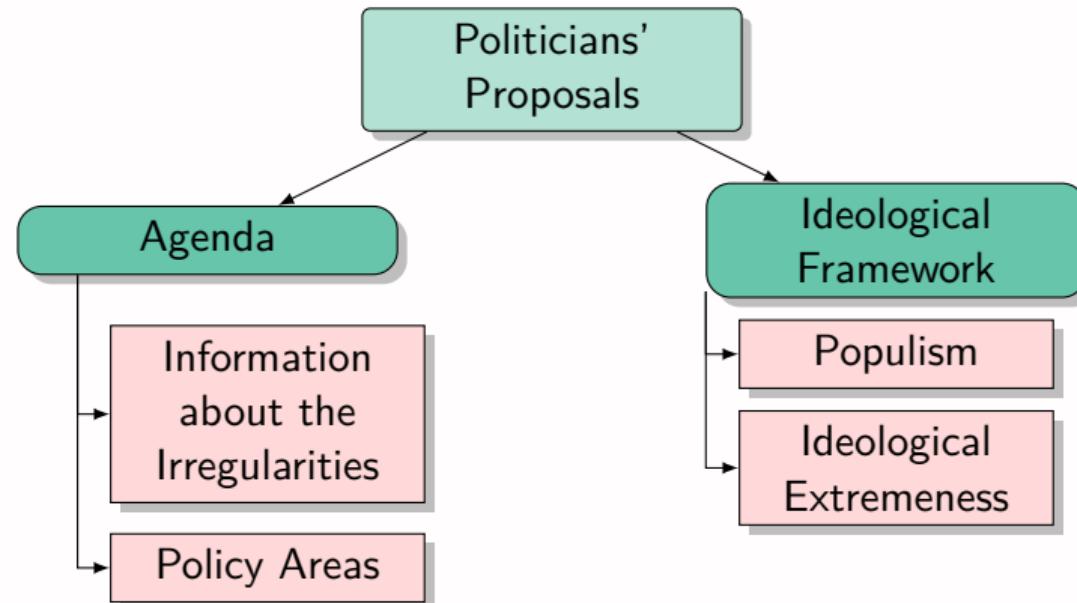
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This Paper

Information about Corruption in **Brazilian Municipalities**



Proposals made by **mayoral** candidates

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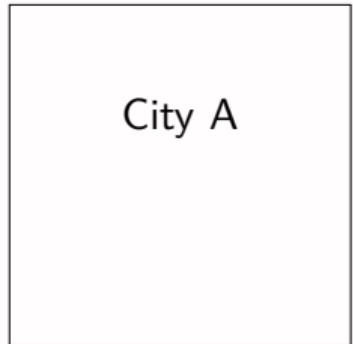


Proposals made by **mayoral** candidates

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

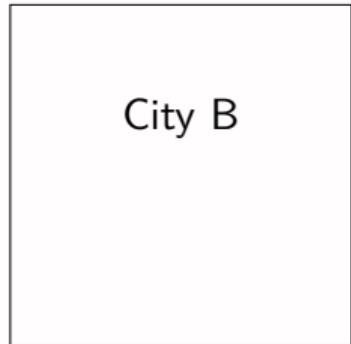
► Irregularities

What do I do?



City A

2012 Election



City B

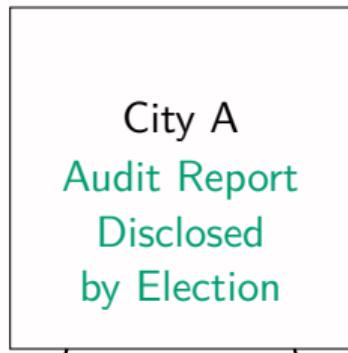
What do I do?

City A
Audit Report
Disclosed
by Election

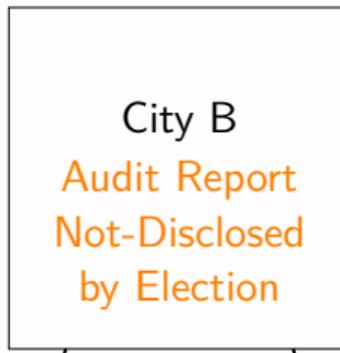
2012 Election

City B
Audit Report
Not-Disclosed
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What do I do?



2012 Election



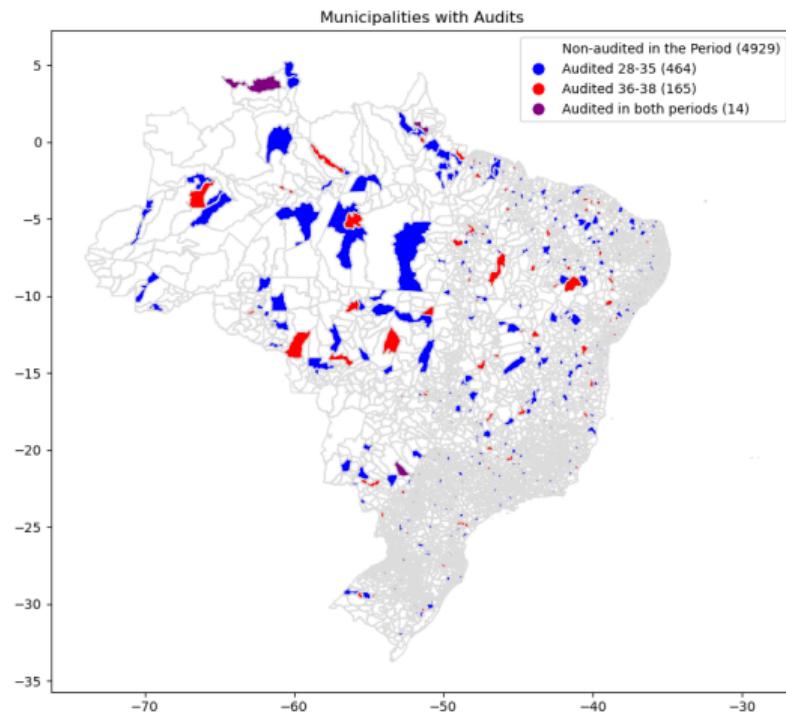
Incumbent

Challenger

Incumbent

Challenger

Municipalities in Brazil



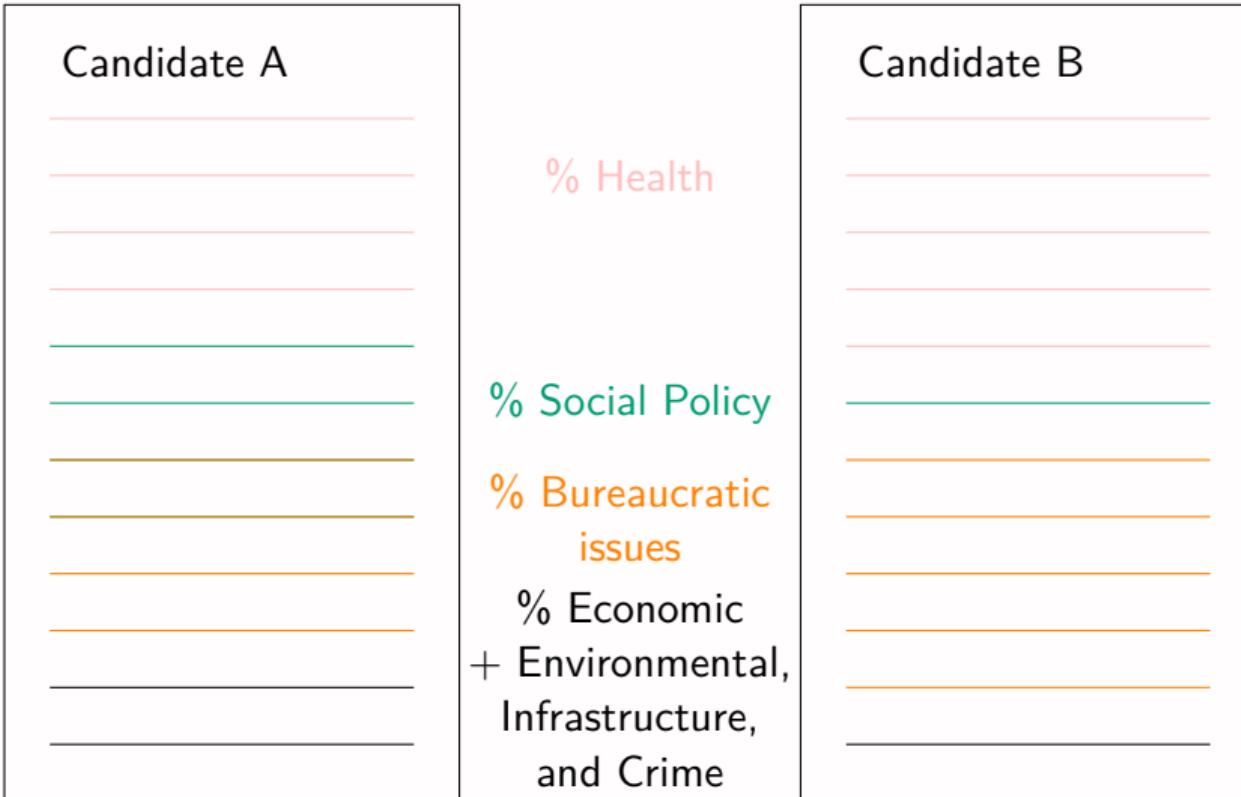
What do I Compare?

Candidate A

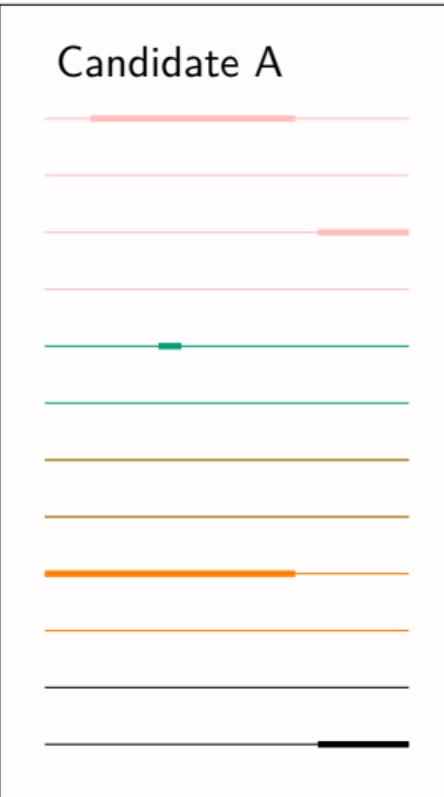
What do I Compare?

