

# Radiating Truthiness: Authenticity performances in politics in Brazil and the United States

Henrique Sposito

## Abstract

Political authenticity is connected to higher levels of political trust from electorates and can influence political outcomes but is often overlooked for being deemed vague as a concept. When considered, discussions of how authenticity appears and changes in politics typically remain at the theoretical level and are rarely comparative. This article develops a framework to identify and compare how authenticity is performed in political discourses over time, across settings, and by politicians. To demonstrate the usefulness of the framework, this article investigates authenticity performances in 21,496 political texts of electoral debates, interviews, campaigns, and official speeches for presidents and presidential candidates in Brazil and the United States (US) since 1988. The findings indicate that authenticity is generally performed with greater frequency by presidents and presidential candidates in Brazil than in the US, though authenticity performances are not more prevalent during election years in either country.

**Keywords:** authenticity, performance, text analysis, populism, Brazil, United States

**Word Count:** 9450 (includes text, tables, figures, and notes)

## 1 Introduction

## 2 Theory

### 2.1 Performing authenticity in politics

### 2.2 Authenticity performances, a framework

Table 1: Authenticity Performances, Categories, Mechanisms, and Displays

Authenticity Performance	Displays	Mechanism	Category
<b>Truth Telling</b>	Mentions truthfulness, sincerity, and/or honesty when describing oneself by stating, for example, that 'the truth is' or that they are 'not lying'	Politician appears to be telling the truth regarding their beliefs or facts	Self
<b>Lie Accusations</b>	Mentions dishonesty, untruthfulness, and/or insincerity when used to describe others by stating, for example, that someone 'is/are liars' or that something is 'not the truth'	Politician appears more sincere vis-a-vis others	Self
<b>Consistency</b>	Mentions career consistency, responsibility, and/or accountability for individual by stating, for example, that they 'take responsibility' or 'keep their word'	Politician appears consistent regarding pledges	Self
<b>Finger Pointing</b>	Mentions lack of accountability, inconsistency and/or blame others for mistakes by stating, for example, that opponent 'is inconsistent' and that their wrong choices 'costed us'	Politician appears not accountable for previous undesirable outcomes	Self
<b>Origins</b>	Alludes to birthplace, origins, and roots to describe background, values, and/or tell their story by saying, for example, this how politician 'was raised' or how this is part of their 'family tradition'	Politician seems culturally connected to the nation	Belong
<b>Common Sense</b>	Alludes to common sense, reason, and/or logic to describe choices or preferences by saying, for example, how they are 'stating the obvious' or that 'everybody knows'	Politician seems to make choices consistent with what others in society would do	Belong
<b>Territory</b>	Alludes to sub-portions of the territory known and/or visited by saying, for example, how they have 'come all the way from' or 'have been to' a certain place	Politician seems territorially connected to sub-regions, regions, or nation	Belong
<b>anti-PC</b>	Alludes to saying what they really think, talking without filters and/or employs anti-politically incorrect language by saying, for example, how they are just 'saying what everyone things' or are 'not politically correct'	Politician seems to be saying what they think without thinking about the consequences	Belong

## 3 Methodology

### 3.1 Case selection: Brazil and the US

### 3.2 Data and Operationalization

Country	Politicians	Setting	Observations
<b>US</b>	Bush, Dukakis, Clinton, Dole,	Speeches	12866
	W. Bush, Gore, Kerry, McCain,	Campaign	1545
	Obama, Romney, H. Clinton, Trump,	Debates	24
	and Biden	Interviews	829
		Speeches	5782
<b>Brazil</b>	Collor, Lula, Franco, Cardoso,	Campaign	175
	Serra, Alckmin, Rousseff, Neves,	Debates	258
	Temer, Haddad, and Bolsonaro	Interviews	17

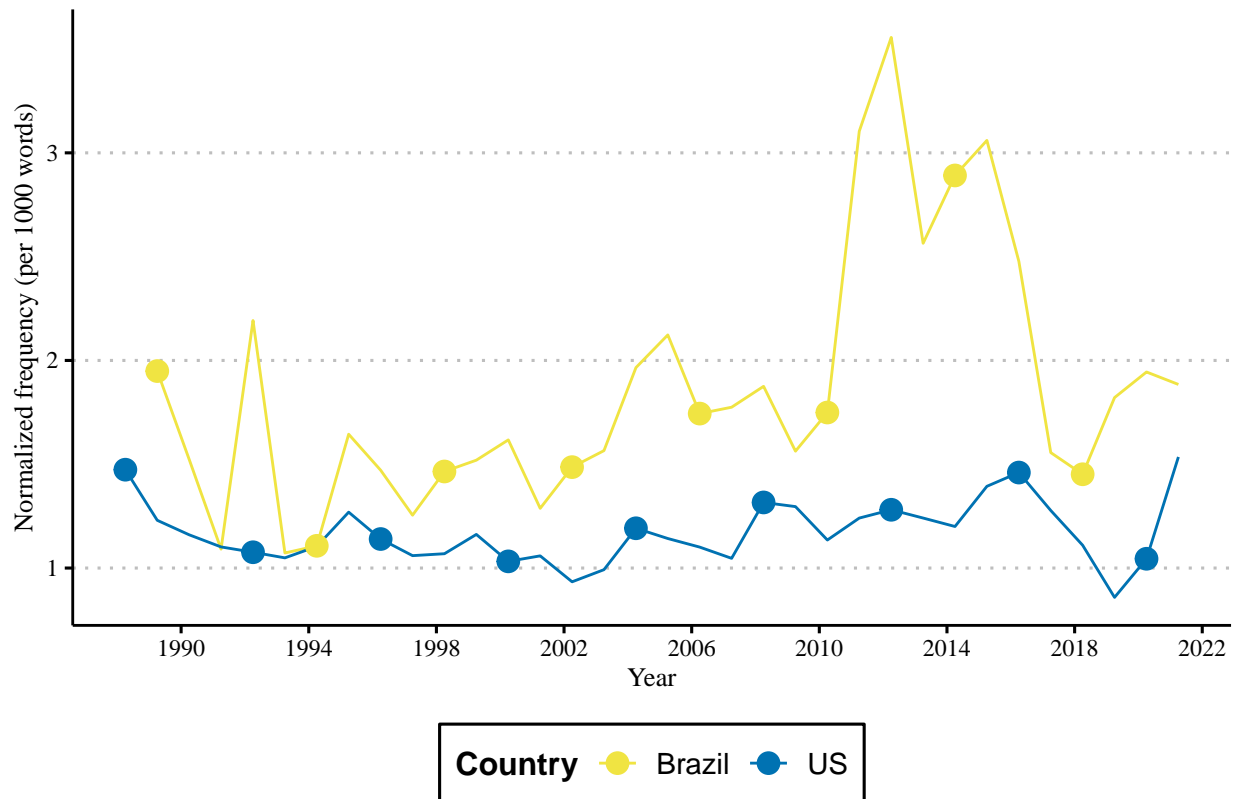
Table 2: Text Data for Brazil and the US

