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

Abstract

Political authenticity, as the perceived degree to which politicians appear to remain true to themselves, is connected to higher levels of political trust from electorates and can influence political outcomes. Despite this, authenticity is frequently overlooked as a determinant factor for electoral behavior due to its alleged vagueness. When considered, discussions of how authenticity appears and changes in politics typically remain at the theoretical level and are rarely comparative. This article develops an original 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, we investigate authenticity performances in 21496 political texts for 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 while authenticity is generally performed with greater frequency in Brazil than in the US, authenticity performances are not more prevalent during election years.

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

Word Count: 8400 (includes text, tables, figures, and notes)

1 Introduction

Political authenticity, as the perceived degree to which politicians appear to remain true to themselves (Luebke and Engelmann 2022), is connected to higher levels of political trust from electorates (Stiers et al. 2021; Valgarosson et al. 2021) and is essential for a candidate's success (Alexander 2010; Fordahl 2018). Perceptions of authenticity inform electorates about how politicians would act in contexts where they are in power, giving them a compelling reason to choose certain politicians over others (Jones 2016). Yet, authenticity is frequently overlooked as a determinant factor for electoral behavior for being deemed vague and contradictory as a concept (Varga 2013). When considered, discussions of how, when, and where authenticity appears and changes in politics usually remain at the theoretical level and are rarely comparative. This article develops an original framework to identify and compare how authenticity has been performed in politics over time, across settings, and by politicians.

Authenticity has been discursively performed in politics with politicians making self- references to their origins, using narratives of consistency, alluding to civic traditions, disclosing personal details, and using 'vulgarism' (Fordahl 2018; Luebke 2021; Alexander 2010). Building on these insights, this article develops the authenticity performance framework focus-

ing on the mechanisms and displays in political discourses that help construct authenticity perceptions. While individual politicians perform authenticity in specific ways, the framework emphasizes the shared patterns in performances of authenticity in political discourses. Authenticity performances are divided into two categories, about the self or about belonging. The former derive plausibility from the performers themselves and include claims of truth telling, lie accusations, taking responsibility for actions, and pointing fingers at other politicians' mistakes. The latter are more elaborate and derive plausibility from the shared cultural knowledge between politicians and audiences. These performances include references to origins, allusions to common sense, assertions of territorial knowledge, and use of vulgarism.

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. Authenticity performances are identified via a purpose-built dictionary of terms that codes the displays associated with each performance theorized by the framework. The two countries, Brazil and the US, experienced a racialized nation building processes that led to heterogenous demographic compositions and cultural influences, but different types of socioeconomic inequalities (Marx 1998). Currently, the two countries are federal presidential democracies in which presidents formally and informally shape the public policy agenda (Morgenstern et al. 2013; Pereira, Power, and Rennó 2008). Though Brazil's extremely fragmented multiparty system in sharp contrast to the US two party system (Mainwaring 1991, 1999; Baker, Ames, and Rennó 2020). Considering the similarities and differences in the two cases, comparisons are careful and contextualized to provide useful insights.

The findings indicate that, while appearing authentic influences election outcomes, authenticity is not performed more frequently in election years. Authenticity is generally performed with greater frequency in Brazil than in the US. Brazil's party fragmentation and weak partisanship provide incentives for politicians to display individualistic behavior that might include performing authenticity more often and in more diverse forms across settings, in comparison to the US where politicians are typically more constrained by their parties. In both countries debates have become the setting in which authenticity is performed most frequently recently, whereas interviews are the setting in which authenticity is performed least frequently. Debates are large scale media events that produce "sticky" sound and visual bites charged with imagery that circulate more than ever in democracies. Relatedly, social media platforms give politicians diverse outlets to interact directly with audiences, bypassing journalists in interviews. In the US, presidential candidates perform authenticity more frequently than elected presidents while, in Brazil, authenticity is performed at comparable rates independent of a politicians' role. In both cases, presidential candidate s' tend to perform in multiple types of authenticities but, once elected, presidents learn from what types of performance "stick" and adapt to perform only the authenticities that work for them.

Conceptually, this article provides the first framework for identifying and comparing diverse performances of authenticity in politics. Empirically, besides the sizeable datasets of political texts for presidents and presidential candidates, this article provides the first comparative overview of how, where, and when authenticity has been performed in politics in in Brazil

and the US since 1988. This article is organized in four sections. The theoretical section discusses the literature on performance and authenticity in politics as well as presents the authenticity performances framework. The methodological section examines the comparison between Brazil and the US and describes the data gathering process and operationalization of the framework. The analytical section provides a visual and descriptive review of the findings. The article concludes by discussing the implications of using the authenticity performances framework and providing directions for further research.

2 Theory

2.1 Performing authenticity in politics

To be elected or remain in power, politicians must convince electorates that they will represent them in office. Democracy entails an institutional arrangement in which few individuals "acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote" (Ricci 1970). Electoral rules (e.g. how elections are decided) and social heterogeneity (e.g. social cleavages) influence politicians' behaviors (Neto and Cox 1997; Grofman 2004; Samuels and Shugart 2010). Legal-electoral systems, for example, with multiple parties and where the head of government is directly elected by a plurality of the votes can be more conducive to autonomous behavior by politicians that diverse from their parties (Mainwaring and Shugart 1997). Though politicians also act autonomously in two-party or proportional representation systems (Riker 1982), particularly in cases where political parties become organized around a single politician (Garzia, Ferreira da Silva, and De Angelis 2022). Politicians' behavior varies beyond the legal-electoral systems and institutional environment they are inserted (Siavelis and Morgenstern 2008; Grofman 2004) and the public policy positions they hold (Nai, Maier, and Vranić 2021; Grofman 2004). Politicians employ several material and discursive strategies to attract and maintain electoral support. These strategies range from producing television commercials and directing regional investments to making campaign promises and bonding with electorates. Many of which can be contradictory and do not have direct policy implications but, nonetheless, still matter for electoral behavior.

Political discourses are fundamental to establish a connection between politicians and electorates, yet we know little about how politicians relate to electorates when speaking to them (see Lobo and Curtice 2014). Political scientists, for example, regularly investigate how argumentative logics and issue framings affect persuasion and lead to changes in attitude in electorates for certain public policy issues (see Schmidt 2001, 2002; Leruth and Taylor-Gooby 2019). However, beyond basic demographic characteristics as age, gender and race, political scientists have largely sidelined how perceptions of politicians' personalities, for example, matters for political engagement, discussion, and electoral decisions (Greenstein 1992; Hibbing, Ritchie, and Anderson 2011; Valgarosson et al. 2021). Even when scholars look at politicians' personas, they often look at a single politician over time or focus exclusively on perceptions of politicians' competencies (see Catellani and Bertolotti 2015; Cwalina and Falkowski 2016). The widespread personification of political parties and the increased attention audiences pay to the private lives of politicians recently, changed politicians' relationship to electorates and made their perceived personality essential to electoral decisions

(Catellani and Bertolotti 2015; Denton 1988).

Being perceived as authentic helps politicians build political trust by demonstrating to electorates that politicians are in touch with ordinary people and their struggles (Valgarosson et al. 2021; Stiers et al. 2021). Taylor (1992) argues that authenticity is a modern ideal related to being in touch with one's "original" inner self. Contemporary societies value this to achieve self-fulfillment (Taylor 1992). The modern ideal of authenticity also generates a widespread fear of the "replica", the inauthentic (Varga 2013). Authenticity, albeit frequently sidelined for being contradictory and vague as a philosophical concept or a moral ideal, shapes how we relate to ourselves, our goals, and others (Varga 2013; Taylor 1992). In politics, authenticity does not concern being truthful to oneself but appearing coherent with individual or societal values to audiences (Valgarosson et al. 2021; Fordahl 2018). Hence, political authenticity is understood as the perceived degree to which politicians appear as being and remaining true to themselves (Luebke and Engelmann 2022) [1]. Perceptions of authenticity inform electorates about how politicians might act in contexts where the public is absent and unable to influence decisions, giving them a compelling reason to choose certain politicians (Jones 2016). This does not mean authenticity is static or constant in politics. Rather, authenticity is an unstable and malleable performance that demands constant contortion and repetition (Fordahl 2018). Authenticity is an integral part of a successful performance and is constantly performed in politics.

