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

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Abstract

Political authenticity is connected to higher levels of political trust from electorates and can influence political outcomes, but it is often overlooked as a relevant factor for electoral behavior. To date, 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 and across settings 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 by 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.

- 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
Truth Telling	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
Lie Accusations	Mentions dishonesty, untruthfulness, and/or insincerity when used to describe others by stating, for example, that someone 'is/are lairs' or that something is 'not the truth'	Politician appears more sincere vis-a-vis others	Self
Consistency	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
Finger Pointing	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
Origins	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
Common Sense	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
Territory	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
anti-PC	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
US	Bush, Dukakis, Clinton, Dole,	Speeches	12866
	W. Bush, Gore, Kerry, McCain,	Campaign	1545
	Obama, Romney, H. Clinton, Trump, and Biden	Debates Interviews Speeches	24 829 5782
Brazil	Collor, Lula, Franco, Cardoso,	Campaign	175
	Serra, Alckmin, Rousseff, Neves,	Debates	258
	Temer, Haddad, and Bolsonaro	Interviews	17

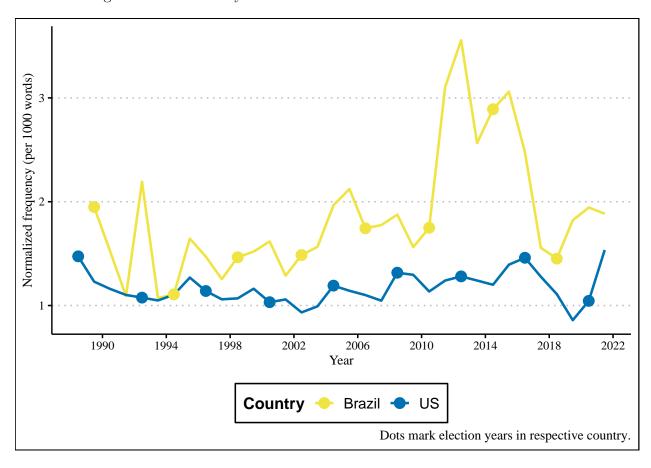
Table 2: Text Data for Brazil and the US

3.3. Limitations

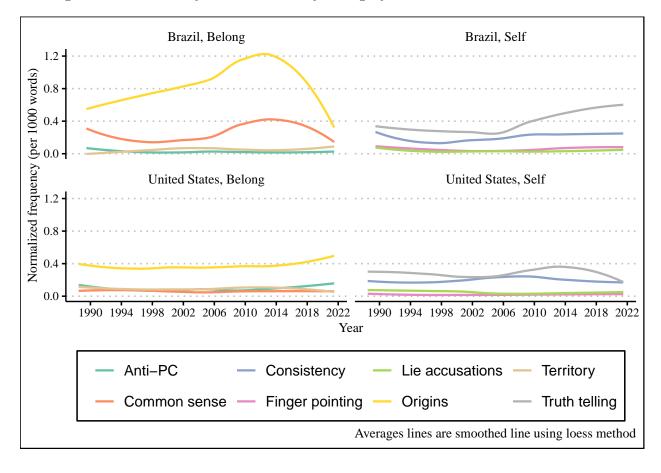
4 Analysis: How authenticity is performed in Brazil and the United States?