Candidate A	Supervised ML
	% Health
	% Social Policy
	% Bureaucratic issues
	% Economic
	+ Environmental, Infrastructure, and Crime

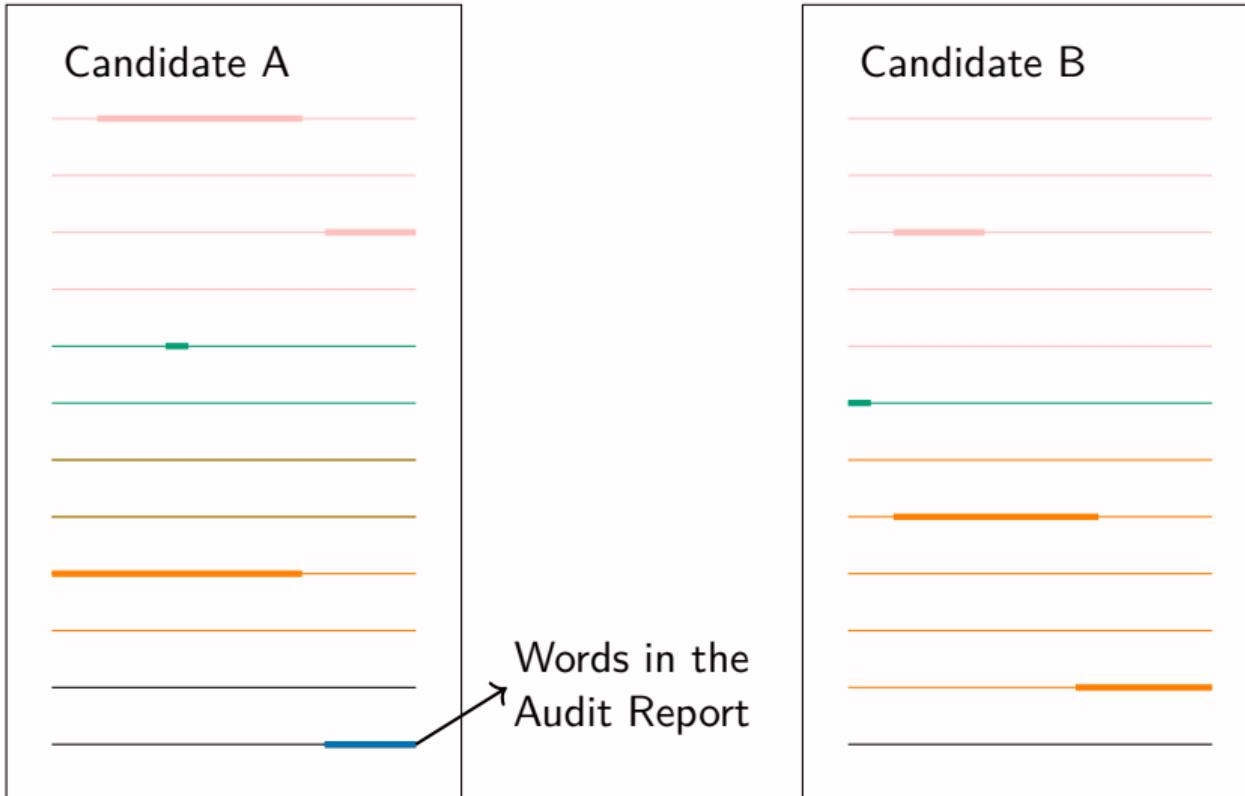
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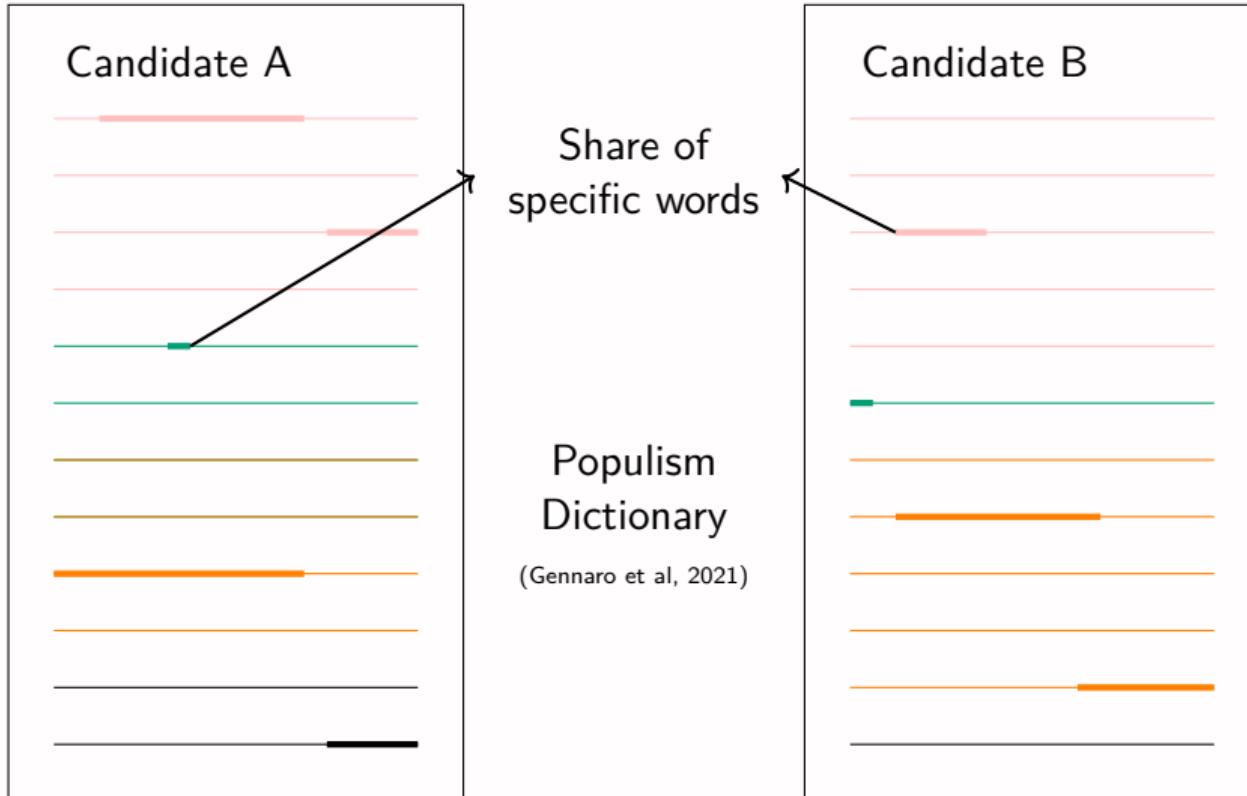
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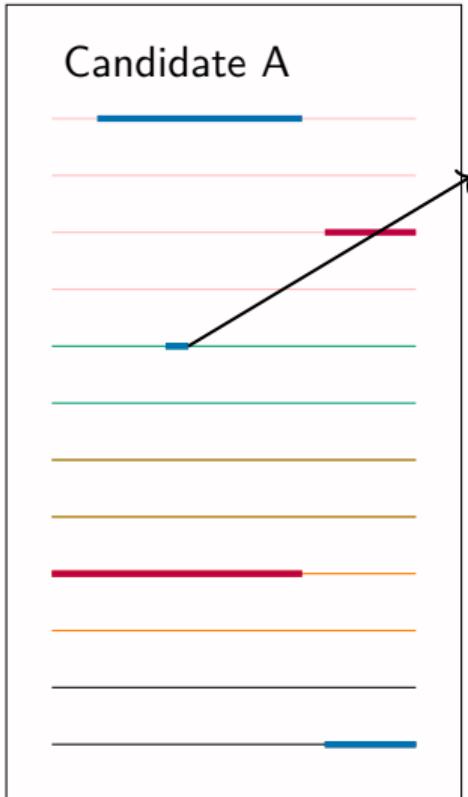
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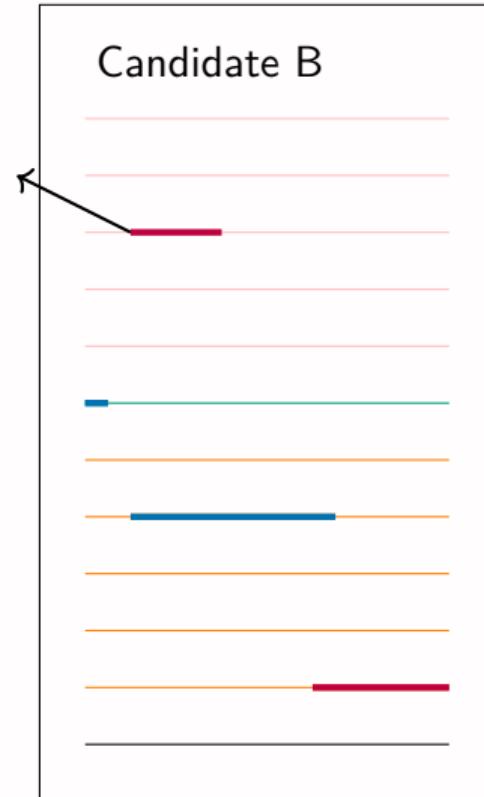
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What do I Compare?



Left/Right
Words
Extremeness
(Le Pennec, 2022)



Summary of the Results

- Information about corruption affects the agenda:
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- Information about corruption affects political positioning:
 - High corruption municipalities:
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- Information about corruption affects political positioning:
 - High corruption municipalities:
Incumbents increase the use of populist rhetoric (no effect on extreme rhetoric).
 - Low corruption municipalities:
Challengers reduce the use of populist and extreme rhetoric.

Related Work I

- New information affects focus on or the perception about optimal policies
(Abou-Chadi, Green-Pedersen, & Mortensen, 2020; Williams, Seki, & Whitten, 2016)
- Candidates choose topics in which they have an advantage (Riker, 1996) or not
(Aragonès, Castanheira, & Giani, 2015; Dragu & Fan, 2016). **Test of what politicians do.**

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(Aragonès et al., 2015; Dragu & Fan, 2016). **Test of what politicians do.**
- Ideological Positioning
 - Changes in reputation affect electoral competitiveness \Rightarrow positioning (e.g. Bernhardt et al., 2020; Buisseret & Van Weelden, 2022; Groseclose & Milyo, 2005; Serra, 2010) **Test of what politicians do.**
 - How corruption affects vote for extremists (Gaspar et al., 2021) **Supply Analysis**

Populism

Factors driving the rise of populism (Berman, 2021; Gennaro et al., 2024; Guriev & Papaioannou, 2022)

Corruption (from trusted sources) affects populism supply.

Related Work II

- 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)
 - Brazilian audits (Amorim, 2022; Avis, Ferraz, & Finan, 2018; Colonnelli & Prem, 2022; Ferraz & Finan, 2008, 2011; Gonzales, 2021; Lauletta, Rossi, & Ruzzier, 2022)

Information from scandals is used in electoral campaigns. This information affects the use of populist/extreme rhetoric.

Background: Brazilian's Case

Audits to Municipalities (2003-2015)

- **Randomized** audit policy, revealing local government corruption cases.
- Each audited municipality received a report. ▶ [Irregularities](#)
- Audits are targeted to specific areas for municipalities with population > 20,000.
- Had effects (e.g. Avis et al., 2018; Ferraz & Finan, 2008; Lauletta et al., 2022)

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Elections and Manifestos

- Municipal elections every four years.
- Maximum two consecutive periods.
- 2.88 candidates in average.
- 48% municipalities have a candidate going for re-election.
- Since 2009, **manifestos** are required before executive election bids.

▶ [Manifestos in the News](#)

Data

- 2012 election in municipalities in Brazil.
- Audits
 - Municipalities audited in 2009-2013 (11 rounds)
 - 643 audited municipalities (out of 5,568) in 2009-2012.
 - Data about corruption and irregularities ▶ [Irregularities](#)
- 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
 - Similar dataset to the one used by [Le Pennec \(2024\)](#)
 - ▶ [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 $\approx 1\%$)
 - Model Performance
- 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 ► Wordclouds

Dependent Variables: Ideological Positioning

3. Populism (Gennaro et al., 2024)

- Example words (in English): elite, absurd, corrupt, establishment

► Methodology ► Geographical Variation ► Example

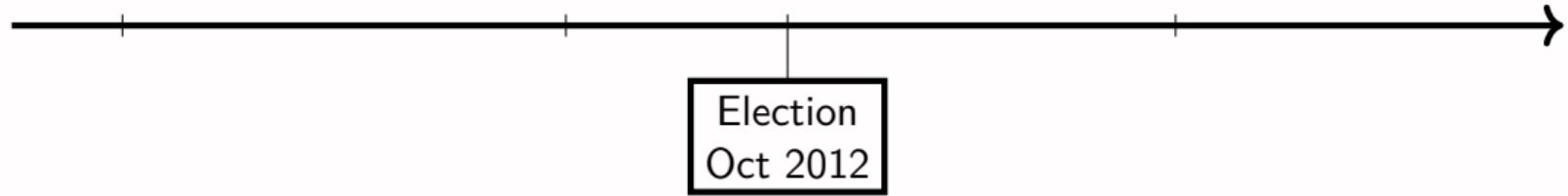
4. Manifestos Positioning in the Left-Right axis: Wordscores (Laver, Benoit, & Garry, 2003; Le Pennec, 2024).

- Which words are used by the Left or the Right?
- Data-driven
- Compute scores for each document.