Performances are the projections of a situation when one appears before others, "however passive their role may seem to be, will themselves effectively project a definition of the situation by virtue of their response to the individual" (Goffman 1956, 3). Performances allow to theorize that an audience's interpretation hinges on factors beyond discursive content or a specific interpretation of message meaning, such as how things are said (Alexander, Giesen, and Mast 2006; Alexander 2011). Performances place agency both with electorates, watching and evaluating politicians, and with political performers "doing" politics (Alexander, Giesen, and Mast 2006, 35; Van Dijk et al. 1997). This means script changes can be theorized to be intentional individual innovations or unintentional chattering by political performers, while political accomplishments reflect positive evaluations from electorates. Other factors like gender, race, status, economic crises, and cultural changes, become collective background representations to be explored in discursive politics and provide context for audiences' interpretations (Alexander, Giesen, and Mast 2006, 46; Alexander 2011). Background representations shape politicians' performances and audiences' perceptions of authenticity. Incumbents' competence levels, for example, are perceived differently by electorates in comparison to non-elected candidates; something politicians are aware of, help construct, and perform when doing politics (see Cwalina and Falkowski 2016). Alternatively, belonging to a minority can influence how politicians perform to "authentically" belong in society (see Alexander 2010). Moreover, gender expectations constrain performances and audience perceptions of authenticity in politics (Goren 2018) compelling to perform politics in different ways than man by disclosing more of personal details, using distinctive types of anecdotes, and justi-

[1] I refrain from discussing the sources, and ethics, of authenticity (see Taylor 1992) or how the ideal of authenticity relates to aesthetics, autonomy, and capitalism (see Varga 2013). Authenticity, for the purposes of this piece, is an important modern individual ideal that is evoked, searched, and projected in political performance.

fying choices with concrete reasoning (Wood 1994; Christine Banwart and McKinney 2005; Blankenship and Robson 1995; Franceschet, Piscopo, and Thomas 2016).

Different aspects can make a politician more likeable, as charisma, but they do not necessarily make a politician appear more authentic. A charismatic leader, for example, possesses a perceived virtue that sets them apart from "ordinary" individuals (Cohen 1972). Charisma's definition as a mysterious, magical, and heroic quality makes it theoretically challenging to explain how it arises, the processes by which it is produced, and where it can be measured (Spinrad 1991). Even though charisma and perceptions of authenticity can appear synchronously in politics, charisma disconnects politicians from ordinary individuals whereas authenticity attempts to connect them. Both charisma and authenticity have influenced political outcomes in democracies at times but, whereas charisma has long drawn attention from famous scholars as Weber (2009), authenticity has been largely overlooked as a determinant factor for electoral behavior for being deemed vague and contradictory as a concept (Varga 2013). Albeit essential for a candidate's electoral success (Alexander 2010; Fordahl 2018), discussions of how, when, and where authenticity appears and changes in politics usually remain at the theoretical level as we lack approaches to systematically capture and compare authenticity in politics.

2.2 Authenticity performances, a framework

All politicians perform authenticity to connect with audiences. Authenticity has long been discursively performed in politics with politicians making self-references to origins, using narratives of consistency, telling remarkable stories, alluding to civic tradition, disclosing personal details, and using 'vulgarism' (Fordahl 2018; Luebke 2021; Alexander 2010; Seifert 2012). Authenticity in politics is performed by politicians, mediated by intermediary channels (e.g. the news), and perceived by audiences (Luebke 2021). Capturing how authenticity is mediated or perceived by certain audiences is challenging looking only at texts of political discourses. Besides, politicians' ability to "fuse" performances of authenticity and radiate truthiness outwards is ultimately bound by audiences' interpretations (Alexander, Giesen, and Mast 2006). However, by shifting our understanding of authenticity from being a measure of performative success (see Alexander, Giesen, and Mast 2006, 55) to a performance itself, even if this performance does not radiate truthiness, we can develop a framework that allows us to identify and compare authenticity performances.

Different politicians perform authenticity in specific ways, but these performances often share certain discursive pattern s. The framework of authenticity performances encompasses mechanisms and displays. Mechanisms refer to theorized pathways by which a discursive display, the common elements connecting performances, could produce authenticity. While the theoretical literature on authenticity (see Luebke 2021; Alexander, Giesen, and Mast 2006) and case studies for diverse politicians (see Alexander 2010; Fordahl 2018) mention performances of authenticity, these can be exclusively attached to a single politician, disconnected from one another, or these manifestations can be detached from actual politicians in the literature. By regrouping these dispersed manifestations according to their mechanisms, we start to see patterns in the discursive displays associated with them. When politicians' recount stories about their origins, for example, they habitually signal that this is a story about origins by

saying "when I was little" or "growing up". The displays indicated in the framework allow to systematically identify and compare authenticity performances in politics.

Authenticity performances can be broadly divided in two categories: about the self and about belonging. These categories relate to the mechanism that gives plausibility to a certain performance. Authenticity performances about the self derive plausibility for performance from the political performer himself/herself or their opponent. In their most basic form, these performances include stating to be telling the truth, to be authentic, or claiming others are lying, are inauthentic. These performances can make politicians appear truthful regarding their beliefs and/or more sincere vis-a-vis others. Authenticity performances about the self can also be performed with claims of consistency or by pointing fingers at others. Taking responsibility for one's previous actions along with their positive or negative outcomes might illustrates how a politician is consistent with promises. Alternatively, by pointing fingers at others' errors or broken promises, politicians argue for the others' lack of accountability based on previous actions.

Authenticity performances about belonging are more elaborate displays of authenticity that derive plausibility for performance based on the cultural connections shared between audiences and political performers. These performances are essential to legitimize politicians as part of society and their knowledge about the "real" issues people in their country face. Authenticity performances about belonging include, for example, allusions to the politician's common origins that demonstrate their cultural connection to the nation. Origin performances include references to their own beginnings, how they were raised, and civic traditions. Politicians can also establish they authentically belong by alluding to shared common sense, which implies they reason like the rest of the population. Additionally, politicians can show their knowledge of the territory to demonstrate that they understand the nation and the regional differences. Finally, politicians can perform vulgarism to express that "they say what they think". Vulgarism, as an authenticity performance, includes both references to speaking without filters, as they see fit, and anti-politically correct discourses. Employing vulgar, politically incorrect, language in politics make political communicators appear less strategic and more genuine (Rosenblum, Schroeder, and Gino 2020; Conway, Repke, and Houck 2017; Conway et al. 2009) [2]. Table 1, below, summarizes each authenticity performance, their mechanism, and displays.

[2]Anti-politically correct discourses employ politically incorrect language and/or denounces political correctness. In fact, denouncing of a "PC politician" engrains an allusion to someone that expresses its views in calculated ways to avoid judgment (Hughes 2011; Weigel 2016). Politically incorrect expressions coded in dictionary and displayed in table 1, below, were selected from a 1992 dictionary of politically correct language. This assumes that most of the terms coded have minimally been agreed upon as not PC (see Beard and Cerf 1993).

Table 1: Authenticity Performances, Mechanisms, and Displays

Authenticity Performance	Mechanism	Displays
Truth Telling	Politician appears to be telling the truth regarding their beliefs or facts	Mentions truthfulness, sincerity, and/or honesty when describing oneself. **Examples: 'the truth is', 'this is the truth', 'am not lying', 'is/are/am honest'**
Lie Accusations	Politician appears more sincere vis-a-vis others	Mentions dishonesty, untruthfulness, and/or insincerity when used to describe others. Examples: 'not the truth', 'not true', 'untruthful', 'is/are lying', 'is/are liars'
Consistency	Politician appears consistent regarding pledges	Mentions career consistency, responsibility, and/or accountability for individual. Examples: 'I/we delivered', 'check and see', 'keep my word', 'I/we take responsibility'
Finger Pointing	Politician appears not accountable for previous undesirable outcomes	Mentions lack of accountability, inconsistency and/or blame others for mistakes. Examples: 'are/is inconsistent', 'are/is irresponsible', 'their fault', 'costed us'
Origins	Politician seems culturally connected to the nation	Alludes to birthplace, origins, and roots to describe background, values, and/or tell their story. Examples: 'I was born in', 'I was raised', 'I/we grew up in', 'my family'
Common Sense	Politician seems to make choices consistent with what others in society would do	Alludes to common sense, reason, and/or logic to describe choices or preferences. Examples: 'is/are common sense', 'everyone/everybody knows', 'it is undeniable', 'stating the obvious'
Territory	Politician seems territorially connected to sub-regions, regions, or nation	Alludes to sub-portions of the territory known and/or visited. **Examples: 'have seen in', 'have been to', 'I/we/have visited', 'came all the way to'**
Vulgarism	Politician seems to be saying what they think without thinking about the consequences	Alludes to saying what they really think, talking without filters and/or employs anti-politically incorrect language. **Examples: 'speak/speaking my mind', 'say/saying what everyone thinks', 'not politically correct', 'colored/oriental/fat/handicapped people'**

Authenticity performances projected by politicians with diverse roles (e.g. candidates versus elected officials), across different the settings where politics gets done (e.g. debate or official speech), and at different times (e.g. before/after an election), among other things. These projections provide both expectations about authenticity performances and political performers as well as patterns to be investigated in these performances. How projections of authenticity change according to a politicians' role, setting, and time provide a helpful pathway to identify and compare how politicians perform authenticity when doing politics over time, across settings, and by politicians.