### 3.3. Limitations

## 4 Analysis: How authenticity is performed in Brazil and the United States?

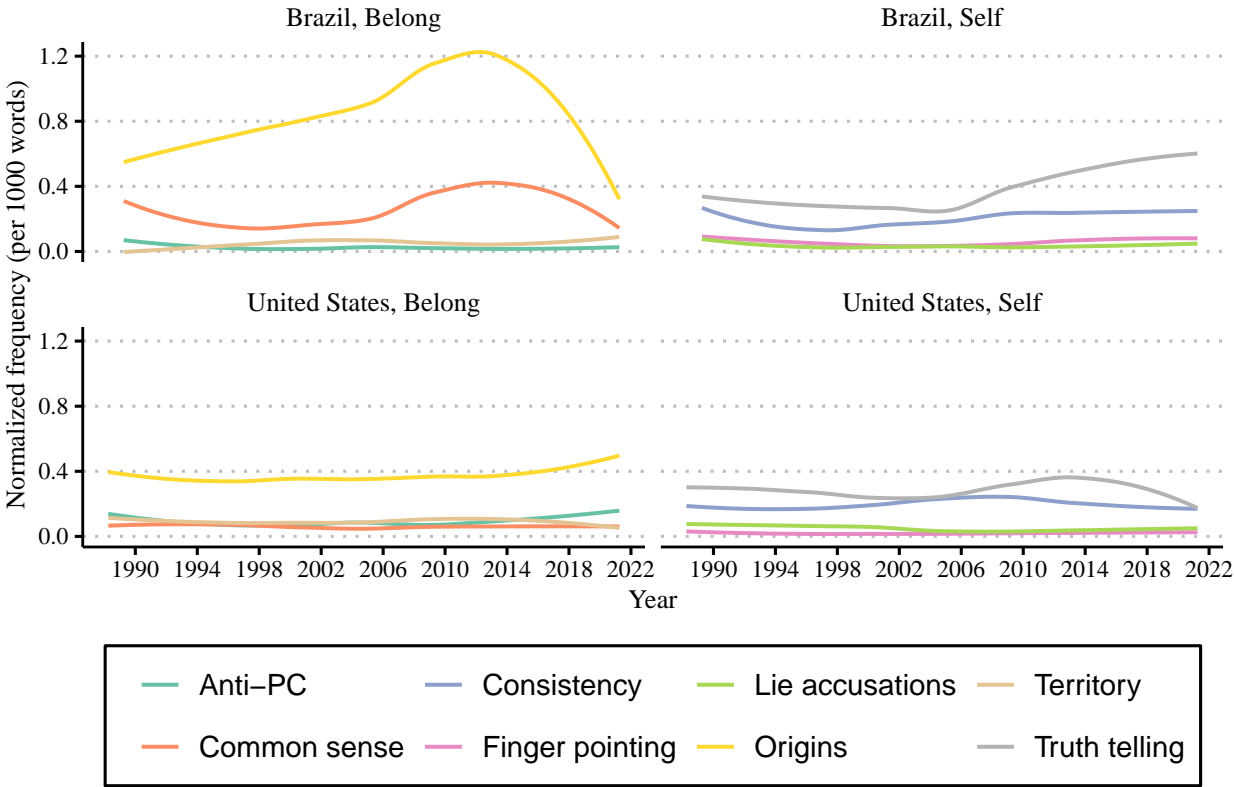
### 4.1 Authenticity Performances and Time

Figure 1: Authenticity Performances Over Time in Brazil and the US



Dots mark election years in respective country.

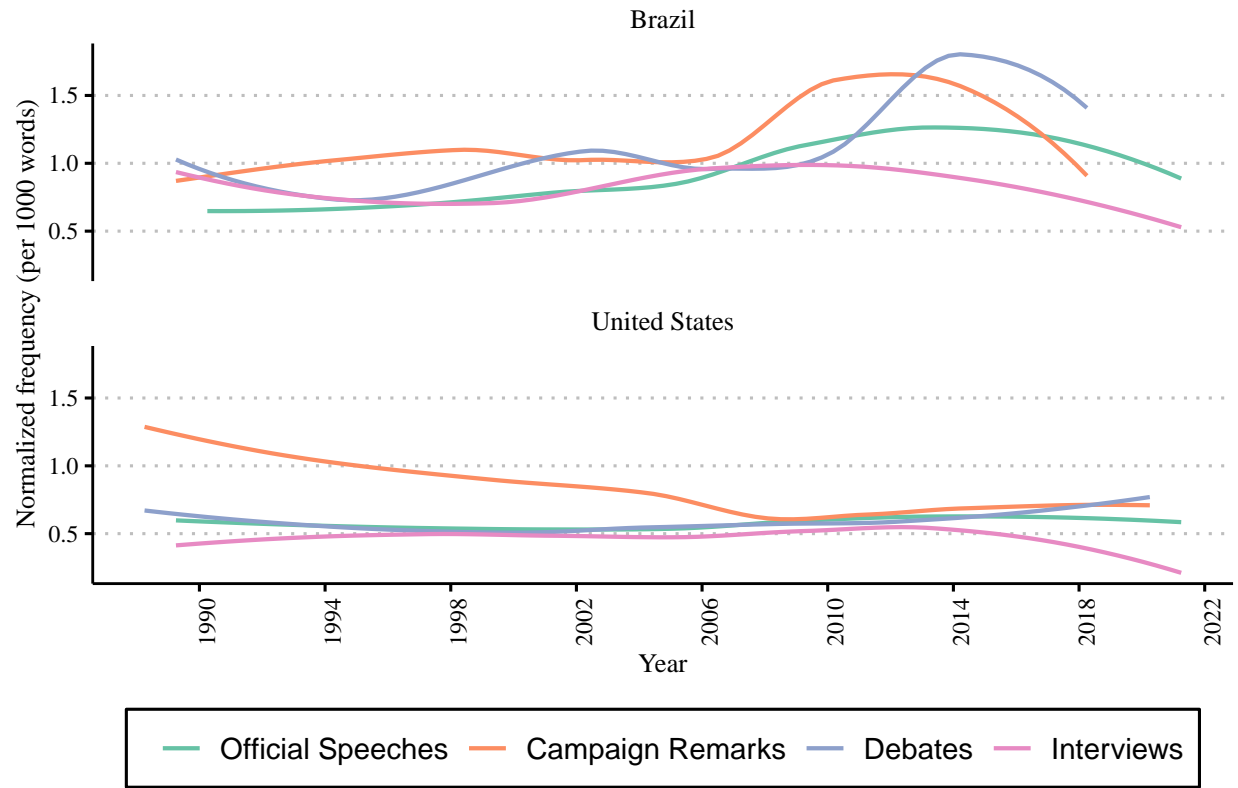
Figure 2: Authenticity Performances by Category Over Time in Brazil and the US



Averages lines are smoothed line using loess method

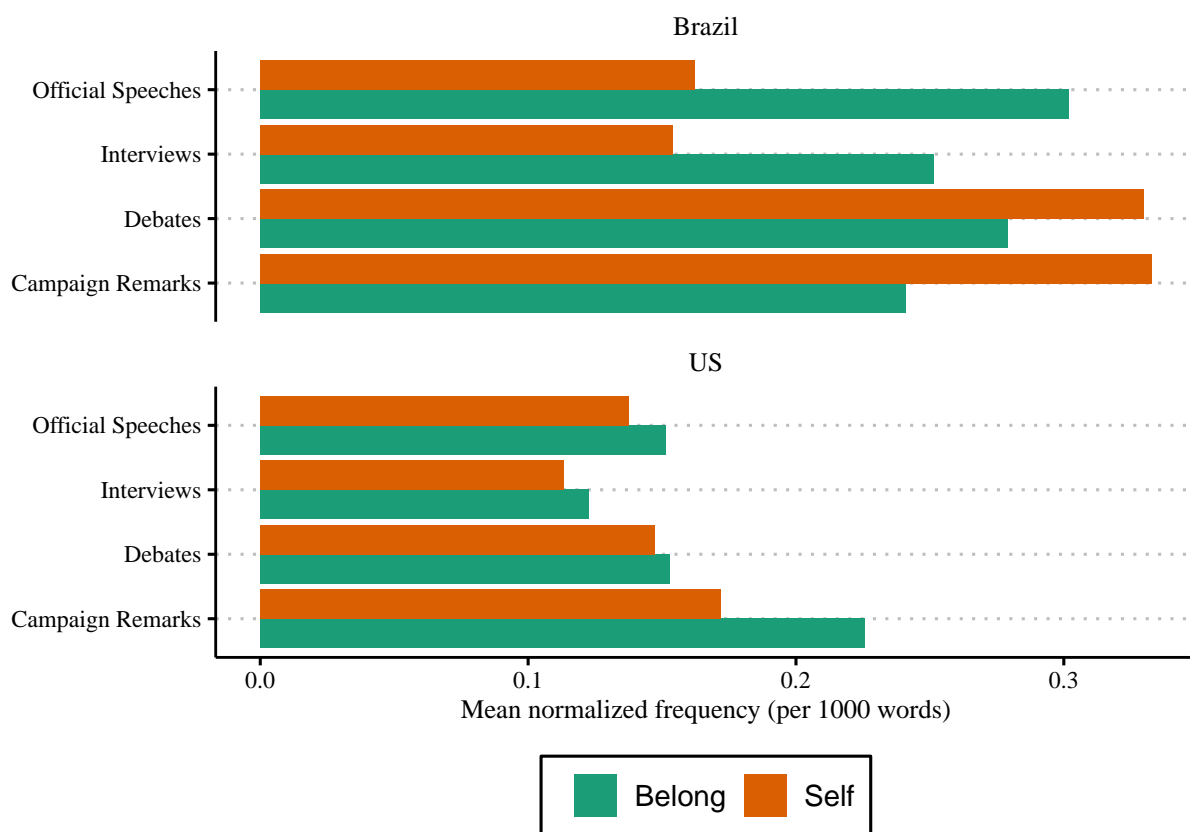
## 4.2 Authenticity Performances and Settings