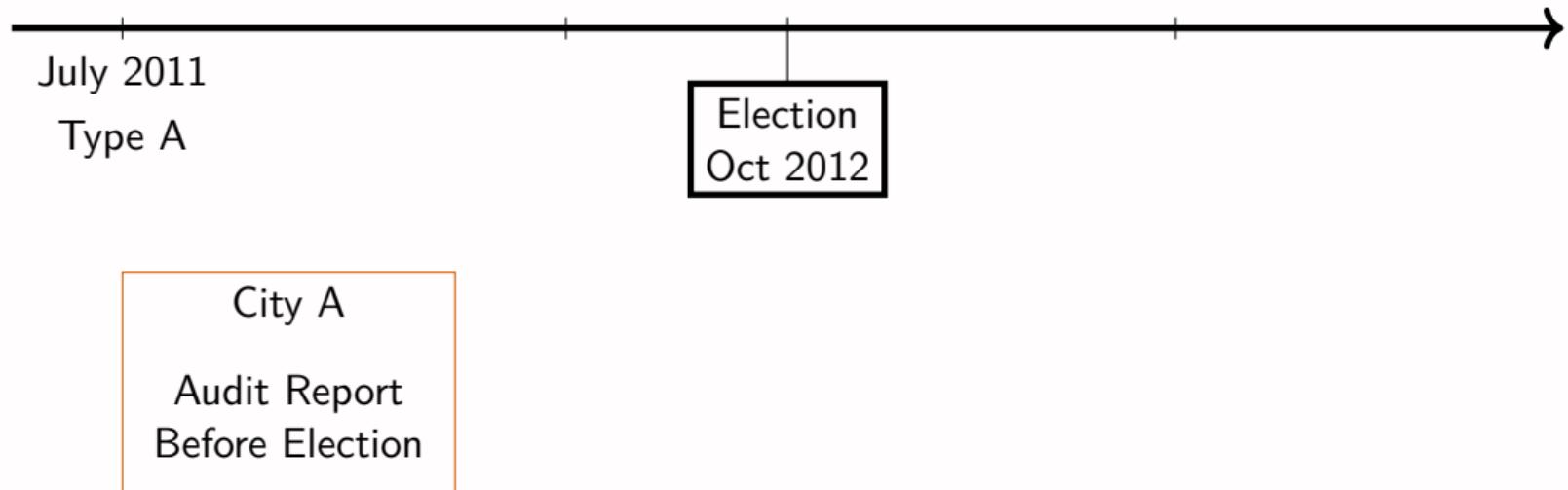
► Methodology ► Words ► Densities Ideological

► Descriptives

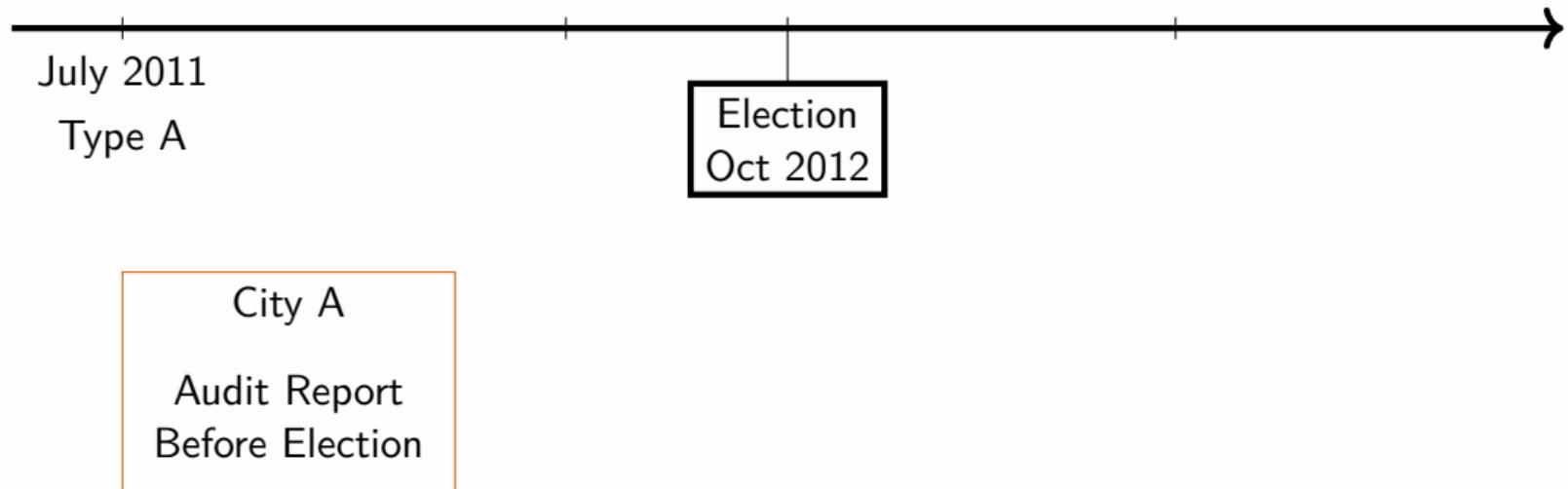
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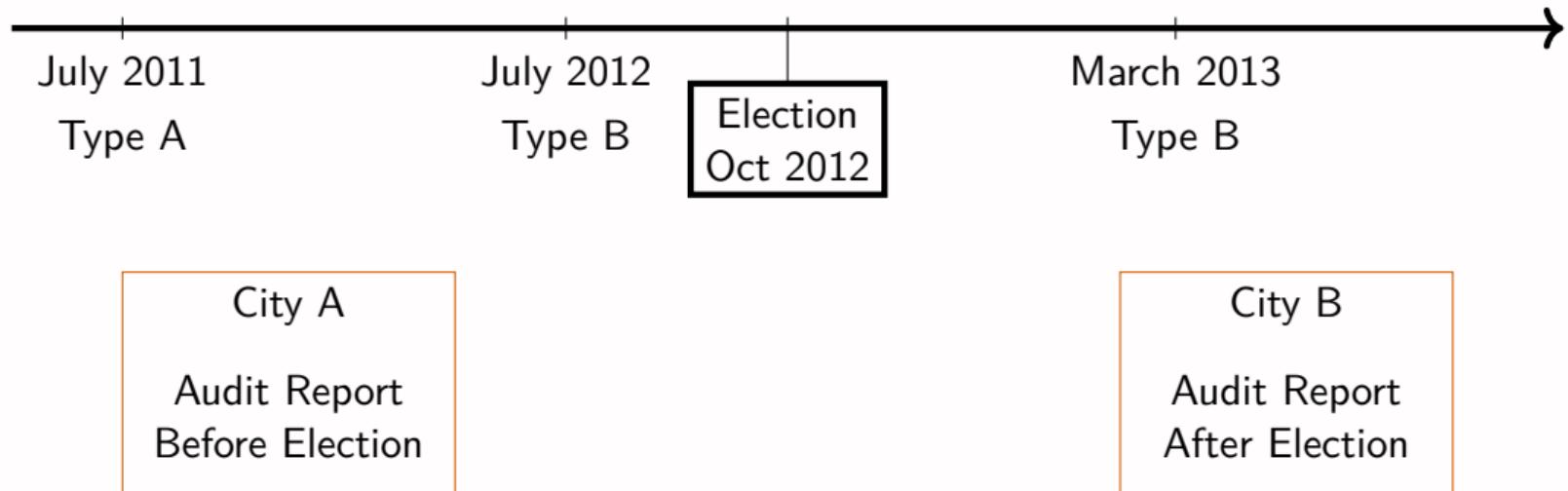
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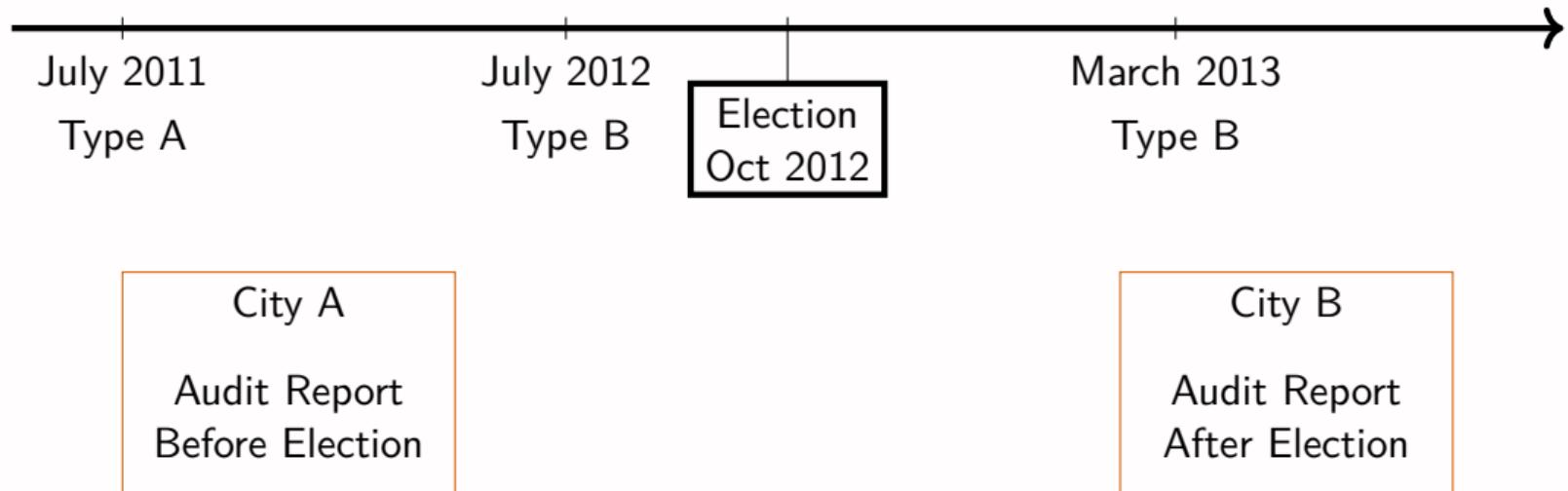
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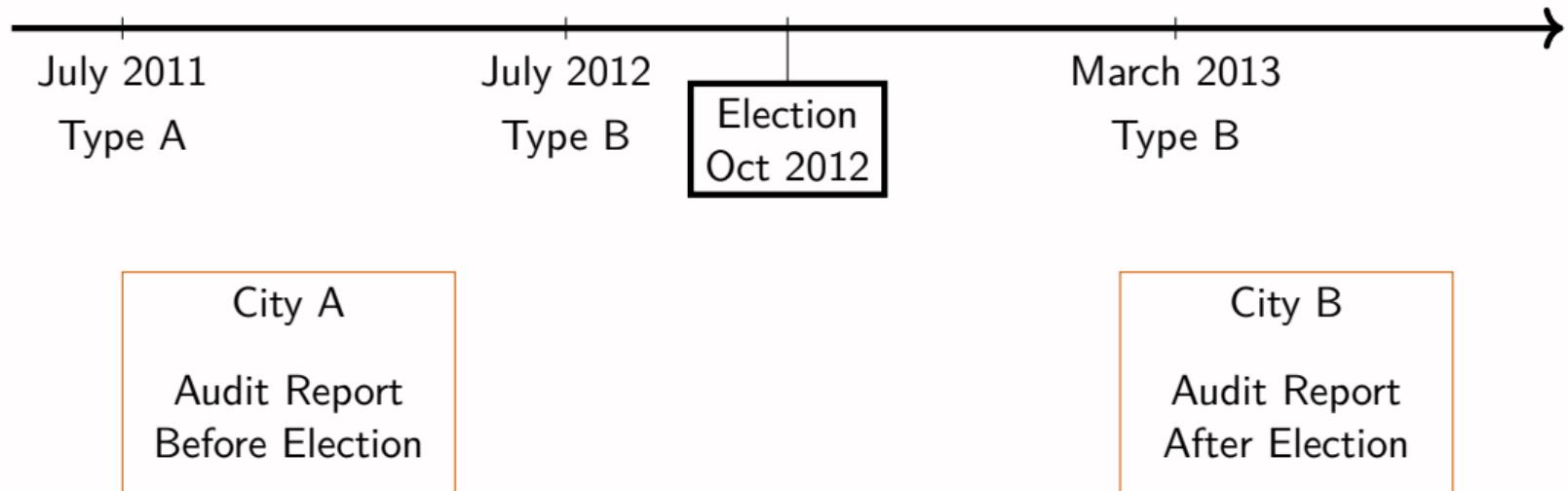
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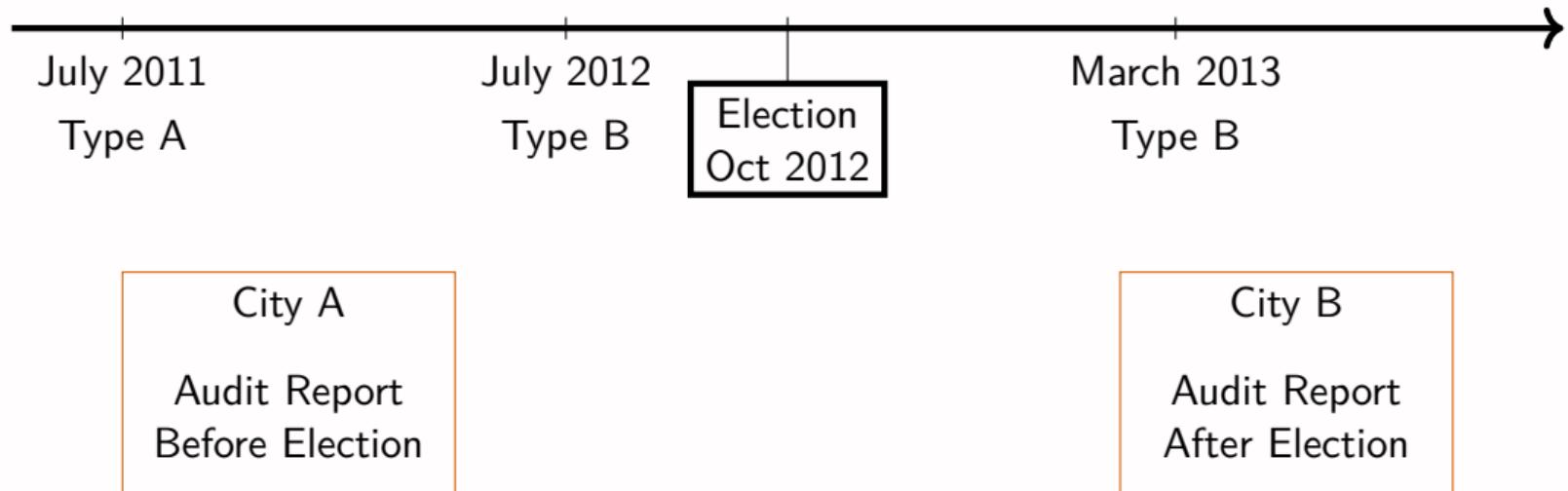
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Empirical Strategy: Effect of the Disclosure I