3 Methodology

3.1 Case selection: Brazil and the US

Authenticity caught public attention after the elections of Trump, in the US, and Bolsonaro, in Brazil (see Fordahl 2018; Kohl et al. 2021). However, authenticity has long been central to presidential elections in both countries. In the US, Ronald Reagan's unusually colloquial speech patterns and folksy storytelling helped him come across as familiar, trustworthy, and authentic to electorates (Seifert 2012). Barack Obama often alluded to his origins and civic traditions to connect with audiences and generate a sense of authenticity (Alexander 2010). More recently, Donald Trump's authenticity was built through iconic brakes with political conventions, willingness to engage in controversial topics, and vulgar representations of American traditions from his "straight shooter dealmaker" persona (Fordahl 2018). In Brazil, Fernando Collor's persistent usage of religious metaphors made him appear trustworthy to electorates for upholding shared religious and moral principles (Tavares 1998). Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (Lula)'s perceived authenticity often revolved around his ability to construct himself as a regular working-class man by constantly recounting his personal story using the "people's" language (French 2022). Alternatively, Jair Bolsonaro's usage of vulgar, direct, and contradictory comments on moral issues, helped him appear as a simple and authentic "family man" to electorates (Feres Júnior and Gagliardi 2021; Carlo and Kamradt 2018). Yet, each of the accounts above focuses on specific authenticities performed by a single politician and, often, in small and selective samples of political discourses. Without a framework to identify and compare authenticity systematically we do not know, for instance, whether Trump or Bolsonaro performed authenticity more frequently or in significantly different ways than other politicians in Brazil and the US.

Brazil and the US experienced racialized nation building processes that led to heterogenous demographic compositions and cultural influences, but different types of socioeconomic inequalities (Marx 1998). Both countries held the world's largest enslaved populations until slavery was abolished in each case respectively. Brazil and the US later became settler states for hundreds of thousands of European migrants throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. Nevertheless, previous comparative studies on race often relied on misguided narratives of racial democracy and integration that masked how, and the extent to which, race and racism was historically dealt with and prevails in Brazil in comparison to the US (Silva 2020). Additionally, there were considerable differences in the travel subsidies and assimilation incentives offered to migrant groups in these two countries (Ulyses Balderas and Greenwood

2010). While there are geographical, historical, and cultural similarities between Brazil and the US, each country should be understood as a configuration, formed by the aggregation of parts that make sense in the context of each case (Ragin 1987). This means, in practice, comparisons between the two countries must be careful and contextualized to avoid misled associations and provide useful insights.

Although Brazil and the US have different legal-electoral systems, both countries are federal presidential democracies where presidents are the primary players formally, and informally, shaping the public policy agenda (Morgenstern et al. 2013; Pereira, Power, and Rennó 2008). Brazil's extremely fragmented multiparty electoral system gives politicians strong autonomy, contributes to weak political parties, and incentivizes individualistic behavior from politicians (Mainwaring 1991, 1999; Baker, Ames, and Rennó 2020). With many parties with a strong electoral base, politicians in Brazil are less susceptible to broad pressure to conform and represent interests of parties in comparison to the US electoral system with two major parties. Moreover, the US has been a relatively stable democracy and considered a democratic innovator for over two centuries (Markoff 1999) while democracy came back to Brazil in 1985 after decades of a military dictatorship. The Brazilian constitution of 1988 implementing what is referred to as a "coalitional presidentialist" political system (Couto, Soares, and Livramento 2021). This provides interesting contrast since, in Brazil, presidents are relatively autonomous from their parties to act but must form broad party coalitions to govern while, in the US, presidents are more accountable to their parties but do not have to form a coalition to govern.

The late-1980s marked a turn in democratic politics where the spread and diversification of mass media revealed unprecedented levels of information about politicians' private lives changing their image, presentation, and perceptions (Seifert 2012). For the first time, politicians were able to reach and interact with the masses regularly in direct and immediate ways, making political communications resemble a state of permanent campaigning (Blumler and Kavanagh 1999; Voltmer 2004). In the US, Ronald Reagan 's presidential terms introduced the "primetime presidency" where mass media, especially television, gradually became a means of governing and personality perceptions as important as political program (Denton 1988). In Brazil, Fernando Collor's sudden rise in the 1989 election, the first direct presidential election after the end of the military dictatorship, is attributed to his ability to communicate well on television during the campaign, rather than party affiliation, political capital, or policy program (Gibson 1992). Even as politics became more individualized and audience perceptions about politicians' personality increasingly important since the late-1980s in Brazil and the US, scholars have paid relatively little attention to how authenticity appeared and changed in these two countries until recently.

3.2 Data and Operationalization

Text data for elected presidents and runoff candidates in official speeches, campaigns, debates, and interviews were gathered from 1988 to 2021 for Brazil and the US. Runoff candidates, in the case of the US, represent the democratic and republican nominees for a

presidential election [3]. In the case of Brazil, runoff candidates represent the two candidates that compete in the second round of presidential election [4]. Restricting the sample to runoff candidates helps to avoid that relatively small samples of texts skew the subsequent findings. The year of 1988 was chosen to be the cutoff date since it was an election year in the US and the year in which the current Brazilian constitution entered into force. This choice reflects the fact that covering the same period for both countries facilitate comparisons.

Settings represent different stages where politics gets done. Differentiating the various venues where the dialogue between the public and a politician occurs, beyond official speeches, has important implications of the study political discourses (Seifert 2012). The official speeches setting includes text data for all official speeches elected presidents delivered while in office. The debates setting includes text for debates after party nominations in the US and runoff debates for Brazil [5]. The campaigns setting includes text from campaign rallies and campaign commercials up to two years before election cycles runoff candidates participated in. The interviews setting includes text for interviews provided to traditional news media outlets (i.e. television channels, newspapers, and magazines) for the period of two years around (i.e. prior and after) election years for runoff candidates not elected. For elected presidents, interviews were gathered two years before, during the time they held office, and two years after they left office [6]. Beyond accounting for different settings, the data allows to compare elected presidents and non-elected presidential candidates before/during elections, when in office for those elected, and after office or elections took place. Table 2, below, lists the politicians and the number of text observations by setting for each case. In total, 21496 political texts were gathered for Brazil and the US.

[3]Data on vice-presidents (e.g. Biden or Temer when vice-president), other influential third-party candidates (e.g. Ross Perot in 1992; Marina Silva in 2010 and 2014), or candidates not nominated (e.g. Bernie Sanders in 2016) were not gathered for consistency. Gathering data for presidents and runoff candidates only also renders the number of politicians for both cases comparable with 13 politicians in the case of the US and 11 for Brazil.

[4]When election was decided in the first round in Brazil, texts for the two leading candidates in the first round were selected.

[5]There are a few exceptions to this in Brazil when elections decided in the first round (e.g. 1994) or candidates were unable to participate in runoff debates (e.g. Bolsonaro in 2018). In these cases, the participations of the two most voted candidates in the first-round debates were gathered. Since there can be multiple politicians in a debate, the text of each debate was separated by politicians for analysis.

[6]Lula has been present in all elections in Brazil from 1989 to 2006. Therefore, data for him was consistently gathered from 1988 to 2012 and from 2018 onwards. This also helps explain why Brazil has a slightly smaller number of politicians in sample in comparison to the US.

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

Table 2: Text Data for Brazil and the US

Texts for the US were scraped from The American Presidency Project repository (TAPP). The repository contains the most complete data on American presidents and presidential candidates available. Collecting data for Brazil, instead, was more challenging due to lack of one central repository. For official speeches, Silva-Muller and Sposito (2023) dataset containing all official speeches for Brazilian presidents since 1985 was used. Text for debates, interviews, and campaigns for Brazil were scraped from subtitles automatically generated for YouTube videos. The number of videos available for later election cycles, especially after the 2000s, is considerably larger than earlier ones. Additionally, some election cycles in Brazil were shorter due to a candidate winning in the first round, limiting the number of texts available for these election cycles. For these reasons, the number of observations in the text datasets for the US is greater than for Brazil [7]. After collection, texts were cleaned by removing punctuations and accents.

Authenticity performances were operationalized via a purpose-built dictionary of terms that codes the discursive displays associated with each performance in framework (see Codebook in Appendix). The dictionary of terms for each of the theorized authenticity performances was inductively developed listening to samples of randomly selected speeches, campaigns, interviews, and debates from the datasets. To enable comparisons, the dictionary has similar definitions in Portuguese and English in relation to the words and expressions searched for. The number of words included in the dictionary for each performance is also similar across languages. The dictionary of terms is designed to reduce the possibility of overlaps, even as some authenticity performances might share similar displays. Directionality in the text is important to identify authenticity performances that talk about themselves or others, thus, no were removed from texts. This means the dictionary of terms includes combinations of pronouns/determiners and verbs/nouns to avoid false-positive matches for authenticity performances.

Since the frequencies of authenticity performances can reflect the quantity of texts collected for a certain case, year, setting, or politician, the frequencies of authenticities performances are normalized for the total number of words in the texts they appear in by year. Normaliza-

[7]For all the data, scripts, and additional replication materials please contact the author for access to the authenticity performances repository available on GitHub.

tion facilitates comparisons between Brazil and the US even as the number of observations within and between the two cases differs. In practice, normalization helps to account for differences in observations for different years, between settings per years, or for disparities among politicians who held multiple mandates in comparison to candidates who appeared in a single election cycle. The normalized scores represent the proportion of words associated to one or more authenticity performances in relation to the total of words in a year, by setting per year, or by politician per year. The scores were multiplied by one thousand to facilitate interpretation. That is, they represent the normalized proportion per 1,000 words.