Figure 3: Authenticity Performances by Setting Over Time in Brazil and the US



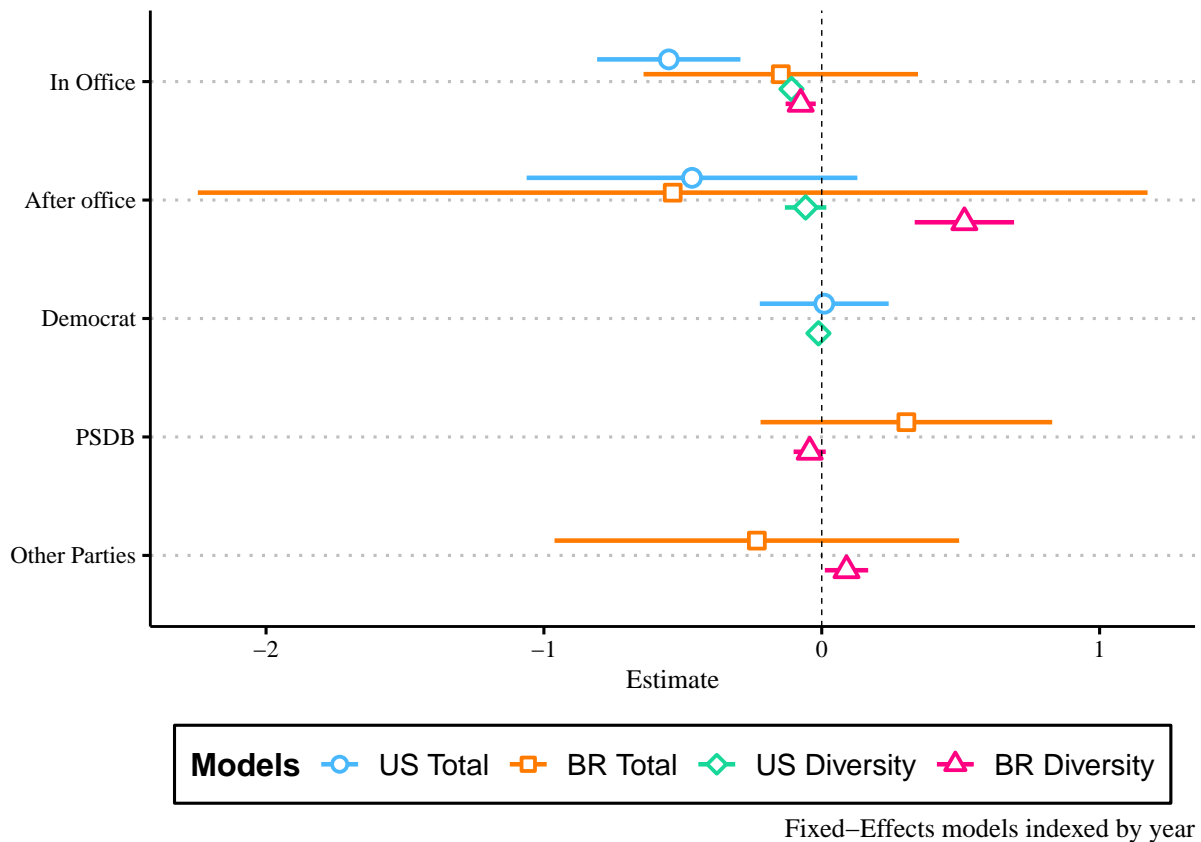
Curves in the plot are smoothed using loess method.

Figure 4: Authenticity Performances by Category across Settings in Brazil and the US



### 4.3 Authenticity Performances and Politicians' Roles

Figure 5: Fixed-Effects Models for Authenticity Performances by Politicians' Roles



## 5 Conclusion

## References

- Alexander, Jeffrey C. 2010. *The Performance of Politics: Obama's Victory and the Democratic Struggle for Power*. Oxford University Press.
- . 2011. *Performance and Power*. Polity.
- Alexander, Jeffrey C, Bernhard Giesen, and Jason L Mast. 2006. *Social Performance: Symbolic Action, Cultural Pragmatics, and Ritual*. Cambridge University Press.
- Allison, Paul D. 2009. *Fixed Effects Regression Models*. SAGE publications.
- Baker, Andy, Barry Ames, and Lúcio Rennó. 2020. *Persuasive Peers: Social Communication and Voting in Latin America*. Princeton University Press.
- Barros, Celso Fernando Rocha. 2022. *PT, Uma História*. Companhia das Letras.
- Beard, Henry, and Christopher Cerf. 1993. *The Official Politically Correct Dictionary and Handbook*. Villard Books.
- Berezin, Mabel. 2017. “On the Construction Sites of History: Where Did Donald Trump Come From?” *American Journal of Cultural Sociology* 5: 322–37.



- Blankenship, Jane, and Deborah C Robson. 1995. "A 'Feminine Style' in Women's Political Discourse: An Exploratory Essay." *Communication Quarterly* 43 (3): 353–66.
- Blumenau, Jack, and Benjamin E Lauderdale. 2022. "The Variable Persuasiveness of Political Rhetoric." *American Journal of Political Science*.
- Blumler, Jay G, and Dennis Kavanagh. 1999. "The Third Age of Political Communication: Influences and Features." *Political Communication* 16 (3): 209–30.
- Bøggild, Troels. 2020. "Politicians as Party Hacks: Party Loyalty and Public Distrust in Politicians." *The Journal of Politics* 82 (4): 1516–29.
- Bøggild, Troels, and Helene Helboe Pedersen. 2018. "Campaigning on Behalf of the Party? Party Constraints on Candidate Campaign Personalisation." *European Journal of Political Research* 57 (4): 883–99.
- Brubaker, Rogers. 2020. "Populism and Nationalism." *Nations and Nationalism* 26 (1): 44–66.
- Bull, Peter, and Kate Mayer. 1993. "How Not to Answer Questions in Political Interviews." *Political Psychology*, 651–66.
- Carlo, Josnei, and Joao Kamradt. 2018. "Bolsonaro e a Cultura Do Politicamente Incorreto Na Politica Brasileira." *Teoria e Cultura* 13 (2).
- Carraro, Luciana, Luigi Castelli, Ioana Breazu, Giulia Campomizzi, Antonella Cerruto, Massimiliano Mariani, and Ivano Toto. 2012. "Just Ignore or Counterattack? On the Effects of Different Strategies for Dealing with Political Attacks." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 42 (6): 789–97.
- Catellani, Patrizia, and Mauro Bertolotti. 2015. "The Perception of Politicians' Morality." *Social Psychology and Politics*, 113.
- Christine Banwart, Mary, and Mitchell S McKinney. 2005. "A Gendered Influence in Campaign Debates? Analysis of Mixed-Gender United States Senate and Gubernatorial Debates." *Communication Studies* 56 (4): 353–73.
- Coleman, Stephen. 2000. "Televised Election Debates." *International Perspectives*.
- Conway, Lucian Gideon III, Meredith A Repke, and Shannon C Houck. 2017. "Donald Trump as a Cultural Revolt Against Perceived Communication Restriction: Priming Political Correctness Norms Causes More Trump Support." *Journal of Social and Political Psychology* 5 (1).
- Conway, Lucian Gideon III, Amanda Salcido, Laura Janelle Gornick, Kate Ashley Bongard, Meghan A Moran, and Chelsea Burfiend. 2009. "When Self-Censorship Norms Backfire: The Manufacturing of Positive Communication and Its Ironic Consequences for the Perceptions of Groups." *Basic and Applied Social Psychology* 31 (4): 335–47.
- Couto, Lucas, Andeliton Soares, and Bernardo Livramento. 2021. "Presidencialismo de Coalizao: Conceito e Aplicacao." *Revista Brasileira de Ciencia Politica*.
- Cwalina, Wojciech, and Andrzej Falkowski. 2016. "Morality and Competence in Shaping the Images of Political Leaders." *Journal of Political Marketing* 15 (2-3): 220–39.
- Denton, Robert E. 1988. *The Primetime Presidency of Ronald Reagan: The Era of the Television Presidency*. ABC-CLIO.
- Di Tella, Rafael, Randy Kotti, Caroline Le Pennec, and Vincent Pons. 2023. "Keep Your Enemies Closer: Strategic Platform Adjustments During US and French Elections." National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Dos Santos, Pedro, and Farida Jalalazai. 2021. *Women's Empowerment and Disempow-*