Empirical Strategy: Effect of the Disclosure II

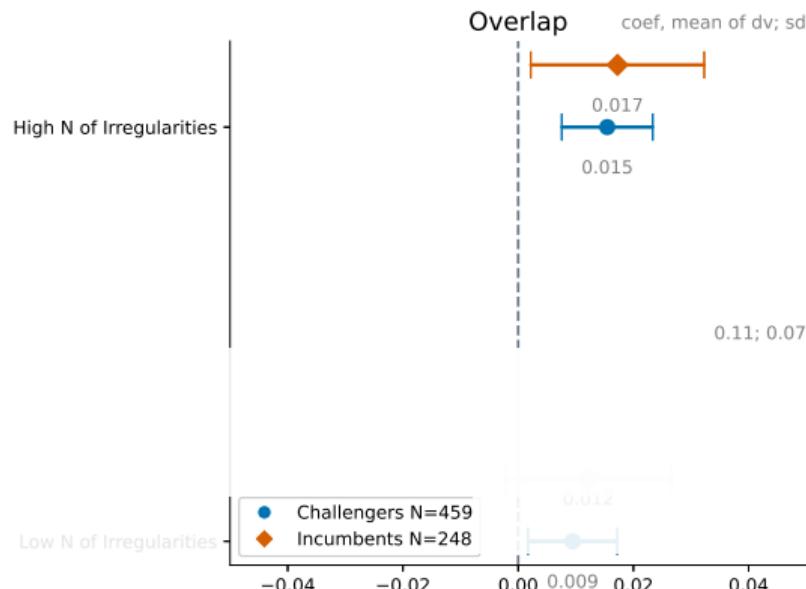
$$\text{Outcome}_{imst} = \alpha + \beta_0 \text{Disclosure}_{mst} + \beta_1 \text{Disclosure}_{mst} \times \text{High_Corruption} + \\ + \beta_2 \text{High_Corruption} + \gamma \text{Controls}_{imst} + \nu_s + \varepsilon_{imst}$$

- $\text{Disclosure}_{mst} = \mathbb{1}(\text{municipality audit report disclosed before the 2012 election})$
- $\text{High_Corruption} = \mathbb{1}(\text{number of acts of corruption higher than the median})$
 - ▶ [Controls](#)
- Used in Ferraz and Finan (2008) [▶ Balance](#) [▶ Balance 2](#) [▶ Balance 3](#) [▶ Balance 4](#)
 - HC: F-test = 0.92, p-value = .53
 - LC: F-test = 1.45, p-value = .17
- β_0 : effect of pre-election audit outcomes when corruption was low.
- $\beta_0 + \beta_1$: effect of pre-election audit outcomes when corruption was high.

Effects on the Agenda

Results I: Effect of the Disclosure on the Content

DV: Share of words from the audit report that overlap with the manifesto

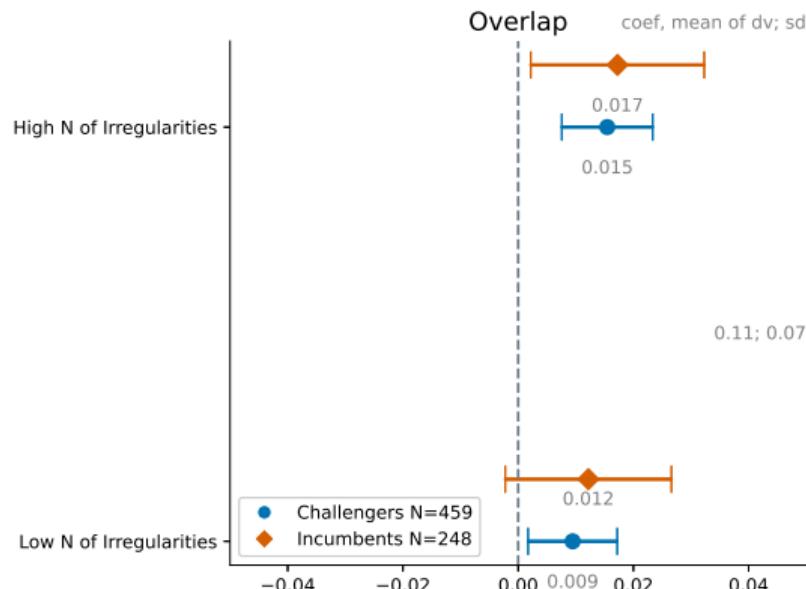


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95% CI's ▶ Table Incumbents ▶ Table Challengers ▶ Means ▶ Irregularities

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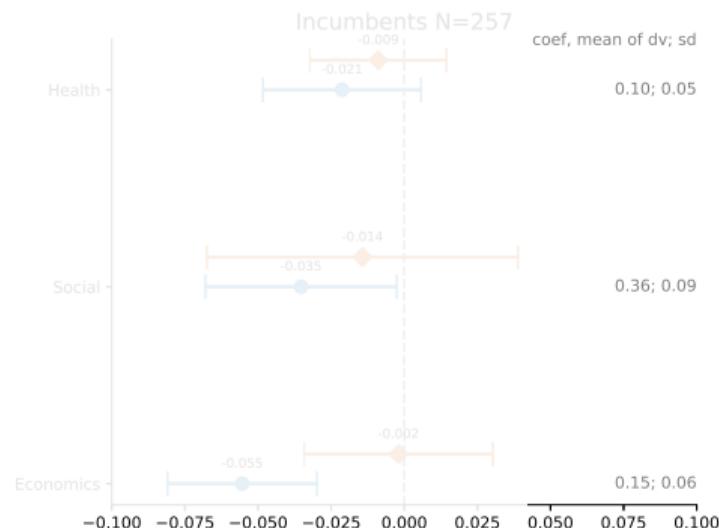
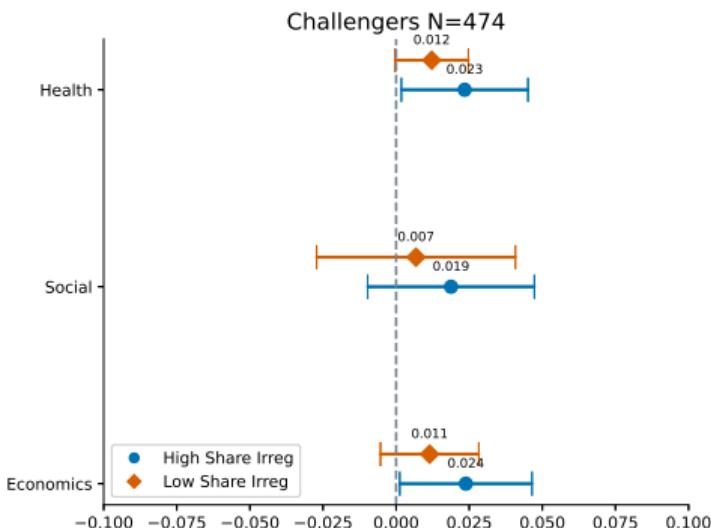


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Results II: Effect of the Disclosure on the Topics

DV: Share of Words on each Topic

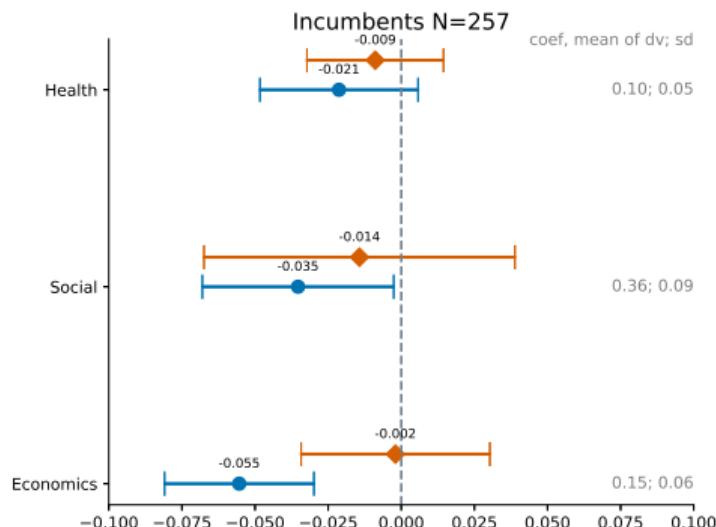
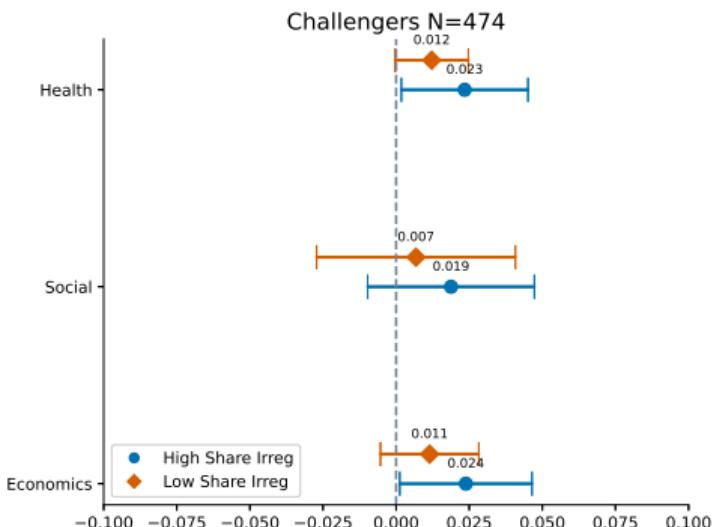