The focus of the forthcoming analysis section is mostly visual and in describing patterns related to how, where, and when authenticity is performed in Brazil and the US. Nevertheless, the analysis employs fixed-effects regression models to explore the relationship between authenticity performances and politicians' roles. The models are indexed by year, as events that take place for each case in a certain year could embody important background representations that affect authenticity performances. Additionally, as politicians interact, imitate, and respond to one another at any given year, they influence when and how they perform authenticity. Fixed effects help to control for year specific and other unseen unit-unvarying characteristics (Allison 2009). The dependent variables for models are the total frequency of authenticity performances or the diversity scores for authenticity performances. Diversity scores are calculated using the Herfindahl–Hirschman index of concentration where scores closer to 0 represent a variety of authenticity performances occurring at similar rates and scores closer to 1 represent concentrated performances around a single type of authenticity (see Rhoades 1993) [8]. The independent variables in the models are the roles of politicians (i.e. candidate, in office, and after office). The "candidate" role represents runoff candidates or presidents before being elected a first time, "in office" characterizes elected presidents during time they held office, and "after office" denotes elected presidents after they leave office [9]. Since politicians' behaviors can be affected by their party, ideology, and other institutional constraints, we control for politicians' political party [10].

3.3. Limitations

There are four main limitations with the theoretical and methodological approach of this article. First, the literature on authenticity and politics covers predominantly presidential democracies. Since the authenticity performances framework builds upon this literature, it is suitable to investigate and compare authenticity performances in in democratic contexts where electorates vote for politicians, instead of parties, as Brazil and the US. Moreover, since the authenticities in the framework are operationalized with dictionary of terms constructed

[8]The Herfindahl–Hirschman index (HHI) can be used to measure concentration or diversity in a variety of contexts ranging from income to market monopolies. The score is calculated by adding the squared scores of each authenticity performances.

[9]When running from re-election from office, incumbents are also coded as being in office.

[10]For Brazil, politicians were divided into the Workers Party (PT), the Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira (PSDB), and other parties since most politicians in the sample belong to PT or PSDB. The "other parties" category includes politicians from additional parties (e.g. Temer) and/or that changed parties during their presidency (e.g. Itamar Franco and Jair Bolsonaro). For the US, Democratic and Republican parties were coded.

by listening to randomly selected samples of audio and textual data collected, the dictionary of terms is appropriate to capture authenticity performances in Brazil and the US. Adapting the framework to other presidential democracies would require updating to the the dictionary operationalizing the authenticity performances.

Second, the operationalization of the framework via a dictionary of terms allows the analysis to focus on the frequency of authenticity performances and uncover patterns related to when, where, and how these appear in political discourses. However, it does not grasp with the quality of authenticity performances (i.e. how authenticity performances are mediated or perceived by audiences). For this reason, randomly selected samples of authenticity performances matched in texts using the dictionary were selected to verify how they related to the theorized displays in the framework. The operationalization was found effective in matching the theorized authenticity performances, but other more ambiguous performances or performances of authenticity outside of the theorized ones were missed. That is, the operationalization dodges instances where interpretation is necessary and is cautious about what are, and not, authenticity performances in political discourses based on the framework. This means remaining on the side of caution when it comes to identifying and classifying authenticity performances.

Third, the framework and operationalization assume that authenticity performances identified are typically desirable and/or not hurtful. The framework conceptualizes authenticity as a performance itself, hence, politicians must put effort into constantly learning, adapting, and repeating performances to be deemed authentic. Even though diverse audiences might react differently to performances and some performances can generate negative backlash (i.e. vulgarism), by placing agency with both politicians and audiences the framework assumes that politicians learn, adapt, and repeat performances according to where, when, and to whom they speak.

Finally, the text data gathered misses social media settings where politics increasingly gets done (e.g. WhatsApp, Twitter, Facebook). This is a choice of consistency that prioritizes having a comparable dataset over time before social media was present or relevant in politics. With these limitations in mind, the findings in the subsequent analysis section are careful not to make any causal claims about the relationship between the frequencies of authenticity performances and political outcomes. Despite of all these limitations, the authenticity performances framework offers an original pathway to identify and analyze authenticity in politics.

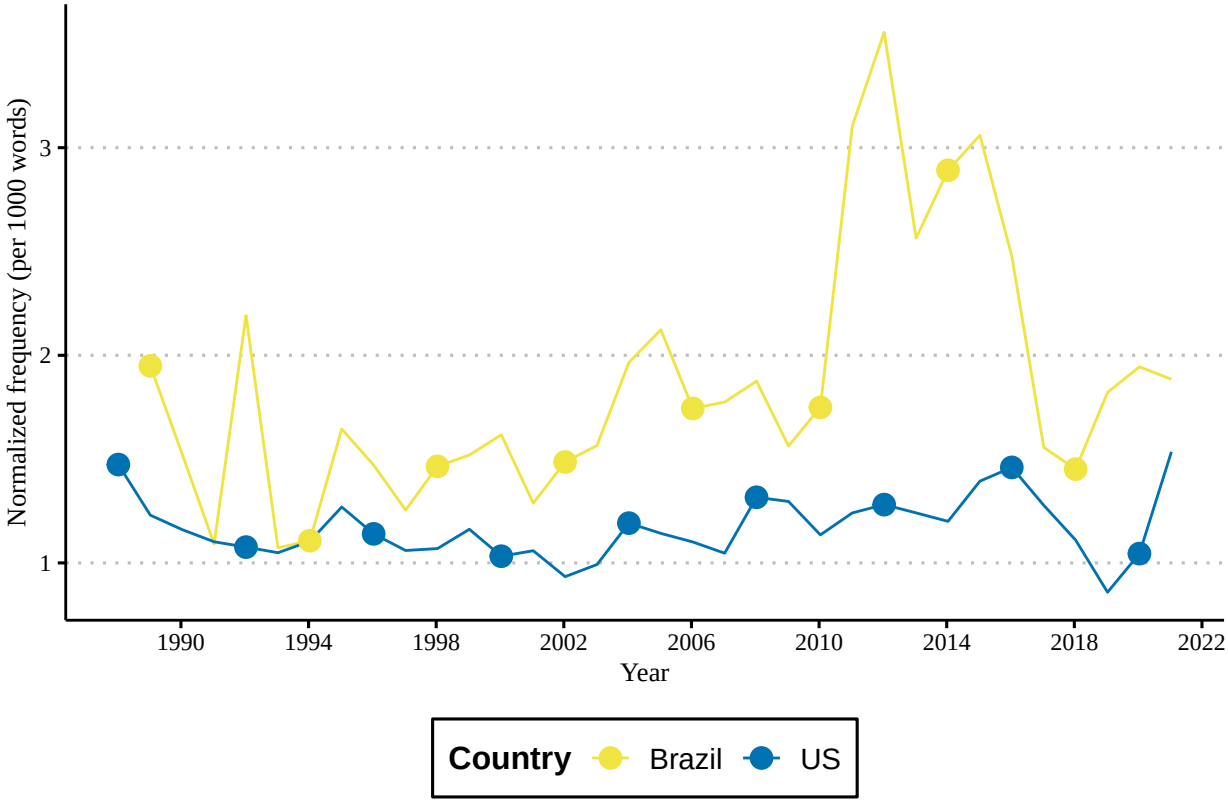
4 Analysis

4.1 Authenticity Performances and Time

Even though appearing authentic to electorates influences election outcomes (Stiers et al. 2021; Valgarosson et al. 2021), there is no systematic increase in the total frequency of authenticity performances during election years in Brazil or the US over time. Figure 1, below, illustrates the total frequencies for authenticity performances in Brazil and the US over time. In the figure, the x-axis represents the years and the y-axis represents the sum of

all normalized authenticity performances. The dots represent election years for each country. While there is no correlation between election years and authenticity performances in Brazil, election years correlate with a decrease in the total of authenticity performances in the US [11]. This suggests that some politicians (e.g. incumbents) in the US might generally be more careful towards when authenticity is performed close to elections as political discourses become more instrumental, less improvised, and directed towards median voters. In Brazil, this suggests that authenticity is performed at comparable frequencies in election and non-election years on average.

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



Dots mark election years in respective country.

Brazil's party fragmentation and weak partisanship provide incentives for politicians to display individualistic behavior (Mainwaring 1991, 1999; Baker, Ames, and Rennó 2020) that might include performing authenticity, in comparison to the US where politicians are more constrained by their parties. Authenticity has been performed with greater frequency in politics in Brazil in comparison to the US, particularly between 2011 and 2016 when Dilma Rousseff was president [12]. Rousseff, arguably, performed authenticity more frequently to

[11] The linear regression in Table 4 in Appendix shows that the relationship between election years and the total of authenticity performances in the US is negative and statistically significant.