- erment in Brazil: *The Rise and Fall of President Dilma Rousseff*. Temple University Press.
- Feres Júnior, João, and Juliana Gagliardi. 2021. "Populism and the Media in Brazil: The Case of Jair Bolsonaro." *The Politics of Authenticity and Populist Discourses: Media and Education in Brazil, India and Ukraine*, 83–104.
- Foley, Megan. 2012. "Sound Bites: Rethinking the Circulation of Speech from Fragment to Fetish." *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 15 (4): 613–22.
- Fordahl, Clayton. 2018. "Authenticity: The Sociological Dimensions of a Politically Consequential Concept." *The American Sociologist* 49 (2): 299–311.
- Franceschet, Susan, Jennifer M Piscopo, and Gwynn Thomas. 2016. "Supermadres, Maternal Legacies and Women's Political Participation in Contemporary Latin America." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 48 (1): 1–32.
- French, John D. 2022. "Charisma's Birth from the Bottom up: Lula, ABC's Metalworkers' Strikes and the Social History of Brazilian Politics." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 54 (4): 705–29.
- Fridkin, Kim L, and Patrick Kenney. 2011. "Variability in Citizens' Reactions to Different Types of Negative Campaigns." *American Journal of Political Science* 55 (2): 307–25.
- Garzia, Diego, Frederico Ferreira da Silva, and Andrea De Angelis. 2022. "Partisan Dealignment and the Personalisation of Politics in West European Parliamentary Democracies, 1961–2018." *West European Politics* 45 (2): 311–34.
- Gibson, Edward L. 1992. "Conservative Electoral Movements and Democratic Politics: Core Constituencies, Coalition-Building, and the Latin American Electoral Right." In *The Right and Democracy in Latin America*. Praeger-Greenwood.
- Goffman, Erving. 1956. "The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life. University of Edinburgh." *Social Sciences Research Centre*.
- Goren, Lilly J. 2018. "Authenticity and Emotion: Hillary Rodham Clinton's Dual Constraints." *Politics & Gender* 14 (1): 111–15.
- Greenstein, Fred I. 1992. "Can Personality and Politics Be Studied Systematically?" *Political Psychology*, 105–28.
- Grofman, Bernard. 2004. "Downs and Two-Party Convergence." *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci.* 7: 25–46.
- Hart, Roderick P. 2022. "Why Trump Lost and How? A Rhetorical Explanation." *American Behavioral Scientist* 66 (1): 7–27.
- Haynes, Audrey A, and Staci L Rhine. 1998. "Attack Politics in Presidential Nomination Campaigns: An Examination of the Frequency and Determinants of Intermediated Negative Messages Against Opponents." *Political Research Quarterly* 51 (3): 691–721.
- Hibbing, Matthew V, Melinda Ritchie, and Mary R Anderson. 2011. "Personality and Political Discussion." *Political Behavior* 33: 601–24.
- Jones, Ben. 2016. "Authenticity in Political Discourse." *Ethical Theory and Moral Practice* 19: 489–504.
- Kohl, Christoph, Barbara Christophe, Heike Liebau, and Achim Saupe. 2021. *Politics of Authenticity and Populist Discourses: Media and Education in Brazil, India and Ukraine*. Springer.
- Leruth, Benjamin, and Peter Taylor-Gooby. 2019. "Does Political Discourse Matter? Comparing Party Positions and Public Attitudes on Immigration in England." *Politics* 39 (2):

154–69.

- Leuprecht, Christian, and David B Skillicorn. 2016. “Incumbency Effects in US Presidential Campaigns: Language Patterns Matter.” *Electoral Studies* 43: 95–103.
- Luebke, Simon M. 2021. “Political Authenticity: Conceptualization of a Popular Term.” *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 26 (3): 635–53.
- Luebke, Simon M, and Ines Engelmann. 2022. “Do We Know Politicians’ True Selves from the Media? Exploring the Relationship Between Political Media Exposure and Perceived Political Authenticity.” *Social Media+ Society* 8 (1): 20563051221077030.
- Mainwaring, Scott. 1991. “Politicians, Parties, and Electoral Systems: Brazil in Comparative Perspective.” *Comparative Politics* 24 (1): 21–43.
- . 1999. *Rethinking Party Systems in the Third Wave of Democratization: The Case of Brazil*. Stanford University Press.
- Mainwaring, Scott, and Matthew Soberg Shugart. 1997. *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press.
- Markoff, John. 1999. “Where and When Was Democracy Invented?” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41 (4): 660–90.
- Marx, Anthony W. 1998. *Making Race and Nation: A Comparison of South Africa, the United States, and Brazil*. Cambridge University Press.
- Mayhew, David R. 2008. “Incumbency Advantage in US Presidential Elections: The Historical Record.” *Political Science Quarterly* 123 (2): 201–28.
- McAllister, Ian. 2007. “The Personalization of Politics.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*. Oxford University Press.
- Mendonça, Ricardo Fabrino, and Ana Carolina Ogando. 2013. “Discursos Sobre o Feminino: Um Mapeamento Dos Programas Eleitorais de Dilma Rousseff.” *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais* 28: 195–216.
- Moffitt, Benjamin, and Simon Tormey. 2014. “Rethinking Populism: Politics, Mediatisation and Political Style.” *Political Studies* 62 (2): 381–97.
- Morgenstern, Scott, John Polga-Hecimovich, Shair-Rosenfield, and Sarah. 2013. “Tall, Grande, or Venti: Presidential Powers in the United States and Latin America.” *Journal of Politics in Latin America* 5 (2): 37–70.
- Mudde, Cas. 2004. “The Populist Zeitgeist.” *Government and Opposition* 39 (4): 541–63.
- . 2007. *Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge university press.
- Nai, Alessandro, Jürgen Maier, and Jug Vranić. 2021. “Personality Goes a Long Way (for Some). An Experimental Investigation into Candidate Personality Traits, Voters’ Profile, and Perceived Likeability.” *Frontiers in Political Science* 3: 4.
- Nai, Alessandro, Anke Tresch, and Jürgen Maier. 2022. “Hardwired to Attack. Candidates’ Personality Traits and Negative Campaigning in Three European Countries.” *Acta Politica* 57 (4): 772–97.
- Neto, Octavio Amorim, and Gary W Cox. 1997. “Electoral Institutions, Cleavage Structures, and the Number of Parties.” *American Journal of Political Science*, 149–74.
- Pereira, Carlos, Timothy J Power, and Lucio R Rennó. 2008. “Agenda Power, Executive Decree Authority, and the Mixed Results of Reform in the Brazilian Congress.” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 33 (1): 5–33.
- Pires, Teresinha Maria de Carvalho Cruz. 2011. “A Construção Da Imagem Política de