Challengers: Disclosure \Rightarrow Discuss **more** about topics with a large share of irregularities
Incumbents: Disclosure \Rightarrow Discuss **less** about topics with a large share of irregularities

95% CI's. ▶ Descriptives ▶ By Population ▶ Table Incumbents ▶ Table Challengers ▶ Robustness

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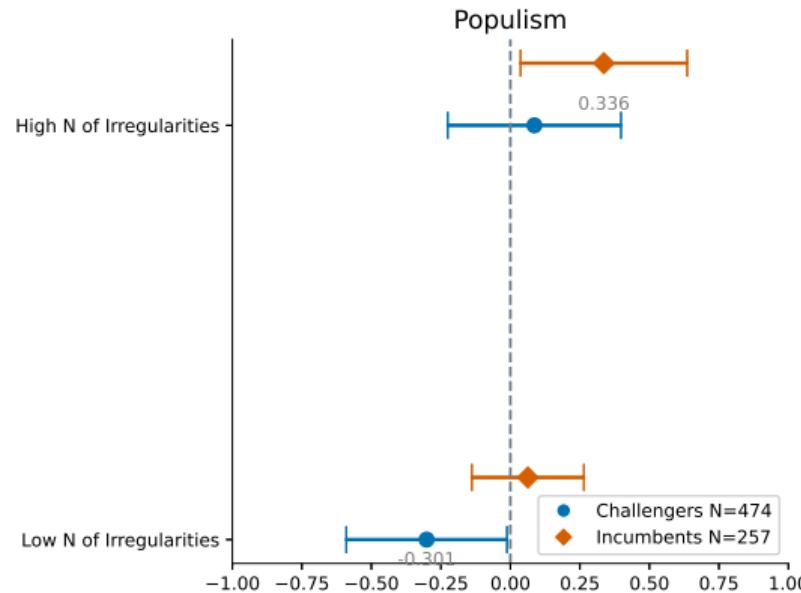
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95% CI's. ▶ Descriptives ▶ By Population ▶ Table Incumbents ▶ Table Challengers ▶ Robustness

Effects on the Ideological Framework

Results III: Effect of the Disclosure on Populism

DV: Share of Words in the Manifesto used by Populists



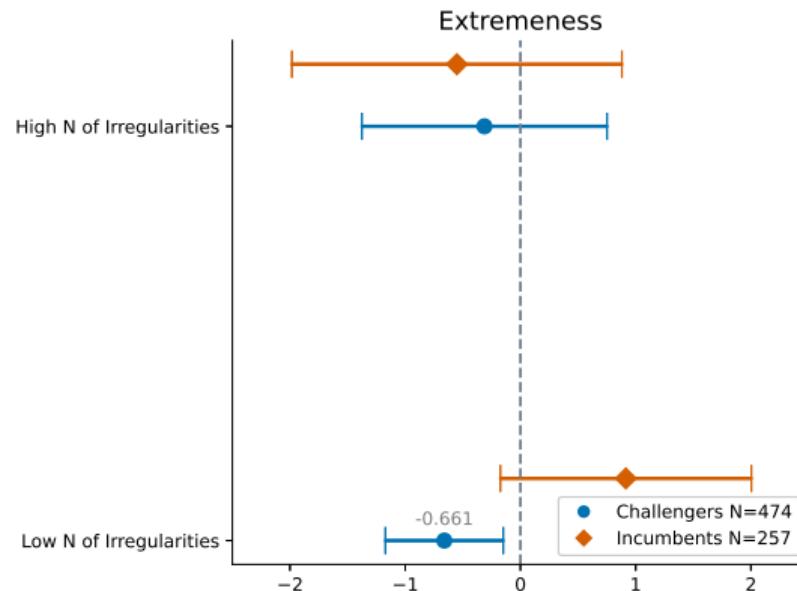
Challengers: Disclosure \Rightarrow Use **less** populist rhetoric in cities with **low** N of irregularities

Incumbents: Disclosure \Rightarrow Use **more** populist rhetoric in cities with **high** N of irregularities

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

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

DV: Ideological Extremeness ($|\text{Ideological Score} - \text{median}(\text{Ideological Score})|$)



Challengers: Disclosure \Rightarrow Use **less** ideological extreme vocabulary in cities with **low** N of irregularities

[95% CI's.](#) ▶ [Table Incumbents](#) ▶ [Table Challengers](#) ▶ [Means](#)

Other Results

- Robustness
 - Number of Words ▶ [Results](#)
 - Corruption and Transparency ▶ [Results](#)
 - Changing the control group ▶ [Results](#)

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 - No effects of cases in a neighboring municipality. ▶ [Results](#)

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- Other results
 - Partisanship ▶ [Results](#)
 - No effects of cases in a neighboring municipality. ▶ [Results](#)
- Testing for Mechanisms
 - No effects on candidates' occupational background. ▶ [Results](#)
 - What happens in races without an incumbent? **No significant results.**

Summary of the Results

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Agenda
Information about the Irregularities
Topics with a High Share of Irregularities

Challengers



Incumbents



Summary of the Results

	Challengers	Incumbents
Agenda		
Information about the Irregularities	↑	↑
Topics with a High Share of Irregularities	↑	↓
Ideological Framework		
Populism	Conditional on Reputation	Conditional on Reputation
Extremeness	Conditional on Reputation	No

Final Remarks

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- Future research: Role of the media (Avis et al., 2018) and measuring polarization.
- Politicians are responsive, but engagement in topics depends on reputation shocks.
- Information about corruption also influences the ideological framework.
- Is it behind the rise of populism?
- Exposing corrupt politicians has an effect on electoral campaigns.

Thank you!

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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

► Back to Background

► Back to Data

Manifestos in the News

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

Pioneiro apresenta as propostas dos 11 candidatos à prefeitura

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 tornar 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 postos de saúde que fará com que as pessoas não precisem passar a madrugada na fila para conseguir consulta.

CURITIBA

	População estimada (2016)	1.893.997
	Eleitores	1.289.215
	IDH* (2010)	0,823
	PIB per capita (2013)	R\$ 42.934,38
	Orcamento (2016)	R\$ 8,3 bilhões

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



Fontes: IBGE, TSE, prefeituras e câmaras

Em dois anos, afirma Greca no [plano de governo](#), pretende criar o Centro de Especialidades Metropolitanas no Portão, garantindo consultas especializadas com cardiologistas, endocrinologistas, geriatras, por exemplo, e equipe multidisciplinar.

Quando falava em mobilidade urbana, Greca era enfático ao afirmar que vai reformar 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 é colocar Centros Municipais de Educação Infantil (Cmeis) em funcionamento, abrir turmas de berçário e aumentar as vagas para crianças entre zero e três anos.

► Back to Background

► Back to Data

Manifestos in the News

Série traz as propostas de Carlos Eduardo para Natal

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

Do G1 RN



Série vai mostrar as promessas de Carlos Eduardo durante a campanha eleitoral (Foto: Alex Rego/Cedida)

O prefeito eleito de Natal, **Carlos Eduardo (PDT)**, assume o comando da cidade no dia 1º de janeiro de 2013. Dentre os desafios que ele se propôs a enfrentar no Plano de Governo estão problemas nas áreas de saúde, educação, acessibilidade, mobilidade, moradia, esgotamento sanitário, drenagem urbana e coleta regular de lixo.

A série "Copie e Cole" do G1 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).

O plano de Vargas, ca de Caxias

itas dos 11 candidatos à prefeitura

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► Back to Background

► Back to Data

Descriptives: Candidates

Table: Descriptives for Candidates

	Rounds 28 - 35 (2009-2012)		Rounds 36 - 40 (2012-2015)		Other	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Age	48.70	10.53	48.13	10.35	48.58	13.66
% College Studies	0.55	0.50	0.58	0.49	0.56	0.50
% Women	0.14	0.35	0.13	0.34	0.13	0.34
% Same party as the President	0.10	0.30	0.11	0.32	0.12	0.32
% Same party as the Governor	0.15	0.35	0.13	0.33	0.15	0.36
Running for re-election	0.18	0.38	0.19	0.39	0.18	0.38
Number of Candidates	3.38	1.50	3.39	1.45	3.29	1.46
Observations	1129		423		11548	

► Back to Empirical Analysis

Descriptives: Issues and Ideological Content

Table: Descriptives for Manifestos on their content

	Mean	p50	p90	se	N
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

Wordclouds

Word Cloud for Introduction & Other topics



Word Cloud for Titles



Word Cloud for Unrecognizable characters



A word cloud visualization centered around the theme of 'Administrative / Bureaucracy'. The most prominent words are 'governo' (government), 'município' (municipality), 'serviço' (service), 'Plano' (plan), and 'ação' (action). Other significant terms include 'população' (population), 'controle' (control), 'processo' (process), 'implantar' (implement), 'planejamento' (planning), 'sistema' (system), 'projeto' (project), 'participação' (participation), 'criar' (create), 'servidor' (servant), 'gestão' (management), 'atendimento' (attention), 'cargo' (position), 'transparência' (transparency), and 'salário' (salary).

Model Performance Comparison

Model	F1 Weighted	Accuracy
NB	0.6278	0.6308
KN	0.4332	0.4123
SVC	0.6269	0.6357
RF	0.3508	0.4236
LSTM_1	0.1971	0.2111
LSTM_2	0.1979	0.2041
LSTM_3	0.1913	0.1981
LSTM_4	0.1964	0.2023
OpenAI_num	0.4989	0.4804

▶ Data

Balance Audits

Table: Mean Comparisons between Audited and Nonaudited Municipalities

	Control	Treatment	Difference
GDP pc	12886.52 [14487.15]	10805.9 [9571.88]	-819.3 [569.971]
Share Illiterate (%)	85.3472 [8.86]	83.51522 [9.33]	-0.0758 [0.258]
Share Urban	0.6374198 [0.22]	0.6262824 [0.21]	0.00446 [0.007]
Share Secondary Education and above	0.2156972 [0.08]	0.2083799 [0.08]	0.000671 [0.003]
Share of Bureaucrats with Superior Education	0.3069009 [0.11]	0.2967605 [0.11]	-0.00219 [0.004]
HDI	0.6598012 [0.07]	0.6443488 [0.07]	-0.00108 [0.002]
AM radio	0.2092931 [0.41]	0.1987315 [0.4]	-0.00137 [0.025]
Gini	0.5013802 [0.07]	0.5095829 [0.06]	-0.0014 [0.002]
Population (logs)	9.377024 [1.09]	9.470213 [1.1]	0.00526 [0.032]
Audited Previously	0.2499018 [0.43]	0.2635983 [0.44]	-0.0113 [0.021]
Observations	5090	478	

► Back to Empirical Analysis

Balance Timing

Table: Mean Comparisons between Audited and Nonaudited Municipalities

	Control	Treatment	Difference
GDP pc	11700.37 [14514.56]	10805.9 [9571.88]	-483.2 [1320.197]
Share Illiterate (%)	84.28 [8.84]	83.52 [9.33]	-0.16 [0.546]
Share Urban	0.64 [0.22]	0.63 [0.21]	0 [0.014]
Share Secondary Education and above	0.22 [0.08]	0.21 [0.08]	0 [0.005]
Share of Bureaucrats with Superior Education	0.31 [0.11]	0.3 [0.11]	-0.01 [0.009]
HDI	0.65 [0.07]	0.64 [0.07]	0 [0.004]
AM radio	0.2 [0.4]	0.2 [0.4]	0 [0.041]
Gini	0.5 [0.06]	0.51 [0.06]	0 [0.004]
Population (logs)	9.41 [1.11]	9.47 [1.1]	0.07 [0.053]
Audited Previously	0.24 [0.43]	0.26 [0.44]	0.03 [0.043]
Observations	165	478	