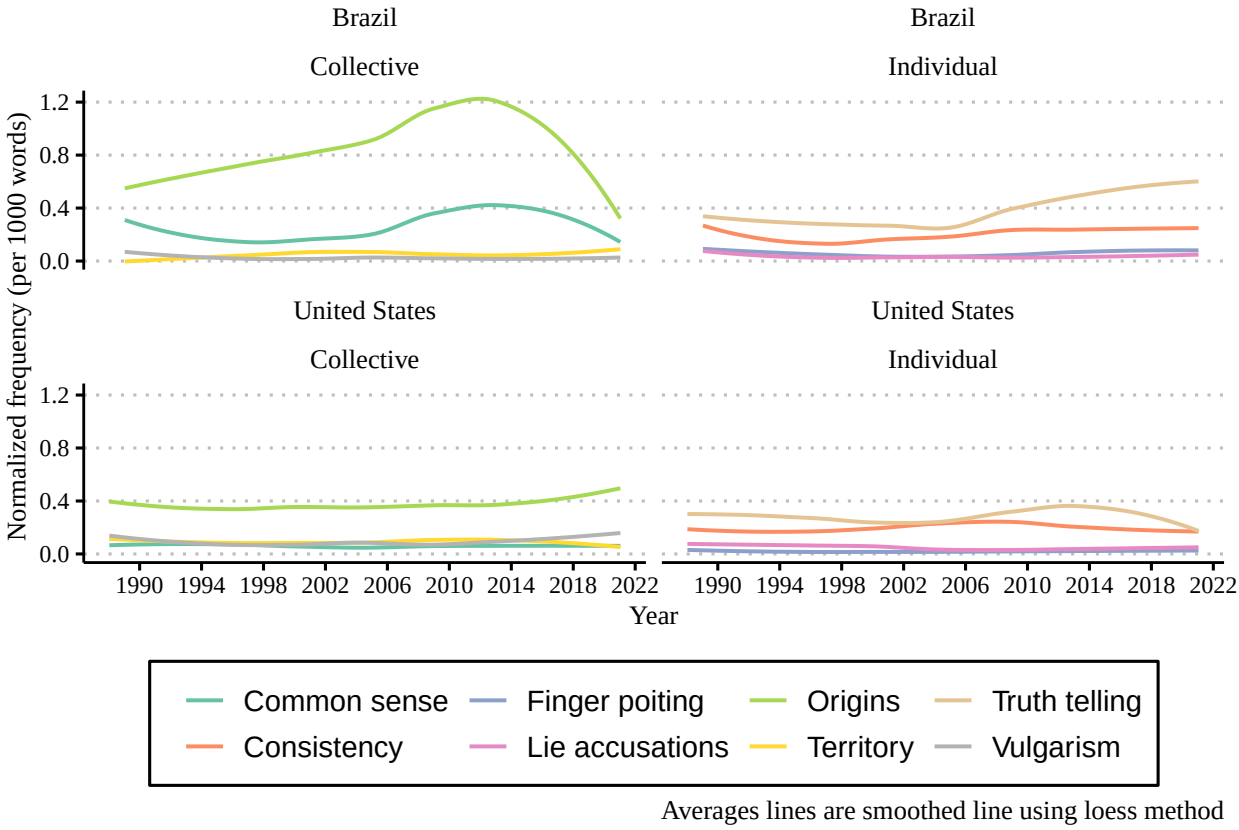
[12] The linear regression in Table 5 in Appendix shows that the relationship between the frequencies of authenticity performances and years when Rousseff was president is positive and statistically significant.

connect with audiences and justify her public policy choices than others in the sample to overcome the negative perceptions and gender stereotypes associated with her (see Dos Santos and Jalalazai 2021). Women's distinct communication style in politics that includes disclosing more of personal details, using distinctive types of anecdotes, and justifying choices with concrete reasoning (Wood 1994; Christine Banwart and McKinney 2005; Blankenship and Robson 1995; Franceschet, Piscopo, and Thomas 2016) might also include how, when, and where they perform authenticity. However, due to the small number of women politicians in the data (i.e. Rousseff and Hillary Clinton) does not allow us to infer how gender and authenticity performances broadly correlate.

Allusions to origins and claims of truth-telling are the two most regularly performed authenticities by presidents and presidential candidates in Brazil and the US over time. Figure 2, below, illustrates the frequency of each authenticity performance over time in both cases. In the figure, the x-axis represents the years and the y-axis represents the normalized values of authenticity performances. The colored lines represent the different authenticity performances. Whereas origins is an authenticity performance about belonging and truth-telling is an authenticity performance about the self, both authenticities promote oneself instead of focusing on others. Unsurprisingly, politicians speak mostly about themselves when doing politics. Authenticity performances that focus on others, such as lie-accusations and finger-pointing, are performed infrequently on average in both countries [13].

[13]For more information see Table 6 in Appendix on the average proportion of authenticity performances in Brazil and the US.

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



Averages lines are smoothed line using loess method

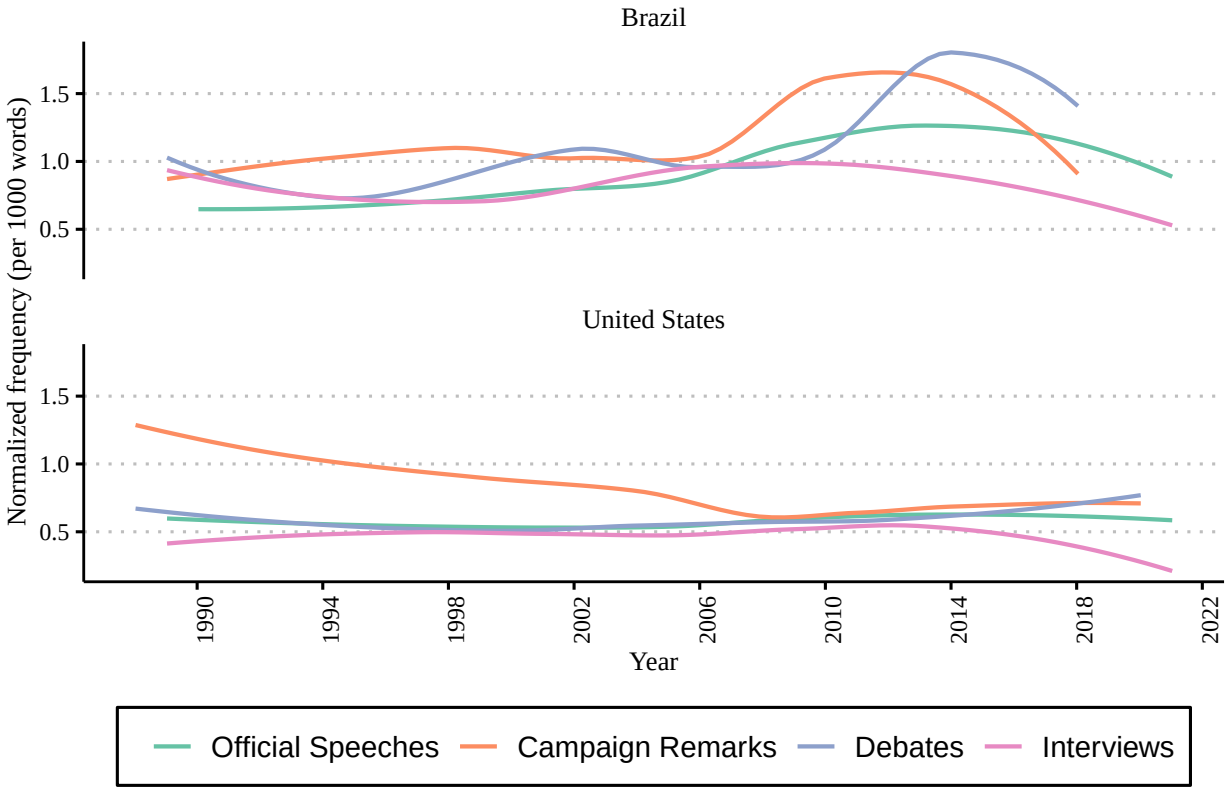
Authenticity performances about the self and about belonging vary more over time in the Brazil than in the US. In Brazil, authenticity performances about belonging were performed with greater frequency, especially in the forms of origins and common sense, during the period in which the Workers Party (PT) were in office (2002-2016). This trend began to change in the mid-2010s and by 2019, the first year of the Bolsonaro administration, we see a reversal of this pattern where authenticity performances about the self, especially in the form of truth telling, surpass authenticity performances about belonging. The mid-2010s in Brazil were marked by recurrent corruption scandals in politics and an economic crisis in Brazil. These factors arguably made authenticity performances associated with the PT governments less attractive to audiences and, in turn, politicians made efforts to favor other types of authenticity performances to distance themselves to how PT presidents performed authenticity. Conversely, in the US, the frequencies of authenticity performances about the self and about belonging remained relatively similar over time. Nevertheless, from the mid-2010s onwards there is a steady increase in authenticity performances about belonging, in the forms of origins and vulgarism, and a general decrease in performances about the self, in the forms of truth telling and consistency. The change in favor of authenticity performances that focus on shared cultural connections between politicians and audiences, arguably, reflects a response to American electorates that feel unrepresented by politicians they perceive to be disconnected with the opinions of ordinary citizens (see Bøggild 2020).