- Dilma Rousseff Como mãe Do Povo Brasileiro.” *Revista Debates* 5 (1): 139–39.
- Ragin, Charles C. 1987. *The Comparative Method: Moving Beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies*. JSTOR.
- Rennó, Lucio R. 2020. “The Bolsonaro Voter: Issue Positions and Vote Choice in the 2018 Brazilian Presidential Elections.” *Latin American Politics and Society* 62 (4): 1–23.
- Rhoades, Stephen A. 1993. “The Herfindahl-Hirschman Index.” *Fed. Res. Bull.* 79: 188.
- Ricci, David M. 1970. “Democracy Attenuated: Schumpeter, the Process Theory, and American Democratic Thought.” *The Journal of Politics* 32 (2): 239–67.
- Riker, William H. 1982. “The Two-Party System and Duverger’s Law: An Essay on the History of Political Science.” *American Political Science Review* 76 (4): 753–66.
- Rosenblum, Michael, Juliana Schroeder, and Francesca Gino. 2020. “Tell It Like It Is: When Politically Incorrect Language Promotes Authenticity.” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 119 (1): 75.
- Samuels, David J, and Matthew S Shugart. 2010. *Presidents, Parties, and Prime Ministers: How the Separation of Powers Affects Party Organization and Behavior*. Cambridge University Press.
- Schäfer, Armin. 2022. “Cultural Backlash? How (Not) to Explain the Rise of Authoritarian Populism.” *British Journal of Political Science* 52 (4): 1977–93.
- Schlesinger, Robert. 2008. *White House Ghosts: Presidents and Their Speechwriters*. Simon; Schuster.
- Schmidt, Vivien A. 2001. “The Politics of Economic Adjustment in France and Britain: When Does Discourse Matter?” *Journal of European Public Policy* 8 (2): 247–64.
- . 2002. “Does Discourse Matter in the Politics of Welfare State Adjustment?” *Comparative Political Studies* 35 (2): 168–93.
- Schneider, Andrea Kupfer, Catherine H Tinsley, Sandra Cheldelin, and Emily T Amanatullah. 2010. “Likeability v. Competence: The Impossible Choice Faced by Female Politicians, Attenuated by Lawyers.” *Duke J. Gender L. & Pol’y* 17: 363.
- Schumpeter, Joseph A. 1976. *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*. routledge.
- Seifert, Erica J. 2012. *The Politics of Authenticity in Presidential Campaigns, 1976-2008*. McFarland.
- Siavelis, Peter M, and Scott Morgenstern. 2008. “Candidate Recruitment and Selection in Latin America: A Framework for Analysis.” *Latin American Politics and Society* 50 (4): 27–58.
- Silva, Graziella Moraes. 2020. “Race and Racisms: Why and How to Compare?” In *Routledge International Handbook of Contemporary Racisms*, 67–77. Routledge.
- Silva-Muller, Livio, and Henrique Sposito. 2023. “Which Amazon Problem? Problem-Constructions and Transnationalism in Brazilian Presidential Discourse Since 1985.” *Environmental Politics* 0 (0): 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09644016.2023.2220639>.
- Stiers, Dieter, Jac Larner, John Kenny, Sofia Breitenstein, Florence Vallee-Dubois, and Michael Lewis-Beck. 2021. “Candidate Authenticity: ‘to Thine Own Self Be True.’” *Political Behavior* 43 (3): 1181–1204.
- Tavares, Olga. 1998. *Fernando Collor: O Discurso Messiânico: O Clamor Ao Sagrado*. Vol. 90. Annablume.
- Taylor, Charles. 1992. *The Ethics of Authenticity*. Harvard University Press.
- Ulyses Balderas, J, and Michael J Greenwood. 2010. “From Europe to the Americas: A

- Comparative Panel-Data Analysis of Migration to Argentina, Brazil, and the United States, 1870–1910.” *Journal of Population Economics* 23: 1301–18.
- Valgarosson, Viktor Orri, Nick Clarke, Will Jennings, and Gerry Stoker. 2021. “The Good Politician and Political Trust: An Authenticity Gap in British Politics?” *Political Studies* 69 (4): 858–80.
- Van Dijk, Teun A et al. 1997. “What Is Political Discourse Analysis.” *Belgian Journal of Linguistics* 11 (1): 11–52.
- Varga, Somogy. 2013. *Authenticity as an Ethical Ideal*. Routledge.
- Voltmer, Katrin. 2004. “The Mass Media and the Dynamics of Political Communication in Processes of Democratization.” *Mass Media and Political Communication in New Democracies*, 1–20.
- Wang, Yaqin, and Haitao Liu. 2018. “Is Trump Always Rambling Like a Fourth-Grade Student? An Analysis of Stylistic Features of Donald Trump’s Political Discourse During the 2016 Election.” *Discourse & Society* 29 (3): 299–323.
- Weinberg, James. 2023. “Building Trust in Political Office: Testing the Efficacy of Political Contact and Authentic Communication.” *Political Studies*, 00323217231185706.
- Welp, Yanina, and Saskia P Ruth. 2017. “Presidentas Twitteras: The Social Media Use of Cristina Fernández de Kirchner and Dilma Rousseff.” *Women, Politics, and Democracy in Latin America*, 131–49.
- Wood, Julia T. 1994. “Gendered Media: The Influence of Media on Views of Gender.” *Gendered Lives: Communication, Gender, and Culture* 9: 231–44.

## Online Appendix

Election Cycle	Politicians	Setting	Observations
1988-1990	Bush - Dukakis	Campaign	4
1988-1990	Bush - Dukakis	Debates	4
1988-1990	Bush - Dukakis	Interviews	28
1988-1990	Bush - Dukakis	Speeches	1117
1991-1994	Clinton - Bush	Campaign	6
1991-1994	Clinton - Bush	Debates	9
1991-1994	Clinton - Bush	Interviews	115
1991-1994	Clinton - Bush	Speeches	1831
1995-1998	Clinton - Dole	Campaign	84
1995-1998	Clinton - Dole	Debates	4
1995-1998	Clinton - Dole	Interviews	68
1995-1998	Clinton - Dole	Speeches	1724
1999-2002	W. Bush - Gore	Campaign	23
1999-2002	W. Bush - Gore	Debates	6
1999-2002	W. Bush - Gore	Interviews	97
1999-2002	W. Bush - Gore	Speeches	1935
2003-2006	W. Bush - Kerry	Campaign	90
2003-2006	W. Bush - Kerry	Debates	6
2003-2006	W. Bush - Kerry	Interviews	80
2003-2006	W. Bush - Kerry	Speeches	1411
2007-2010	Obama - McCain	Campaign	487
2007-2010	Obama - McCain	Debates	6
2007-2010	Obama - McCain	Interviews	214
2007-2010	Obama - McCain	Speeches	1515
2011-2014	Obama - Romney	Campaign	412
2011-2014	Obama - Romney	Debates	6
2011-2014	Obama - Romney	Interviews	90
2011-2014	Obama - Romney	Speeches	1049
2015-2018	Trump - H. Clinton	Campaign	203
2015-2018	Trump - H. Clinton	Debates	6
2015-2018	Trump - H. Clinton	Interviews	130
2015-2018	Trump - H. Clinton	Speeches	1261
2018-2021	Biden - Trump	Campaign	236
2018-2021	Biden - Trump	Debates	4
2018-2021	Biden - Trump	Interviews	7
2018-2021	Biden - Trump	Speeches	1023

Table 3: Text data by election and politicians cycle in the US

Election Cycle	Politicians	Setting	Observations
1988-1992	Collor - Lula	Campaign	10
1988-1992	Collor - Lula	Debates	4
1988-1992	Collor - Lula	Interviews	11
1988-1992	Collor - Lula	Speeches	387
1993-1996	Cardoso - Lula	Campaign	9
1993-1996	Cardoso - Lula	Debates	2
1993-1996	Cardoso - Lula	Interviews	14
1993-1996	Cardoso - Lula	Speeches	463
1997-2000	Cardoso - Lula	Campaign	6
1997-2000	Cardoso - Lula	Interviews	6
1997-2000	Cardoso - Lula	Speeches	690
2001-2004	Lula - Serra	Campaign	9
2001-2004	Lula - Serra	Debates	2
2001-2004	Lula - Serra	Interviews	6
2001-2004	Lula - Serra	Speeches	819
2005-2008	Lula - Alckmin	Campaign	14
2005-2008	Lula - Alckmin	Debates	4
2005-2008	Lula - Alckmin	Interviews	9
2005-2008	Lula - Alckmin	Speeches	991
2009-2012	Rousseff - Serra	Campaign	26
2009-2012	Rousseff - Serra	Debates	6
2009-2012	Rousseff - Serra	Interviews	37
2009-2012	Rousseff - Serra	Speeches	982
2013-2016	Rousseff - Neves	Campaign	50
2013-2016	Rousseff - Neves	Debates	6
2013-2016	Rousseff - Neves	Interviews	49
2013-2016	Rousseff - Neves	Speeches	677
2017-2021	Bolsonaro - Haddad	Campaign	51
2017-2021	Bolsonaro - Haddad	Debates	5
2017-2021	Bolsonaro - Haddad	Interviews	126
2017-2021	Bolsonaro - Haddad	Speeches	773