► Back to Empirical Analysis

Balance High Corruption

Table: Mean Comparisons between Audited and Nonaudited Municipalities

	Control	Treatment	Difference
GDP pc	6082.53 [4420.41]	9279.5 [9042.16]	2142.9* [1142.474]
Share Illiterate (%)	78 [7.98]	81.04 [9.21]	1.33 [1.211]
Share Urban	0.55 [0.2]	0.61 [0.21]	0.05 [0.039]
Share Secondary Education and above	0.18 [0.06]	0.2 [0.08]	0.02 [0.013]
Share of Bureaucrats with Superior Education	0.29 [0.12]	0.29 [0.12]	-0.01 [0.029]
HDI	0.6 [0.06]	0.62 [0.07]	0.01 [0.009]
AM radio	0.14 [0.36]	0.2 [0.4]	0.09 [0.091]
Gini	0.53 [0.04]	0.53 [0.05]	0.0191* [0.010]
Population (logs)	9.5 [0.86]	9.66 [1.02]	0.34 [0.210]
Audited Previously	0.29 [0.46]	0.29 [0.46]	-0.01 [0.103]
Observations	21	131	

► Back to Empirical Analysis

Balance Low Corruption

Table: Mean Comparisons between Audited and Nonaudited Municipalities

	Control	Treatment	Difference
GDP pc	17136.57 [24649.26]	13572.12 [12166.64]	-1596.1 [3520.809]
Share Illiterate (%)	87 [8.65]	87.39 [8.02]	1.371* [0.731]
Share Urban	0.64 [0.25]	0.66 [0.21]	0.0245 [0.034]
Share Secondary Education and above	0.22 [0.08]	0.22 [0.09]	0.0141 [0.012]
Share of Bureaucrats with Superior Education	0.32 [0.14]	0.3 [0.1]	-0.0118 [0.026]
HDI	0.68 [0.06]	0.67 [0.07]	0.00408 [0.007]
AM radio	0.25 [0.44]	0.19 [0.4]	-0.00734 [0.092]
Gini	0.49 [0.07]	0.5 [0.06]	0.00901 [0.011]
Population (logs)	9.4 [1.28]	9.33 [1.17]	0.101 [0.197]
Audited Previously	0.2 [0.41]	0.27 [0.45]	0.131* [0.074]
Observations	44	108	

► Back to Empirical Analysis

Geographical Variation

- Platforms show variation across municipalities.
- Increase in the use of populist vocabulary (Gennaro et al. (2024) dictionary).

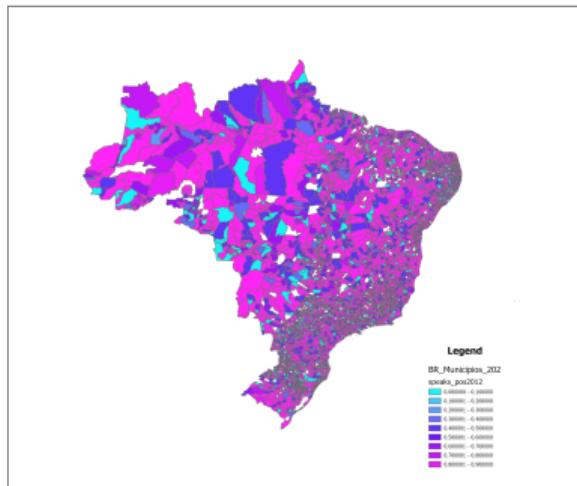


Figure: Percentage of local party manifestos in Brazil that include a populist word
(Left: 2012. Right: 2020)

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

$$s_w^R = \frac{p_w^R}{p_w^R + p_w^L} - \frac{p_w^L}{p_w^R + p_w^L} \quad (1)$$

- A manifesto j score is then calculated by:

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

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

[► Back to Data](#)

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

Populism and Ideology

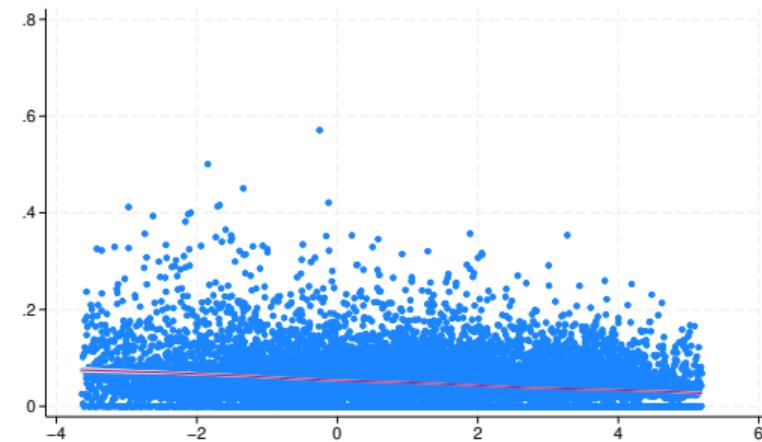


Figure: x-axis: Ideology (L-R); y-axis: Populism

Similar finding to Venturelli (2024) [► 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: CGU

► Back to Background ► 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).

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

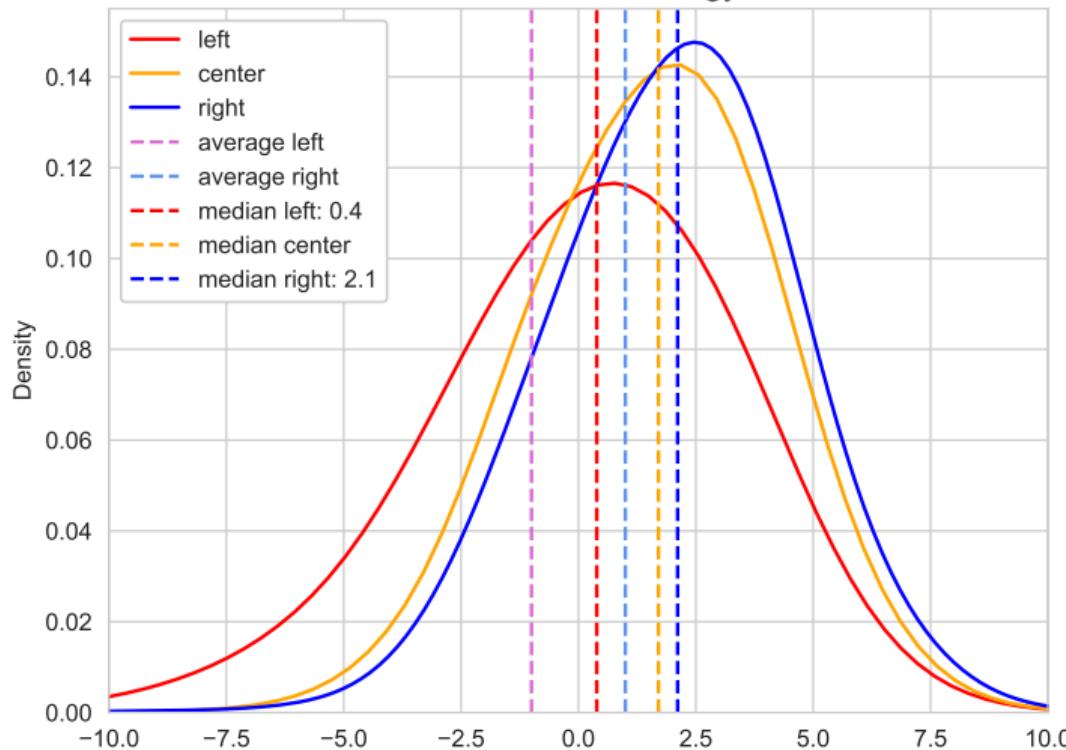
Party Classification: Words

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

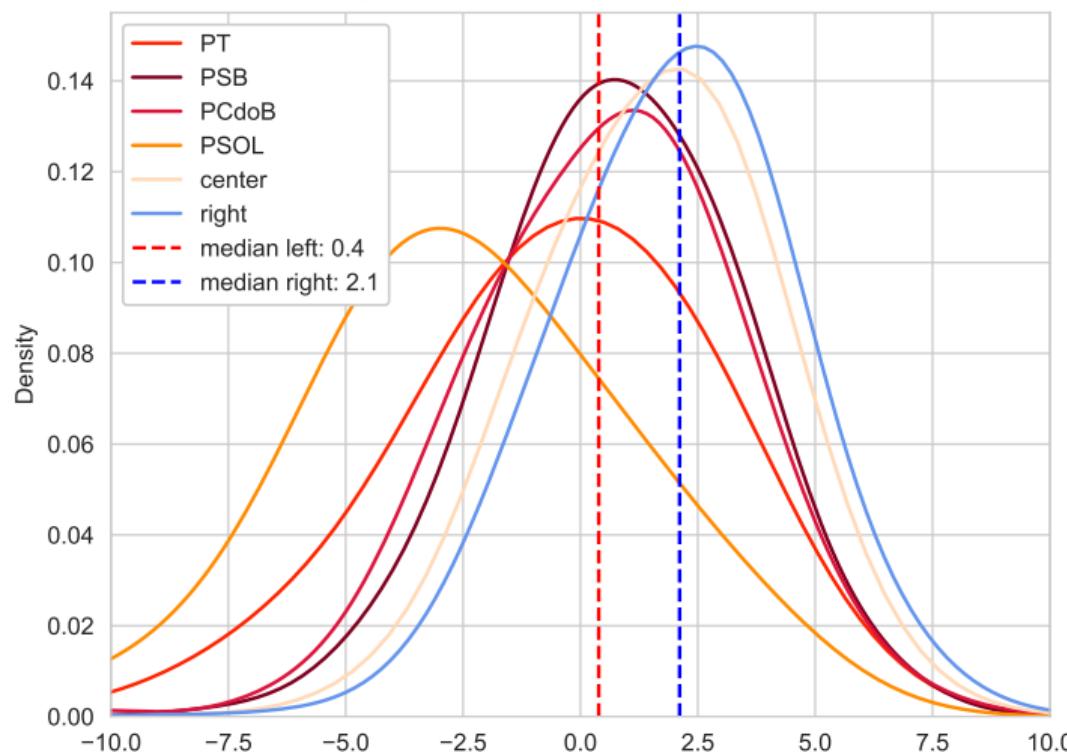
Party Classification: Densities

Kernel Densities of Ideology Score



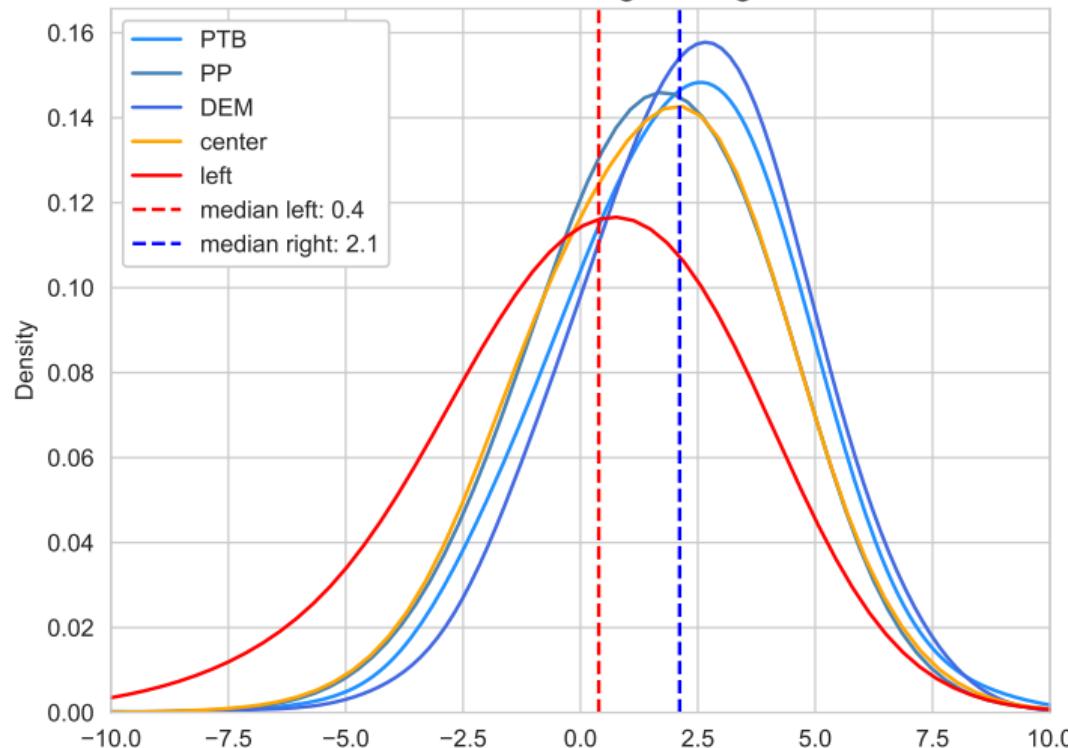
Party Classification: Densities (Left)