4.2 Authenticity Performances and Settings

In Brazil and the US debates have recently become the setting in which authenticity is performed most frequently whereas interviews are the setting in which authenticity is performed least. Figure 3, below, illustrates authenticity performances in Brazil and the US across setting over time. The x-axis represents the years and the y-axis represents the normalized values of authenticity performances. The colored lines represent different settings. In the US, authenticity performances occurred most frequently in campaign settings until the mid-2000s, but steadily decrease over time [14]. Alongside this, authenticity performances in debates generally increased from the mid-2000s onwards in the US. Conversely, in the case of Brazil, authenticity performances in campaigns, debates, and speeches generally increased until the mid-2010s. However, from the mid-2010s onwards we see a sharp decline in all authenticity performances. Debates, as large-scale media events that requires candidates to answer quick to sometimes unpredictable questions, became important sources of "sticky" sound and video bites charged with imagery that circulate in diverse media platforms to epitomize political cycles across democracies making it conducive to authenticity performances (Foley 2012; Coleman 2000). Relatedly, the spread of social media gave politicians alternative outlets to interact directly with audiences, bypassing journalists and their filters in interviews, while performing authenticity directly to wider portions of the electorate (see Alexander 2011, 106).

[14] The fixed-effects model in Table 7 in Appendix shows additional details about the correlations between authenticity performances, category, and setting in Brazil and the US.

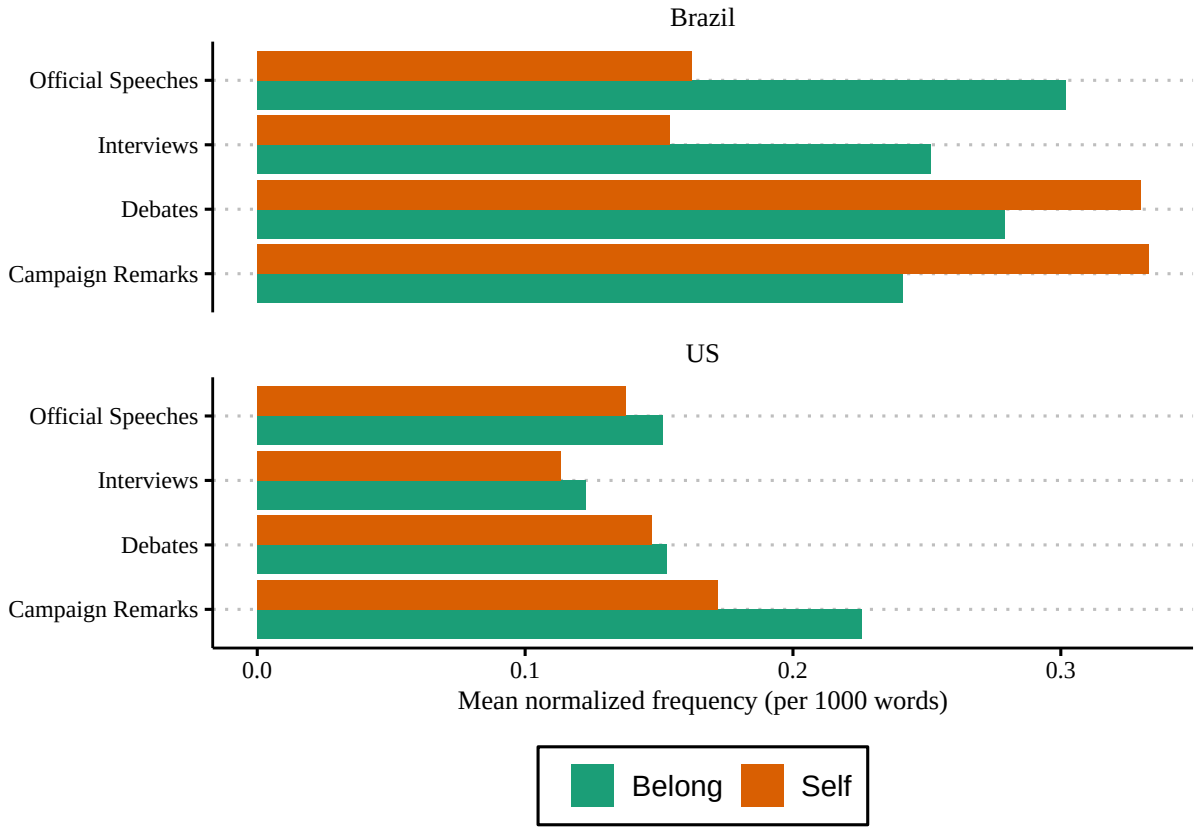
Figure 3: Authenticity Performances by Setting Over Time in Brazil and the US



Curves in the plot are smoothed using loess method.

Authenticity is performed in more diverse ways across different settings in Brazil than in the US. Figure 4, below, illustrates the averages for authenticity performances about the self and about belonging in Brazil and the US across settings. The x-axis represents the mean normalized averages and the y-axis represents the settings. The colored columns represent the category of authenticity performances. In the US, authenticity performances about belonging appear more frequently on average across all settings, especially in campaigns. In Brazil, authenticity performances about belonging appear more frequently on average in official speeches and interviews, while authenticity performances about the self-appear more frequently on average in debates and campaigns. Politicians in the US are, arguably, more consistent in the authenticities they perform independent of the setting they speak at in comparison to Brazil where setting affects which authenticities are performed.

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



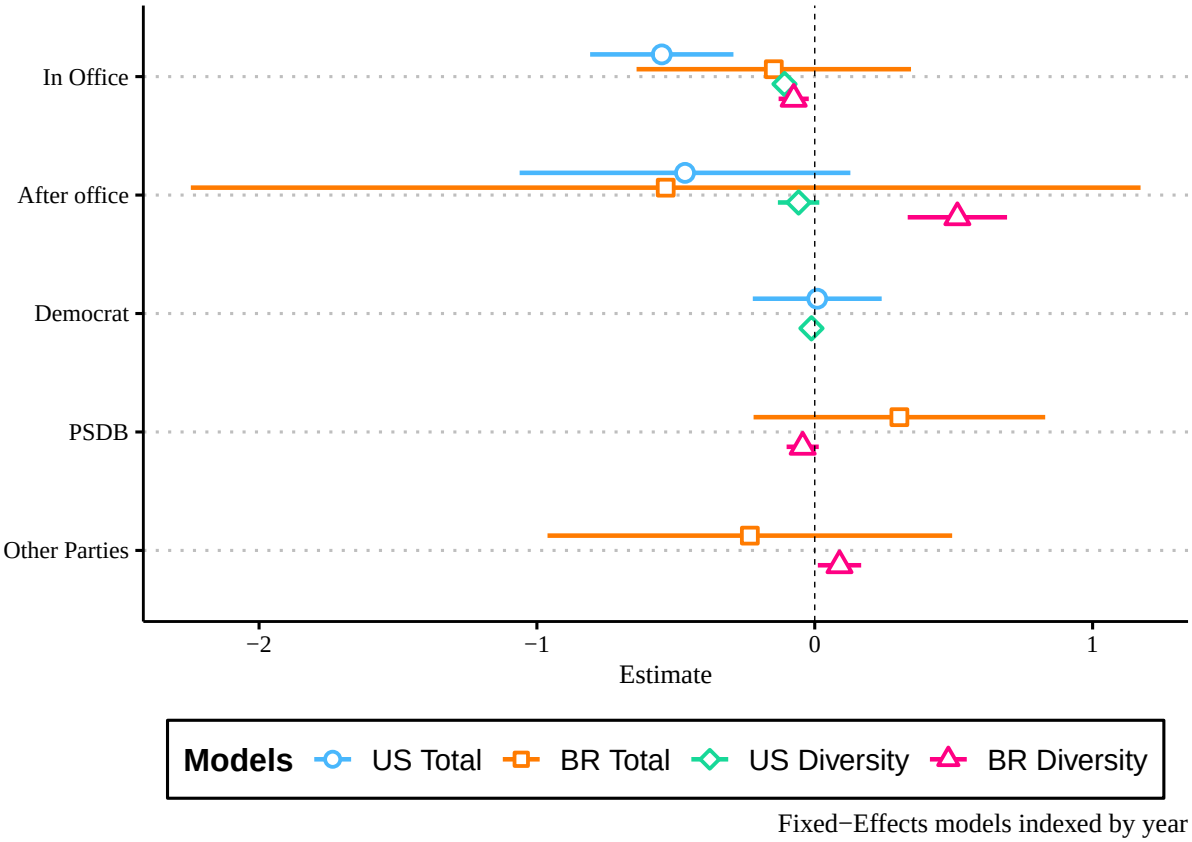
4.3 Authenticity Performances and Politicians' Roles

In the US, presidential candidates perform authenticity more frequently than elected presidents while, in Brazil, authenticity is performed at comparable rates independent of a politicians' role. Figure 5, below, illustrates the relationship between politicians' roles and the normalized total for authenticity performances or the diversity scores for authenticity performances. The x-axis represents the estimated coefficients by the fixed-effects models and the y-axis represents the independent variable, politicians' roles, and the control variable, political party. The lines in the figure represent the standard errors generated by each of the models. In practice, lines that do not touch doted vertical line symbolize a statistically significant relationship [15]. The models about the total frequencies of authenticity performances (US Total and BR Total) suggest that politicians in the US perform authenticity less frequently when in office in comparison to candidates, the reference category. Candidates in the US are likely running for a first time for president and must perform authenticities more frequently to attract national attention and secure party nominations. Once in office, presidents perform authenticity significantly less frequently. This also helps explain why there is a negative relationship between authenticity performances and election years in the US (section 4.1 above), as incumbents running from office perform authenticity less often. In

[15]For more information see the full model in Table 8 in Appendix.