Table 4: Text data by election and politicians cycle in Brazil

Table 5: Authenticity Performances Codebook

Authenticity Performance	Lexicon English	Lexicon Portuguese
<b>Truth Telling</b>	am telling the truth, are telling the truth, is telling the truth, the truth is, this is the truth, not lying, not lies, no lies, not telling you lies, is honest, am honest, is being honest, are being honest, are honest, honesty, is sincere, are sincere, am sincere, is being sincere, are being sincere, is true, are true, not a liar, bottom of my heart, I swear, I reassure, we reassure, I assure, we assure, be assured, is truthful, are truthful, am truthful, is being truthful, are being truthful, I know that, is evident, are evident, I am sure, trust me, am frank, are frank, is frank, being frank, is upfront, are upfront, am upfront, being upfront, will come clean, am coming clean, are coming clean, is straightforward, are straightforward, being straightforward, believe me, I am certain, no bullshit, not bullshitting	a verdade e, esta e a verdade, digo a verdade, dizemos a verdade, pura verdade, nao e mentira, nao estou mentindo, e honesto, sou honesto, somos honesto, sendo honesto, a honestidade, ser sincero, e sincero, com sinceridade, e verdade, sao verdadeiras, nao sou mentiroso, nao minto, fundo do meu coracao, sou verdadeiro, somos verdadeiros, tenho certeza, certeza absoluta, confia em mim, confie em mim, pode confiar, sou franco, somos francos, fraqueza, falando a verdade, falo a verdade, falamos a verdade, acredite em mim, pode acreditar, podem acreditar, eu tenho certeza, isso e a verdade, somos honestos, com honestidade, toda a sinceridade, com sinceridade, toda sinceridade, sou confiavel, somos confiaveis, as coisas sao assim, a realidade das coisas, juro por deus, com certeza, digo com precisao, veracidade, premissa, afirmo para voces, isso e como aconteceu, falar umas verdades



Table 5: Authenticity Performances Codebook (*continued*)

Authenticity Performance	Lexicon English	Lexicon Portuguese
<b>Lie accusations</b>	not truth, not the truth, not true, aren't true, isn't true, being untruthful, is lying, are lying, is a liar, are liars, is dishonest, are dishonest, being dishonest, is fake, are fake, being fake, is corrupt, are corrupt, full of lies, not sincere, not being sincere, isn't sincere, aren't sincere, not honest, not being honest, is cheating, is a cheater, are cheaters, are cheating, are tricking, is tricking, be deceived, is deceiving, are deceiving, are a hypocrite, is a hypocrite, are being a hypocrite, is being a hypocrite, is crooked, are crooked, is misleading, are misleading, has double-standards, are sneaky, is sneaky, has two faces, two-faced, has double faces, double-faced, you are wrong, not correct, fooled by, do not believe, is misrepresenting, they misrepresent, is misrepresent, are misrepresent, pretends that, pretends to, is pretending, are pretending, keep pretending, breach your trust, breach of trust, is false, are false, being false, is misinforming, are misinforming, being misinformed, pretended, cut the crap, full of crap	nao e verdade, nao e verdadeiro, e mentiroso, esta mentindo, sao mentiroso, e mentira, de mentira, tudo mentira, e desonesto, mentiram, mentiu, um desonesto, esse desonesto, de desonesto, sao desonesto, e falso, sao falsos, sao corruptos, e corrupto, de corrupto, todos corrupto, nao sao sincero, nao e sincero, nao sao honestos, nao e honesto, sao trapaceiros, e trapaceiro, eles trapaceiam, trapaceou, e enganar, ser enganado, vao enganar, sendo enganados, e hipocrita, e enganador, e enganacao, duas caras, enganado por, nao acredite, eles finge, ele finge, e fingimento, ela finge, quebrou a sua confianca , quebra de confianca, e falso, sao falsos, falsidade, e ficcao, historia para boi dormir, historinha para boi dormir, e calunia, sao calunias, difamacao, difamar, uma inverdade, sao inverdades, e inverdade, isso e invencao, essas sao invencoes, isso e uma lenda, essas sao ledas, tenta iludir, tentando iludir, uma farsa, tramoia, mal intencionado, mas intencoes, falta de informacao, esta mal-informado, estao mal-informados

Table 5: Authenticity Performances Codebook (*continued*)

Authenticity Performance	Lexicon English	Lexicon Portuguese
<b>Consistency</b>	<p>we delivered, I delivered, check and see, I keep my word, we keep our word, I kept my word, we kept our word, I keep my promise, I kept my promise, we keep our promise, as promised, we kept our promise, am responsible, I take responsibility, we take responsibility, we assume responsibility, we are accountable, we are responsible, our duty, my duty, give my word, giving my word, own up my, owning up my, accept responsibility, accept the blame, recognize my mistakes, admit I was wrong, I made mistakes, I guarantee, we guarantee, I can guarantee, we can guarantee, I promise, we promise, we can prove, I can prove, we proved, I proved, am reliable, rely on me, rely on us, be reassured, you can hold me accountable, you can hold us accountable, see with your own eyes, vote of confidence, our mission, my mission, my commitment, our commitment, during our government, during my government, while I was in charge</p>	<p>nos entregamos, eu entreguei, veja com seus proprios olhos, cumprio minhas palavras, cumprimos nossas palavra, cumpri minha palavra, cumprio minhas promessas, nossas promessa, um compromisso, meu compromisso, tenho um compromisso com, eu sou responsavel, eu assumo a responsabilidade, nos somos responsaveis, nos assumimos a responsabilidade, nosso dever, meu dever, dou minha palavra, faco uma promessa, fazer uma promessa, aceitar a responsabilidade, aceito a responsabilidade, aceitamos a responsabilidade, aceitar a culpa, meus erros, que errei, eu errei, eu garanto, eu posso garantir, eu prometo, podemos provar, posso provar, provaremos, eu provei, voto de confianca, encarrego pessoalmente, encarreguei pessoalmente, estou comprometido, meu comprometimento, comprometimento com, o comprometimento, fazer o possivel, minha supervisao, minha missao, nossa missao, no meu governo, no nosso governo, durante nosso governo, eu era encarregado, eu era o encarregado, fomos encarregados de</p>

Table 5: Authenticity Performances Codebook (*continued*)

Authenticity Performance	Lexicon English	Lexicon Portuguese
<b>Finger Pointing</b>	are inconsistent, is inconsistent, being inconsistent, are irresponsible, is irresponsible, being irresponsible, their fault, not my fault, not our fault, they left us with, they are responsible, are not responsible, aren't responsible, is not responsible, isn't responsible, costed us, false promises, lack accountability, lacking accountability, not kept their word, not kept his word, not kept her word, not kept promises, not kept the, not kept his, not kept her, not kept their, not keep their word, not keep his word, not keep her word, not keep the, didn't keep the, didn't keep her, didn't keep his, hasn't kept his, hasn't kept her, not recognize, he made mistakes, she made mistakes, they made mistakes, not our mistake, not my mistake, not take responsibility, not my responsibility, not accountable, him accountable, them accountable, her accountable, blame them, blame him, blame his, blame her, their blame, break promises, broken promises, has betrayed, they betrayed, betraying, will betray, has tricked, has lied, not deliver, didn't deliver, hasn't deliver, failed your obligations, failed in your obligations, failed his obligations, failed her obligations, failed in his duty, failed in her duty, failed his duty, failed her duty, failed your duties, stabbed in the back	e inconsistente, sao inconsistente, e irresponsavel, sao irresponsaveis, culpa deles, a culpa nao e minha, nao e minha culpa, eles nos deixaram, sao responsaveis, e responsavel, nos custou, falsas promessas, falta de prestacao de contas, falharam, falhou, nao cumpriu, nao cumpriram, nao reconheceu, nao reconheceram, errou, erraram, nao se responsabiliza, nao me responsabilizo, culpa e sua, sua culpa, quebrar promessas, promessas quebradas, quebra de promessas, fala uma coisa e faz outra, fala uma coisa aqui e faz outra, falsas promessas, sao trapaceiros, cometeu erros, cometeram erros, nao reconhece, nao reconheceu, assumiu a responsabilidade, promete uma coisa, promete o mundo, traiu a confianca, traiu a sua confianca, quebra de confianca, quebraram sua confianca, e falcatrua, foi falcatrua, cheio de falcatrua, houve fraude, houveram fraudes, fraudulento, uma negociata, facada nas costas, faltou com respeito, nao faz o que promete, nao fez o que promete, promessas em vao, palavras em vao, falta de comprometimento, falta de compromisso, houveram desvio, houve desvio, a culpa e do, cheio de promessas, a conta nao fecha, nao terminaram