Kernel Densities of Leftist Parties



Party Classification: Densities (Right)

Kernel Densities of Right-Wing Parties



Effect of the Audits According to the Areas Inspected

Table: Effect of the Audit on Share Dedicated to Health Policies

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Audited	0.009*** (0.003)	0.002 (0.007)	0.001 (0.004)	0.011 (0.017)
Candidate Population	Challengers Below 50K	Challengers Above 100K	Incumbents Below 50K	Incumbents Above 100K
Observations	3,283	325	2,053	110
R-squared	0.063	0.140	0.053	0.413
Mean of DV	0.106	0.0875	0.111	0.0900

► Other Results

Effect of the Audit on the Use of Specific Words

Table: Outcome: Frequency of words on Manifestos (% of Words on the Manifesto)

	Panel A: Challengers					Panel B: Incumbents			
	(1) Corruption	(2) Transparency	(3) Corruption	(4) Transparency		(1) Corruption	(2) Transparency	(3) Corruption	(4) Transparency
Disclosure	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	Disclosure	-0.000* (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
High-Corruption x Disclosure			0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)	High-Corruption x Disclosure			-0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
High-Corruption			0.000 (0.000)	-0.001* (0.000)	High-Corruption			0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
Observations	3,948	3,948	474	474	Observations	2,298	2,298	257	257
R-squared	0.027	0.069	0.130	0.107	R-squared	0.010	0.056	0.093	0.254
Mean of DV	5.46e-05	0.00200	6.14e-05	0.00181	Mean of DV	2.03e-05	0.00185	1.01e-05	0.00173
$\beta_0 + \beta_1$			-4.81e-05	0.000499	$\beta_0 + \beta_1$			-3.13e-05	0.000276
p-value			0.605	0.261	p-value			0.556	0.419

► Other Results

Effect of the Audit on the Number of Words

Table: Outcome: Number of Words on the Manifesto

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Disclosure	169.3 (146.4)	65.533 (228.117)	183.5 (113.5)	66.836 (264.176)
High-Corruption x Disclosure		121.428 (225.223)		-109.060 (510.371)
High-Corruption		4.414 (337.023)		133.891 (706.177)
Candidate				
Observations	Challengers 3,948	Challengers 474	Incumbents 2,298	Incumbents 257
R-squared	0.1	0.619	0.1	0.788
Mean	2164	2288	1907	2051
$\beta_0 + \beta_1$		187		-42.22
pval		0.226		0.920

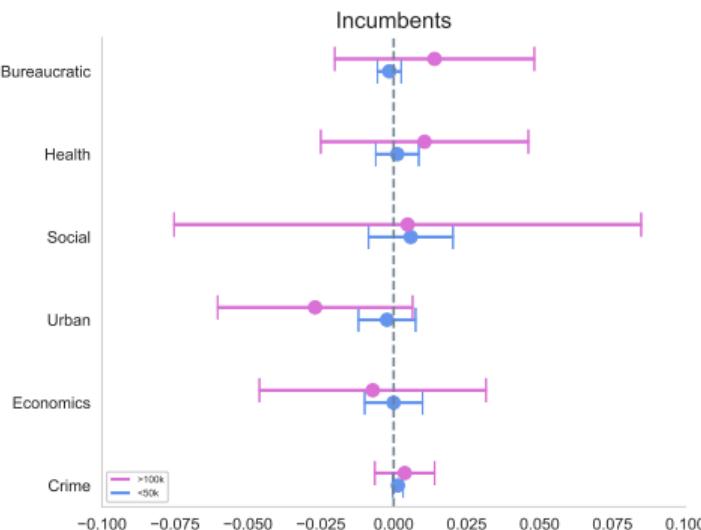
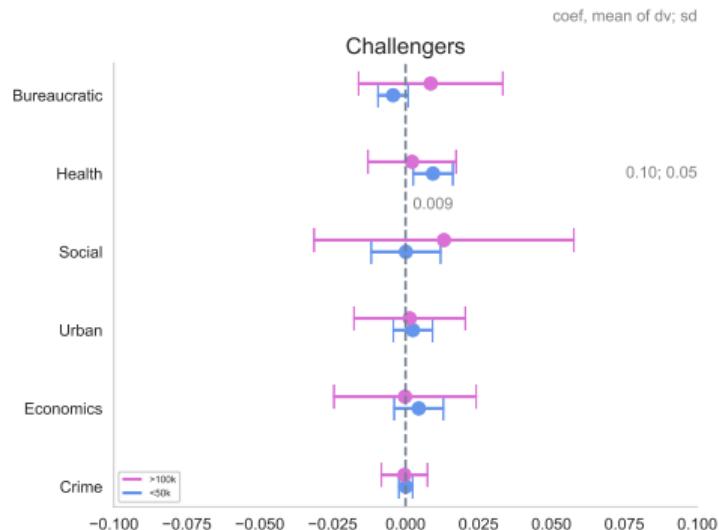
Effect of the Audit on the Ideological Framework

Table: Outcome: Frequency of words on Manifestos (% of Words on the Manifesto)

	Panel A: Challengers							Panel B: Incumbents					
	(1) Populism	(2) Extremeness	(3) Partisanship	(4) Populism	(5) Extremeness	(6) Partisanship		(1) Populism	(2) Extremeness	(3) Partisanship	(4) Populism	(5) Extremeness	(6) Partisanship
Disclosure	0.002 (0.046)	-0.183* (0.096)	-0.055 (0.087)	-0.301** (0.138)	-0.661** (0.244)	-0.254 (0.266)	Disclosure	-0.023 (0.058)	0.212 (0.250)	0.073 (0.214)	0.063 (0.096)	0.914* (0.520)	0.781 (0.657)
High-Corruption x Disclosure				0.387** (0.154)	0.348 (0.465)	0.194 (0.611)	High-Corruption x Disclosure				0.273 (0.170)	-1.466* (0.721)	-1.881* (1.048)
High-Corruption				-0.279** (0.110)	-0.026 (0.368)	0.105 (0.630)	High-Corruption				-0.322 (0.206)	1.233* (0.628)	1.067 (1.092)
Observations	3,948	3,946	3,489	474	474	422	Observations	2,298	2,261	2,181	257	254	238
R-squared	0.111	0.058	0.025	0.134	0.154	0.126	R-squared	0.15	0.05	0.03	0.28	0.16	0.15
Mean of DV	0.0800	2.248	-0.0933	0.130	2.185	-0.191	Mean of DV	-0.18	2.13	-0.04	-0.18	2.24	-0.06
$\beta_0 + \beta_1$				0.0861	-0.313	-0.0599	$\beta_0 + \beta_1$				0.34	-0.55	-1.10
p-value				0.569	0.546	0.894	p-value				0.03	0.43	0.30
Adj. pval				[.401]	[.47]	[.401]	Adj. pval				[.133]	[.383]	[.307]

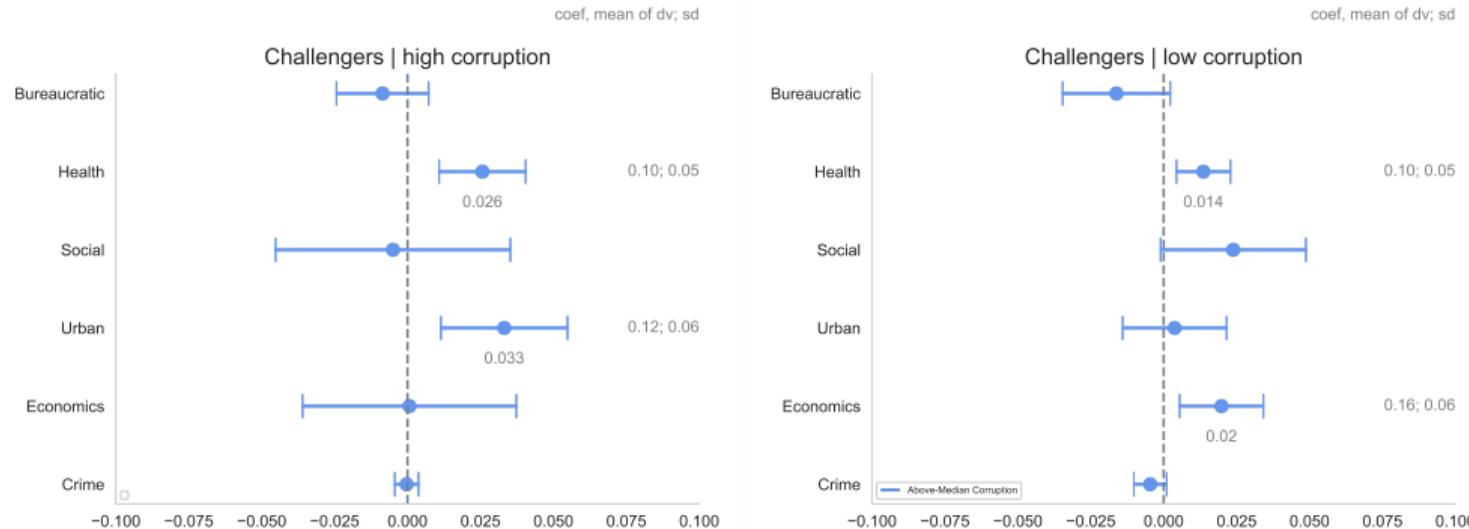
► Other Results

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



95% CI's. ▶ Back to Results

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



95% CI's.