Brazil, even though authenticity performances happen at a higher frequency and are more diverse across settings (sections 4.1. and 4.2 above), authenticity performances take place at comparable frequencies regardless of politicians' roles.

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



Presidents are less diverse in the ways in which they perform authenticity when in office in Brazil and the US. The models about the diversity of authenticity performances (US Diversity and BR Diversity) correlate the diversity of performances and politicians' roles. As candidates, politicians tend to perform authenticity in multiple authenticities rather than focus on one authenticity. In both cases, presidents learn from what types of performance "stick" when campaigning and, once in office, adapt to perform authenticities that work for them. In the case of Brazil, politicians also perform authenticity in remarkably diverse ways after they leave office. Unlike the US where there is a two-term limit, elected presidents in Brazil can become candidates again even after serving two consecutive terms if they take a four-year break. In such, they can back at campaigning even after having left office.

5 Conclusion

This article develops an original framework to identify and compare how authenticity is performed in political discourses over time, across settings, and by politicians. To demon-

strate 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, while appearing authentic influences election outcomes, authenticity is not performed more frequently in election years. Authenticity is generally performed with greater frequency in Brazil than in the US. Brazil's party fragmentation and weak partisanship provide incentives for politicians to display individualistic behavior that might include performing authenticity more often and in more diverse forms across settings, in comparison to the US where politicians are typically more constrained by their parties. In both countries debates have become the setting in which authenticity is performed most frequently recently, whereas interviews are the setting in which authenticity is performed least frequently. Debates are large scale media events that produce "sticky" sound and visual bites charged with imagery that circulate more than ever in democracies. Relatedly, social media platforms give politicians diverse outlets to interact directly with audiences, bypassing journalists in interviews. In the US, presidential candidates perform authenticity more frequently than elected presidents while, in Brazil, authenticity is performed at comparable rates independent of a politicians' role. In both cases, presidential candidate s' tend to perform in multiple types of authenticities but, once elected, presidents learn from what types of performance "stick" and adapt to perform only the authenticities that work for them.

This article lays down the foundations for comparative research on authenticity in politics. Conceptually, this article provides the first framework for identifying and comparing diverse authenticity performances in politics. Empirically, besides the datasets of political texts for presidents and presidential candidates, this article provides the first comparative overview of how, where, and when authenticity has been performed in politics in in Brazil and the US since 1988. Future research should move beyond the frequency and forms in which authenticities are performed, to consider how, when, and where each of these authenticity performances help to build electoral trust from electorates (see Weinberg 2023). Likewise, future research should investigate authenticity performances in different types of politico-electoral systems, such as electoral autocracies. This could be especially pertinent to understand how certain autocratic politicians discursively collect support from large portions of populations even when they might not be democratically accountable to them. Additionally, since authenticity is one of many forms of collecting and maintaining support when "doing politics", future research should investigate how authenticity performances interact, affect, and change electorates perception of public policies. Lastly, it is important to expand on the ways in which different social media platforms mediate gendered and ethno-racial performances of authenticity to broad audiences (see Welp and Ruth 2017). Given the importance of authenticity perceptions for political outcomes, better understanding the role of authenticity in politics could be essential to understand why elected politicians frequently do not appear representative of their own electorates.

It is an enormous challenge for political scientists to understand when, why, and how political discourses matter for political outcomes in democracies. We have long known, for example, that the diffusion of mass media has not made electorates better informed about politics or about politicians' governing programs (Denton 1988). Still, political scientists continuously engage with the meaning related to what politicians say to explain electoral

outcomes. A misplaced engagement with the logic of why electorates and politicians behave as they do contribute to furthering political polarization by passing on the blame for "undesirable" political outcomes to a lumped together group of "old, rural, or uneducated" electorates. This is especially true for a significant portion of the populism literature that focus on materialist explanations (i.e. economically left behind) for electoral behavior (see Schäfer 2022), while frequently disregarding other important aspects of "doing politics" as authenticity. Authenticity performances, as a framework, offers an alternative to understand what certain political discourses are, how they change over time, and why they might matter for political outcomes.

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.

Blankenship, Jane, and Deborah C Robson. 1995. "A 'Feminine Style' in Women's Political Discourse: An Exploratory Essay." *Communication Quarterly* 43 (3): 353–66.

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.

Carlo, Josnei, and Joao Kamradt. 2018. "Bolsonaro e a Cultura Do Politicamente Incorreto Na Politica Brasileira." *Teoria e Cultura* 13 (2).

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.

Cohen, David L. 1972. "The Concept of Charisma and the Analysis of Leadership." *Political Studies* 20 (3): 299–305.

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.

Dos Santos, Pedro, and Farida Jalalazai. 2021. *Women's Empowerment and Disempowerment 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.

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.

Hibbing, Matthew V, Melinda Ritchie, and Mary R Anderson. 2011. "Personality and Political Discussion." *Political Behavior* 33: 601–24.

Hughes, Geoffrey. 2011. *Political Correctness: A History of Semantics and Culture*. John Wiley; Sons.

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? Com-

paring Party Positions and Public Attitudes on Immigration in England." *Politics* 39 (2): 154–69.

Lobo, Marina Costa, and John Curtice. 2014. *Personality Politics?: The Role of Leader Evaluations in Democratic Elections*. OUP Oxford.

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.

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.

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.

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.

Ragin, Charles C. 1987. *The Comparative Method: Moving Beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies*. JSTOR.

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.

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.

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.

Spinrad, William. 1991. "Charisma: A Blighted Concept and an Alternative Formula." *Political Science Quarterly* 106 (2): 295–311.

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.

Weber, Max. 2009. *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. Simon; Schuster.

Weigel, Moira. 2016. "Political Correctness: How the Right Invented a Phantom Enemy." *The Guardian* 30: 2016.

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.

Appendix

Table 3: Authenticity Performances Codebook

Authenticity Performance	Lexicon English	Lexicon Portuguese
Truth Telling	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, n<U+00E3>o e mentira, n<U+00E3>o estou mentindo, e honesto, sou honesto, somos honesto, sendo honesto, a honestidade, ser sincero, e sincero, com sinceridade, e verdade, s<U+00E3>o verdadeiras, n<U+00E3>o sou mentiroso, n<U+00E3>o minto, fundo do meu cora<U+00E7><U+00E3>o, 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 confi<U+00E1>vel, somos confi<U+00E1>veis, as coisas s<U+00E3>o assim, a realidade das coisas, juro por deus, com certeza, digo com precis<U+00E3>o, veracidade, premissa, afirmo para voc<U+00EA>s, isso e como aconteceu, falar umas verdades
Lie accusations	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	n<U+00E3>o e verdade, n<U+00E3>o e verdadeiro, e mentiroso, est<U+00E1> mentindo, s<U+00E3>o mentiroso, e mentira, de mentira, tudo mentira, e desonesto, mentiram, mentiu, um desonesto, esse desonesto, de desonesto, s<U+00E3>o desonesto, e falso, s<U+00E3>o falsos, s<U+00E3>o corruptos, e corrupto, de corrupto, todos corrupto, n<U+00E3>o s<U+00E3>o sincero, n<U+00E3>o e sincero, n<U+00E3>o s<U+00E3>o honestos, n<U+00E3>o e honesto, s<U+00E3>o trapaceiros, e trapaceiro, eles trapaceiam, trapaceou, e enganar, ser enganado, v<U+00E3>o enganar, sendo enganados, e hip<U+00F3>crita, e enganador, e engana<U+00E7><U+00E3>o, duas caras, enganado por, n<U+00E3>o acredite, eles finge, ele finge, e fingimento, ela finge, quebrou a sua confian<U+00E7>a , quebra de confian<U+00E7>a, e falso, s<U+00E3>o falsos, falsidade, e fic<U+00E7><U+00E3>o, hist<U+00F3>ria para boi dormir, historinha para boi dormir, e calunia, s<U+00E3>o calunias, difama<U+00E7><U+00E3>o, difamar, uma inverdade, s<U+00E3>o inverdades, e inverdade, isso e inven<U+00E7><U+00E3>o, essas s<U+00E3>o inven<U+00E7><U+00F5>es, isso e uma lenda, essas s<U+00E3>o ledas, tenta iludir, tentando iludir, uma farsa, tramoia, mal intencionado, mas inten<U+00E7><U+00F5>es, falta de informa<U+00E7><U+00E3>o, esta mal-informado, est<U+00E3>o mal-informados