Table 5: Authenticity Performances Codebook (*continued*)

Authenticity Performance	Lexicon English	Lexicon Portuguese
<b>Origins</b>	I was born, I come from, we come from, I grew up, growing up in, my parents, my mom, my mother, my father, my dad, my family, raised me, I was raised, we were raised, we grew up, my background, being surrounded by, being exposed to, my siblings, going to school in, our local church, Sunday mass, Saturday mass, family tradition, tradition in my house, in our house, growing up, back in the day, my grandparents, in my town, in my state, in my region, our community, in my community, our town, our state, my hometown, our hometown, my home state, our home state, back home, our house, my house, our neighbourhood, in my district, I lived in, we lived in, we used to play, I used to play, I was thought	Eu nasci, Eu vim de, eu venho de, viemos de, cresci, nos crescemos, meus pais, minha mae, minha mae, minha familia, fui criado, fomos criados, minhas origens, meus irmaos, meu irmao, minha irma, tradicao familiar, tradicao em casa, crescendo, antigamente, meu avo, minha avo, meus avos, na minha cidade, no meu estado, na minha regio, nossa comunidade, na minha comunidade, nossa cidade, nosso estado, cidade natal, estado de origem, minha casa, nossa casa, la em casa, nosso bairro, no meu bairro, eu morava, viviamos, na minha terra, de onde eu venho, missa de domingo, missa toda semana, brincava, eram outros tempos, fui educado, moravamos, eu morei, nos moramos, de onde venho, eram tempos diferentes
<b>Common Sense</b>	is common sense, are common sense, everyone knows, it is undeniable, stating the obvious, say the obvious, everyone agrees, we all know, common wisdom, the people know, popular knowledge, from experience, it is my experience, sound judgment, practical solution, practical choice, practical answer, pragmatic solution, pragmatic answer, pragmatic choice, realistic answer, let me tell you about, is obvious, are obvious, obvious answer, obvious solution, as we all learned, we have all learned that, do not need to tell you that, the reality is, there is no logic, it does not make sense, it doesn't make sense, we know it does not work, no one disagrees that, no person disagrees, there is not a person, there is not a human being, there is not a family, there is not an American, there is no single citizen, there is not one single person, there is not one single human being, there is not one single family, there is not one single American, there is not one single citizen, there is not one single person, there is not one human being, there is not one family, there is not one American	senso comum, bom senso, todos sabem, afirmando o obvio, todos concordam, todos sabemos, sabemos todos, todos nos sabemos, sabedoria popular, por experiencia, e minha experiencia, sou pratico, tem que ser pratico, devemos ser pratico, sendo pratico, sou pragmatico, tem que ser pragmatico, devemos ser pragmatico, sendo pragmatico, sou realista, sendo realista, sejamos realista, realisticamente falando, e obvio, como todos nos aprendemos, como sabemos, nao preciso te dizer, o povo sabe, agente aprendeu, nos aprendemos, nos sabemos, nao tem logica, como aprendemos, nao faz sentido, nao fazem sentido, estamos cansados de saber, sabemos que nao funciona, ninguem discorda que, nao tem uma pessoa, nao existe uma pessoa, nao ha uma pessoa, nao existe um ser humano, nao tem um ser humano, nao ha um ser humano, nao tem uma familia, nao existe uma familia, nao ha uma familia, nao tem um brasileiro, nao ha um Brasileiro, nao existe um brasileiro, nao tem uma brasileira, nao ha uma Brasileira, nao existe uma brasileira

Table 5: Authenticity Performances Codebook (*continued*)

Authenticity Performance	Lexicon English	Lexicon Portuguese
<b>anti-PC</b>	politically correct, political correctness, PC, plain speaking, speaking my mind, speak my mind, say what I think, saying what I think, not going to pretend, not pretend, speak what you think, not what you want to hear, not butter up, not beat around the bush, cut to the chase, just being real, saying what everyone thinks, say what everyone is thinking, speaking plainly, colored people, negro, retarded, nigger, third world, oriental people, crippled people, is crippled, culturally deprived, drug addict, junkie, drunk, fat people, fat person, fat population, handicapped, homosexual faggot, deviant, perverted, illegals, illegal immigrants, illegal alien, Jew, non-white, prostitutes, promiscuous, stupid, tribe, underdeveloped	politicamente correto, falar francamente, falando francamente, falar o que penso, falo o que penso, falando o que penso, dizer o que penso, papas na lingua, nao vou fingir, nao estou aqui para agradar, falar o que voce pensa, o que voce quer ouvir, nao adulterar, nao rodeio, nao dou rodeio, direto ao ponto, dizer o que todos pensam, dizendo o que penso, dizendo o que todos pensam, dizer o que todos estao pensando, nao vou amaciar, nao da para amaciar, gordos, retardado, retardada, veado, populacao preta, os pretos, as pretas, terceiro mundo, viciado em drogas, bebado, drogado, sem cultura, pervertidos, promiscuo, imbecil, estupido, aleijado, defeituoso, incapacitado, invalido, mongoloide, deficiente mental, deficiencia mental, o incapacitado, a incapacitada, travesti, homossexualismo
<b>Territory</b>	have been to, have visited, came all the way to, back from, will visit, saw first-hand, see first-hand, we visited, I visited, we visited, traveled to, traveling to, spend a few days in, spent some time in, spent time in, met great people in, we were hosted, I was hosted, our time in, my time in, our visit, spent a lot of time in, were many times in, got to know the whole country, got to know all the states	estive em, visitei, voltou de, voltei de, voltando de, voltamos de, estive em, estivemos em, visitara, visitarei, vi em primeira mao, ver em primeira mao, visitamos, viajei para, passei alguns dias em, passei algum tempo em, passei um tempo, conheci otimas pessoas, conhecemos otimas pessoas em, fomos hospedados, minha passagem, nossa passagem, nossa visita, fui muitas vezes para, estive muitas vezes em, passei muito tempo em, meu tempo em, estive por todo o Brasil, de norte a sul do pais, conheco todo o pais, conheci todo o pais, conheci todo o Brasil, conheco todo o Brasil

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>
	value
Election Year	−0.043 (0.124)
United States	−0.688*** (0.108)
Constant	1.870*** (0.083)
Observations	67
R <sup>2</sup>	0.390
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.371
Residual Std. Error	0.441 (df = 64)
F Statistic	20.471*** (df = 2; 64)
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 6: Authenticity Performances and Election Years in Brazil and the US

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>
	value
cycleCardoso (1995-2002)	−0.415 (0.299)
cycleCollor/Franco (1989-1994)	−0.394 (0.313)
cycleLula (2003-2010)	−0.088 (0.299)
cycleRousseff/Temer (2011-2018)	0.699** (0.299)
Constant	1.883*** (0.255)
Observations	33
R <sup>2</sup>	0.534
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.467
Residual Std. Error	0.442 (df = 28)
F Statistic	8.019*** (df = 4; 28)
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 7: Authenticity Performances by year in Brazil - Linear Model