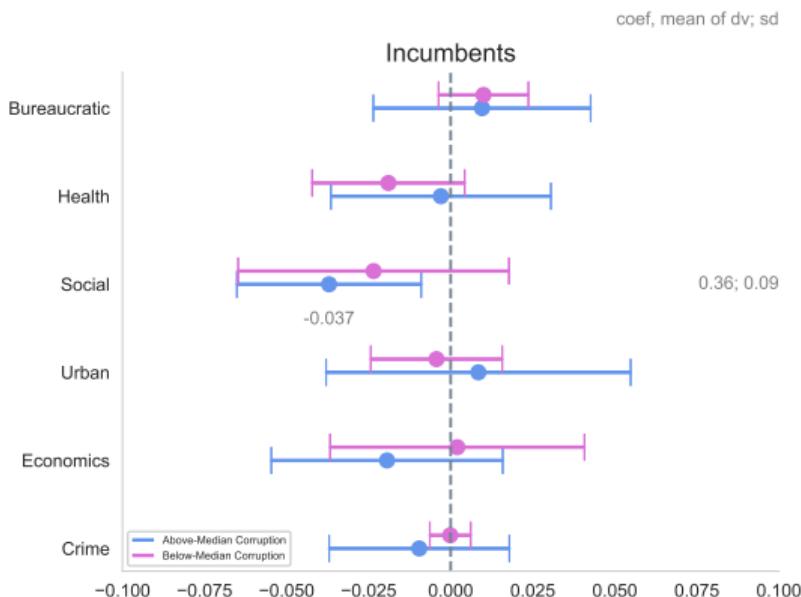
► Robustness: Corruption in Health

► Table Incumbents

► Table Challengers

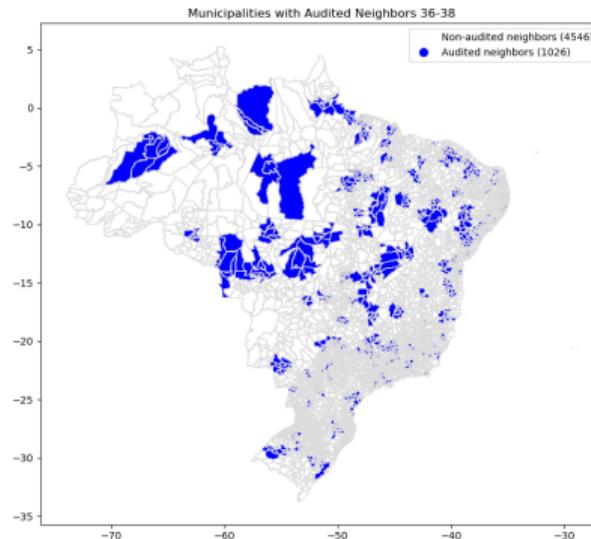
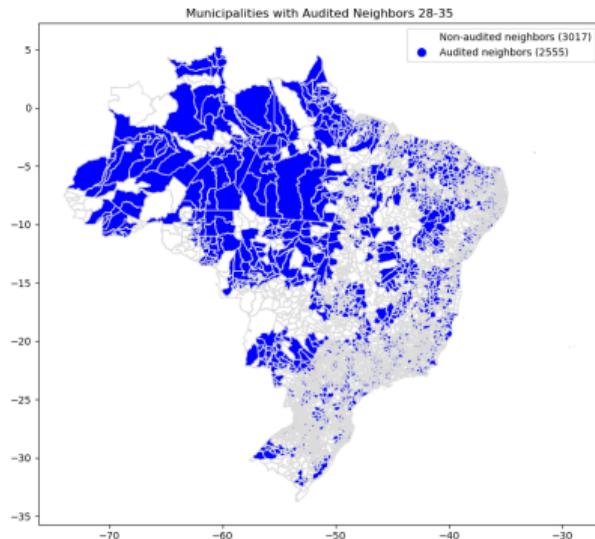
► Means

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

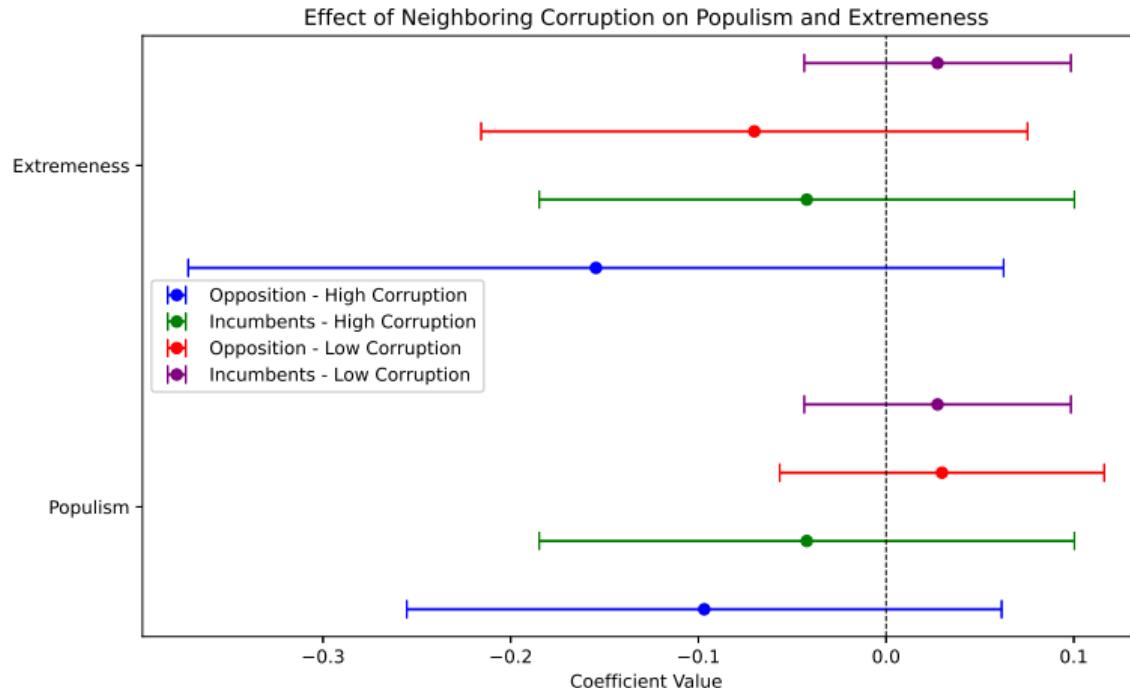


95% CI's. ▶ Robustness: Corruption in Health ▶ Table Incumbents ▶ Table Challengers ▶ Means

Effect of Exposing High-Corruption in Neighboring Municipalities

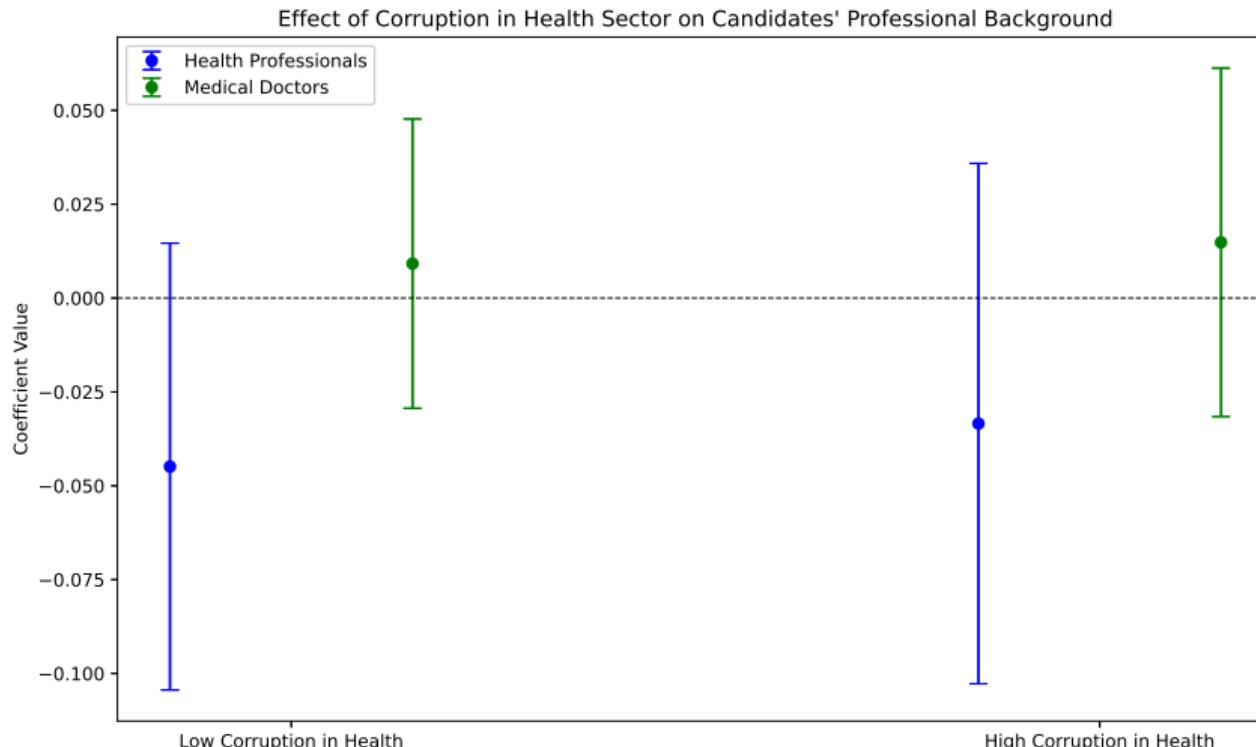


Effect of Exposing High-Corruption in Neighboring Municipalities



95% CI's. ▶ Other Results

The Role of Candidate Profession in Health-Related Discussions



95% CI's. ▶ Other Results

Challengers Agenda

Table: Audits on Shares - Challengers

	(1) Bureaucratic	(2) Social	(3) Health	(4) Urban	(5) Economy	(6) Crime	(7) count	(8) overlaps
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
\$\beta_0 + \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

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

▶ Back to Results

Incumbents Agenda

Table: Audits on Shares - Incumbents

	(1) Bureaucratic	(2) Social	(3) Health	(4) Urban	(5) Economy	(6) Crime	(7) count	(8) overlaps
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* (0.007)
corrup_au	-0.000 (0.016)	-0.014 (0.025)	0.016 (0.020)	0.013 (0.022)	-0.021 (0.024)	-0.009 (0.013)	-109.060 (510.371)	0.005 (0.011)
corr	-0.002 (0.017)	-0.004 (0.029)	0.000 (0.016)	-0.007 (0.022)	0.023 (0.019)	0.008 (0.012)	133.891 (706.177)	-0.018 (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

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

► Back to Results

Challengers Agenda, Cases on same Area

Table: Audits on Shares - Challengers

VARIABLES	(1) Bureaucratic	(2) Social	(3) Health	(4) Urban	(5) Economy	(6) Crime
Audited	-0.014** (0.007)	0.007 (0.016)	0.012* (0.006)	0.009 (0.008)	0.011 (0.008)	-0.004* (0.002)
corrup_au	0.016 (0.016)	0.012 (0.019)	0.011 (0.014)	0.001 (0.007)	0.009 (0.013)	0.006 (0.007)
corr		-0.018 (0.016)	-0.001 (0.012)		0.007 (0.013)	
Observations	474	474	474	474	474	474
R-squared	0.117	0.136	0.207	0.183	0.146	0.169
\$\beta_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

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

► 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) overlaps
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* (0.007)
corrup_au	-0.000 (0.016)	-0.014 (0.025)	0.016 (0.020)	0.013 (0.022)	-0.021 (0.024)	-0.009 (0.013)	-109.060 (510.371)	0.005 (0.011)
corr	-0.002 (0.017)	-0.004 (0.029)	0.000 (0.016)	-0.007 (0.022)	0.023 (0.019)	0.008 (0.012)	133.891 (706.177)	-0.018 (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

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

► Back to Results

Political Positioning - Challengers

Table: Effect of the Audit on Political Positioning

VARIABLES	(1) Standardized values of populis	(2) extremeness_med	(3) partisan_prob
Audited	-0.301** (0.138)	-0.661** (0.244)	-0.254 (0.266)
corrup_au	0.388** (0.154)	0.348 (0.465)	0.194 (0.611)
corr	-0.279** (0.110)	-0.026 (0.368)	0.105 (0.630)
Observations	474	474	422
R-squared	0.134	0.154	0.126
$\$\\beta_0 + \\beta_1\$$	0.0864	-0.313	-0.0599
pval	0.569	0.546	0.894

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Political Positioning - Incumbents

Table: Effect of the Audit on Political Positioning

VARIABLES	(1) Standardized values of populis	(2) extremeness_med	(3) partisan_prob
Audited	0.063 (0.096)	0.914* (0.520)	0.781 (0.657)
corrup_au	0.273 (0.170)	-1.466* (0.721)	-1.881* (1.048)
corr	-0.322 (0.206)	1.233* (0.628)	1.067 (1.092)
Observations	257	254	238
R-squared	0.283	0.157	0.148
$\$\\beta_0 + \\beta_1\$$	0.336	-0.552	-1.100
pval	0.0298	0.430	0.302

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Joint Hypothesis Testing

- For incumbents, none of the coefficients for the effects on the content are significant.
- For incumbents, Social and populism are not significant.