Table 3: Authenticity Performances Codebook *(continued)*

Authenticity Performance	Lexicon English	Lexicon Portuguese
Consistency	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	n<U+00F3>s entregamos, eu entreguei, veja com seus pr<U+00F3>prios olhos, cumpro minhas palavras, cumprimos nossas palavra, cumpri minha palavra, cumpro minhas promessas, nossas promessa, um compromisso, meu compromisso, tenho um compromisso com, eu sou respons<U+00E1>vel, eu assumo a responsabilidade, n<U+00F3>s somos respons<U+00E1>veis, n<U+00F3>s assumimos a responsabilidade, nosso dever, meu dever, dou minha palavra, fa<U+00E7>o 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 confian<U+00E7>a, encarrego pessoalmente, encarreguei pessoalmente, estou comprometido, meu comprometimento, comprometimento com, o comprometimento, fazer o poss<U+00ED>vel, minha supervis<U+00E3>o, minha miss<U+00E3>o, nossa miss<U+00E3>o, no meu governo, no nosso governo, durante nosso governo, eu era encarregado, eu era o encarregado, fomos encarregados de
Finger Pointing	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, s<U+00E3>o inconsistente, e irrespons<U+00E1>vel, s<U+00E3>o irrespons<U+00E1>veis, culpa deles, a culpa n<U+00E3>o e minha, n<U+00E3>o e minha culpa, eles n<U+00F3>s deixaram, s<U+00E3>o respons<U+00E1>veis, e respons<U+00E1>vel, n<U+00F3>s custou, falsas promessas, falta de presta<U+00E7><U+00E3>o de contas, falharam, falhou, n<U+00E3>o cumpriu, n<U+00E3>o cumpriram, n<U+00E3>o reconheceu, n<U+00E3>o reconheceram, errou, erraram, n<U+00E3>o se responsabiliza, n<U+00E3>o 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, s<U+00E3>o trapaceiros, cometeu erros, cometeram erros, n<U+00E3>o reconhece, n<U+00E3>o reconheceu, assumiu a responsabilidade, promete uma coisa, promete o mundo, traiu a confian<U+00E7>a, traiu a sua confian<U+00E7>a, quebra de confian<U+00E7>a, quebraram sua confian<U+00E7>a, e falcatrua, foi falcatrua, cheio de falcatrua, houve fraude, houveram fraudes, fraudulento, uma negociata, facada nas costas, faltou com respeito, n<U+00E3>o faz o que promete, n<U+00E3>o fez o que promete, promessas em v<U+00E3>o, palavras em v<U+00E3>o, falta de comprometimento, falta de compromisso, houveram desvio, houve desvio, a culpa e do, cheio de promessas, a conta n<U+00E3>o fecha, n<U+00E3>o terminaram

Table 3: Authenticity Performances Codebook *(continued)*

Authenticity Performance	Lexicon English	Lexicon Portuguese
Origins	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, n<U+00F3>s crescemos, meus pais, minha m<U+00E3>e, minha m<U+00E3>e, minha fam<U+00ED>lia, fui criado, fomos criados, minhas origens, meus irm<U+00E3>os, meu irm<U+00E3>o, minha irm<U+00E3>, tradi<U+00E7><U+00E3>o familiar, tradi<U+00E7><U+00E3>o em casa, crescendo, antigamente, meu av<U+00F4>, minha av<U+00F3>, meus av<U+00F3>s, na minha cidade, no meu estado, na minha regi<U+00E3>o, nossa comunidade, na minha comunidade, nossa cidade, nosso estado, cidade natal, estado de origem, minha casa, nossa casa, l<U+00E1> em casa, nosso bairro, no meu bairro, eu morava, viv<U+00ED>amos, na minha terra, de onde eu venho, missa de domingo, missa toda semana, brincava, eram outros tempos, fui educado, mor<U+00E1>vamos, eu morei, n<U+00F3>s moramos, de onde venho, eram tempos diferentes
Common Sense	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 <U+00F3>bvio, todos concordam, todos sabemos, sabemos todos, todos n<U+00F3>s sabemos, sabedoria popular, por experi<U+00EA>ncia, e minha experi<U+00EA>ncia, sou pr<U+00E1>tico, tem que ser pr<U+00E1>tico, devemos ser pr<U+00E1>tico, sendo pr<U+00E1>tico, sou pragm<U+00E1>tico, tem que ser pragm<U+00E1>tico, devemos ser pragm<U+00E1>tico, sendo pragm<U+00E1>tico, sou realista, sendo realista, sejamos realista, realisticamente falando, e <U+00F3>bvio, como todos n<U+00F3>s aprendemos, como sabemos, n<U+00E3>o preciso te dizer, o povo sabe, agente aprendeu, n<U+00F3>s aprendemos, n<U+00F3>s sabemos, n<U+00E3>o tem logica, como aprendemos, n<U+00E3>o faz sentido, n<U+00E3>o fazem sentido, estamos cansados de saber, sabemos que n<U+00E3>o funciona, ningu<U+00E9>m discorda que, n<U+00E3>o tem uma pessoa, n<U+00E3>o existe uma pessoa, n<U+00E3>o h<U+00E1> uma pessoa, n<U+00E3>o existe um ser humano, n<U+00E3>o tem um ser humano, n<U+00E3>o h<U+00E1> um ser humano, n<U+00E3>o tem uma fam<U+00ED>lia, n<U+00E3>o existe uma fam<U+00ED>lia, n<U+00E3>o h<U+00E1> uma fam<U+00ED>lia, n<U+00E3>o tem um brasileiro, n<U+00E3>o h<U+00E1> um Brasileiro, n<U+00E3>o existe um brasileiro, n<U+00E3>o tem uma brasileira, n<U+00E3>o h<U+00E1> uma Brasileira, n<U+00E3>o existe uma brasileira

Table 3: Authenticity Performances Codebook *(continued)*

Authenticity Performance	Lexicon English	Lexicon Portuguese
Vulgarism	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 l<U+00ED>ngua, n<U+00E3>o vou fingir, n<U+00E3>o estou aqui para agradar, falar o que voc<U+00EA> pensa, o que voc<U+00EA> quer ouvir, n<U+00E3>o adulterar, n<U+00E3>o rodeio, n<U+00E3>o dou rodeio, direto ao ponto, dizer o que todos pensam, dizendo o que penso, dizendo o que todos pensam, dizer o que todos est<U+00E3>o pensando, n<U+00E3>o vou amaciar, n<U+00E3>o d<U+00E1> para amaciar, gordos, retardado, retardada, veado, popula<U+00E7><U+00E3>o preta, os pretos, as pretas, terceiro mundo, viciado em drogas, b<U+00EA>bado, drogado, sem cultura, pervertidos, prom<U+00ED>scuo, imbecil, estupido, aleijado, defeituoso, incapacitado, inv<U+00E1>lido, mongoloide, deficiente mental, defici<U+00EA>ncia mental, o incapacitado, a incapacitada, travesti, homossexualismo
Territory	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, visitar<U+00E1>, visitarei, vi em primeira m<U+00E3>o, ver em primeira m<U+00E3>o, visitamos, viajei para, passei alguns dias em, passei algum tempo em, passei um tempo, conheci <U+00F3>timas pessoas, conhecemos <U+00F3>timas 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, conhe<U+00E7>o todo o pais, conheci todo o pais, conheci todo o Brasil, conhe<U+00E7>o todo o Brasil

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

Table 4: Authenticity Performances and Election Years in Brazil and the US

	Dependent variable:
	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^2	0.534
Adjusted R^2	0.467
Residual Std. Error	0.442 (df = 28)
F Statistic	8.019*** (df = 4; 28)
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 5: Authenticity Performances by year in Brazil - Linear Model

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

Table 6: Average Normalized Proportion of Authenticity Performances in Brazil and the US (per 1000 words)

	Dependent variable:	
	Total Frequency	
	Brazil	US
	(1)	(2)
SettingCampaign Remarks	−0.204	0.288***
	(0.203)	(0.073)
SettingDebates	−0.034	−0.017
	(0.214)	(0.105)
SettingInterviews	−0.216*	−0.116*
	(0.125)	(0.065)
TypeSelf	−0.559***	−0.055
	(0.118)	(0.065)
SettingCampaign Remarks:TypeSelf	0.926***	−0.160
	(0.263)	(0.101)
SettingDebates:TypeSelf	0.761***	0.033
	(0.278)	(0.140)
SettingInterviews:TypeSelf	0.169	0.017
	(0.172)	(0.092)
Observations	150	194
R^2	0.298	0.222
Adjusted R^2	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 7: Authenticity Performances by Type and Setting in Brazil and the US - Fixed-Effects by Year

	Dependent variable:			
	Total Normalized Frequency		Diversity Score	
	US	Brazil	US	Brazil
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
statusIn Office	-0.551^{***}	-0.147	-0.109^{***}	-0.076^{***}
	(0.132)	(0.252)	(0.016)	(0.028)
statusAfter office	-0.467	-0.536	-0.058	0.513^{***}
	(0.304)	(0.872)	(0.038)	(0.091)
partyDemocratic	0.009		-0.012	
	(0.118)		(0.015)	
partyPSDB		0.305		-0.043
		(0.268)		(0.029)
partyOther		-0.234		0.089^{**}
		(0.372)		(0.040)
Observations	139	113	139	110
R^2	0.147	0.038	0.315	0.391
Adjusted R^2	-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)
Note:				*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8: Authenticity Performances by Setting, Type, Status, and Party in Brazil and the US - Fixed-Effects by Year