Authenticity Performance	Average US	Average Brazil
<b>Truth Telling</b>	0.33	0.35
<b>Lie Accusations</b>	0.04	0.03
<b>Consistency</b>	0.19	0.20
<b>Finger Pointing</b>	0.02	0.06
<b>Origins</b>	0.34	0.85
<b>Common Sense</b>	0.06	0.25
<b>Territorial</b>	0.10	0.05
<b>Anti-PC</b>	0.09	0.03

Table 8: Average Normalized Proportion of Authenticity Performances in Brazil and the US (per 1000 words)



	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Total Frequency	
	Brazil (1)	US (2)
SettingCampaign Remarks	−0.204 (0.203)	0.288*** (0.073)
SettingDebates	−0.034 (0.214)	−0.017 (0.105)
SettingInterviews	−0.216* (0.125)	−0.116* (0.065)
categorySelf	−0.559*** (0.118)	−0.055 (0.065)
SettingCampaign Remarks:categorySelf	0.926*** (0.263)	−0.160 (0.101)
SettingDebates:categorySelf	0.761*** (0.278)	0.033 (0.140)
SettingInterviews:categorySelf	0.169 (0.172)	0.017 (0.092)
Observations	150	194
R <sup>2</sup>	0.298	0.222
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.050	0.019
F Statistic	6.681*** (df = 7; 110)	6.244*** (df = 7; 153)

*Note:*

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

Table 9: Authenticity Performances by Category and Setting in Brazil and the US - Fixed-Effects by Year

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	Total Normalized Frequency		Diversity Score	
	US	Brazil	US	Brazil
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
statusIn Office	−0.551*** (0.132)	−0.147 (0.252)	−0.109*** (0.016)	−0.076*** (0.028)
statusAfter office	−0.467 (0.304)	−0.536 (0.872)	−0.058 (0.038)	0.513*** (0.091)
partyDemocratic	0.009 (0.118)		−0.012 (0.015)	
partyPSDB		0.305 (0.268)		−0.043 (0.029)
partyOther		−0.234 (0.372)		0.089** (0.040)
Observations	139	113	139	110
R <sup>2</sup>	0.147	0.038	0.315	0.391
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	−0.154	−0.418	0.073	0.090
F Statistic	5.866*** (df = 3; 102)	0.749 (df = 4; 76)	15.639*** (df = 3; 102)	11.693*** (df = 4; 73)
<i>Note:</i>			*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

Table 10: Authenticity Performances by Setting, Category, Status, and Party in Brazil and the US - Fixed-Effects by Year

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	Total Normalized Frequency		Diversity Score	
	US	Brazil	US	Brazil
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
statusIn office	−0.311*** (0.084)	0.183 (0.172)	−0.095*** (0.015)	−0.063*** (0.023)
statusAfter office	−0.263 (0.176)	0.392 (0.573)	−0.042 (0.031)	0.507*** (0.075)
categorySelf	−0.227*** (0.077)	0.026 (0.139)	−0.000 (0.014)	0.000 (0.019)
settingspeeches	−0.067 (0.073)	−0.139 (0.208)	−0.033** (0.013)	−0.018 (0.027)
settingdebates	−0.234*** (0.081)	0.034 (0.189)	−0.033** (0.014)	−0.001 (0.025)
settinginterviews	−0.242*** (0.069)	−0.343** (0.169)	−0.038*** (0.012)	0.029 (0.022)
partyDemocratic	0.007 (0.054)		−0.012 (0.010)	
partyPSDB		0.150 (0.135)		−0.043** (0.019)
partyOther		−0.167 (0.192)		0.101*** (0.026)
statusIn office:categorySelf	0.142 (0.096)	−0.535*** (0.194)	0.000 (0.017)	−0.000 (0.026)
statusAfter office:categorySelf	0.107 (0.202)	−1.202 (0.735)	0.000 (0.036)	0.000 (0.096)
Observations	278	226	278	220
R <sup>2</sup>	0.185	0.129	0.349	0.416
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.039	−0.071	0.232	0.278
F Statistic	5.911*** (df = 9; 235)	2.706*** (df = 10; 183)	13.968*** (df = 9; 235)	12.625*** (df = 10; 177)

Note:

\*p<0.1; \*\*p<0.05; \*\*\*p<0.01

Table 11: Authenticity Performances by Status, Setting, and Category, in Brazil and the US - Fixed-Effects by Year

*Works cited:*

- Fordahl (2018)
- Luebke (2021)
- Seifert (2012)
- Alexander, Giesen, and Mast (2006)
- Alexander (2010)
- Rosenblum, Schroeder, and Gino (2020)
- Conway, Repke, and Houck (2017)
- Conway et al. (2009)
- Beard and Cerf (1993)
- Schumpeter (1976)
- Silva-Muller and Sposito (2023)
- Allison (2009)
- Rhoades (1993)
- Kohl et al. (2021)
- Tavares (1998)
- French (2022)
- Feres Júnior and Gagliardi (2021)
- Carlo and Kamradt (2018)
- Marx (1998)
- Silva (2020)
- Ulyses Balderas and Greenwood (2010)
- Ragin (1987)
- Morgenstern et al. (2013)
- Pereira, Power, and Rennó (2008)
- Mainwaring (1991)
- Mainwaring (1999)
- Baker, Ames, and Rennó (2020)
- Markoff (1999)
- Couto, Soares, and Livramento (2021)
- Seifert (2012)
- Blumler and Kavanagh (1999)
- Voltmer (2004)
- Denton (1988)
- Gibson (1992)
- Rennó (2020)
- Bøggild (2020)
- Berezin (2017)
- Hart (2022)
- Leuprecht and Skillicorn (2016)
- Barros (2022)
- Luebke and Engelmann (2022)
- Stiers et al. (2021)
- Valgarosson et al. (2021)

- Jones (2016)
- Varga (2013)
- Morgenstern et al. (2013)
- Pereira, Power, and Rennó (2008)
- Kohl et al. (2021)
- Marx (1998)
- Weinberg (2023)
- Welp and Ruth (2017)
- Denton (1988)
- Schäfer (2022)
- Foley (2012)
- Coleman (2000)
- Alexander (2011)
- Bøggild and Pedersen (2018)
- Nai, Maier, and Vranić (2021)
- Pires (2011)
- Mendonça and Ogando (2013)
- Pires (2011)
- Mendonça and Ogando (2013)
- Dos Santos and Jalalazai (2021)
- Schneider et al. (2010)
- Wood (1994)
- Christine Banwart and McKinney (2005)
- Blankenship and Robson (1995)
- Franceschet, Piscopo, and Thomas (2016)
- Fridkin and Kenney (2011)
- Nai, Tresch, and Maier (2022)
- Haynes and Rhine (1998)
- Carraro et al. (2012)
- Stiers et al. (2021)
- Di Tella et al. (2023)
- Mayhew (2008)
- Haynes and Rhine (1998)
- Moffitt and Tormey (2014)
- Brubaker (2020)
- Mudde (2004)
- Mudde (2007)
- Di Tella et al. (2023)
- Haynes and Rhine (1998)
- Schlesinger (2008)
- Wang and Liu (2018)
- Bull and Mayer (1993)
- Ricci (1970)
- Neto and Cox (1997)
- Grofman (2004)

- Samuels and Shugart (2010)
- Mainwaring and Shugart (1997)
- Riker (1982)
- Garzia, Ferreira da Silva, and De Angelis (2022)
- Siavelis and Morgenstern (2008)
- Nai, Maier, and Vranić (2021)
- Schmidt (2001)
- Schmidt (2002)
- Leruth and Taylor-Gooby (2019)
- Blumenau and Lauderdale (2022)
- Greenstein (1992)
- Hibbing, Ritchie, and Anderson (2011)
- Catellani and Bertolotti (2015)
- Cwalina and Falkowski (2016)
- Seifert (2012)
- McAllister (2007)
- Taylor (1992)
- Varga (2013)
- Goffman (1956)
- Van Dijk et al. (1997)
- Cwalina and Falkowski (2016)
- Goren (2018)
- Wood (1994)
- Christine Banwart and McKinney (2005)
- Blankenship and Robson (1995)
- Franceschet, Piscopo, and Thomas (2016)