4.1 Authenticity Performances and Time

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

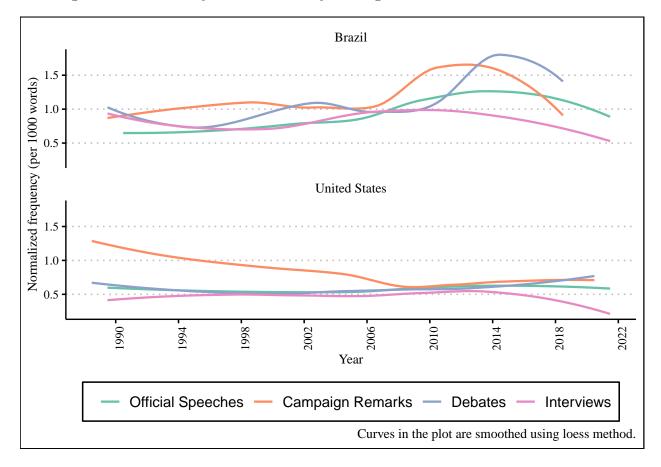


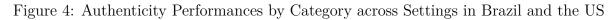


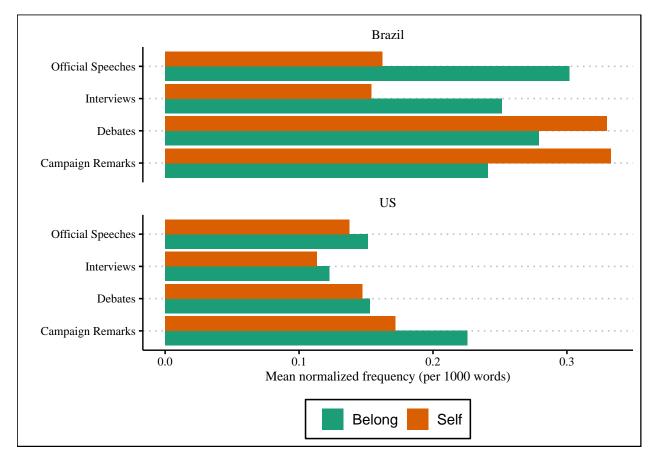


4.2 Authenticity Performances and Settings

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







4.3 Authenticity Performances and Politicians' Roles

In Office

After office

Democrat

PSDB

Other Parties

—2
—1
Estimate

Models → US Total → BR Total → US Diversity

Fixed-Effects models indexed by year

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

5 Conclusion

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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 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, will come clean, are coming clean, are coming clean, are coming clean, believe me, I am certain, no bullshitt, not bullshitting Lexicon Portuguese a verdade, e, esta e a verdade, digo a verdade, dizemos a verdade, pura verdade, nao e mentira, nao estou mentindo, e honesto, som honesto, somos honesto, som os honesto, som os honesto, som os verdadeiros, somo verdadeiros, nao sou mentiroso, nao minto, fundo do meu coracao, sou verdadeiros, somos verdadeiros, somos francos, fraqueza, falando a verdade, falo a verdade, pura verdade, somo sou honesto, somos honesto, somos honesto, somos frances, is truthonest, an honestidade, sou verdadeiros, somos verdadeiros, somos francos, fraqueza, falando a verdade, falo a verdade, falamos a verdade, somos honesto, somos francos, fraqueza, falando a verdade, falo a verdade, somos honesto, somos francos, somos franco		Table 5: Authenticity Pe	eriormances Codebook
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 qupfront, will come clean, am coming clean, are coming clean, is straightforward, believe me, I am certain, no bullshit, not		Lexicon English	Lexicon Portuguese
	Truth Telling	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	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

Table 5: Authenticity Performances Codebook (continued)

	Table 5: Authenticity Performances Codebook (continued)	
Authenticity Performance	Lexicon English	Lexicon Portuguese
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 misinformed, pretended,	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

cut the crap, full of crap

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	nos entregamos, eu entreguei, veja com seus proprios 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 responsavel, eu assumo a responsabilidade, nos somos responsaveis, nos assumimos a responsabilidade, nosse 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 supervisac minha missao, nossa missao, no meu governo, no nosso governo, durante nosso governo, eu era encarregado, eu era encarregado, fomos encarregados de

was in charge

Authenticity
Performance

Lexicon English

Lexicon Portuguese

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, 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 prestação 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

Authenticity	Table 5: Authenticity Perform
Performance	Devicon English
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
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,

Lexicon Portuguese

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 regiao, 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

mon sense, are common sense, everyone it is undeniable, stating the obvious, obvious, everyone agrees, we all know, on wisdom, the people know, popular edge, from experience, it is my ence, sound judgment, practical n, practical choice, practical answer, atic solution, pragmatic answer, atic choice, realistic answer, let me tell out, is obvious, are obvious, obvious obvious solution, as we all learned, e all learned that, do not need to tell at, the reality is, there is no logic, it ot make sense, it doesn't make sense, w it does not work, no one disagrees o person disagrees, there is not a there is not a human being, there is amily, there is not an American, there ingle citizen, there is not one single 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
anti-PC	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,	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
Territory	promiscuous, stupid, tribe, underdeveloped 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

	Dependent variable:
	value
Election Year	-0.043
	(0.124)
United States	-0.688***
	(0.108)
Constant	1.870***
	(0.083)
Observations	67
\mathbb{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<

Table 6: 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
\mathbb{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<

Table 7: 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
$\mathbf{Origins}$	0.34	0.85
Common Sense	0.06	0.25
Territorial	0.10	0.05
Anti-PC	0.09	0.03

Table 8: 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)	
categorySelf	-0.559***	-0.055	
	(0.118)	(0.065)	
SettingCampaign Remarks:categorySelf	0.926***	-0.160	
	(0.263)	(0.101)	
SettingDebates:categorySelf	0.761***	0.033	
	(0.278)	(0.140)	
SettingInterviews:categorySelf	0.169	0.017	
	(0.172)	(0.092)	
Observations	150	194	
\mathbb{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 9: Authenticity Performances by Category 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		
\mathbb{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 10: Authenticity Performances by Setting, Category, Status, and Party in Brazil and the US - Fixed-Effects by Year

Note:

	Dependent variable:			
	Total Normalized Frequency		Diversity Score	
	$\overline{\mathrm{US}}$	Brazil	US	Brazil
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
statusIn office	-0.311***	0.183	-0.095***	-0.063***
	(0.084)	(0.172)	(0.015)	(0.023)
statusAfter office	-0.263	0.392	-0.042	0.507^{***}
	(0.176)	(0.573)	(0.031)	(0.075)
categorySelf	-0.227^{***}	$0.026^{'}$	-0.000	0.000
	(0.077)	(0.139)	(0.014)	(0.019)
settingspeeches	-0.067	-0.139	-0.033^{**}	-0.018
3 1	(0.073)	(0.208)	(0.013)	(0.027)
settingdebates	-0.234^{***}	$0.034^{'}$	-0.033^{**}	-0.001
	(0.081)	(0.189)	(0.014)	(0.025)
settinginterviews	-0.242^{***}	-0.343^{**}	-0.038***	$0.029^{'}$
G	(0.069)	(0.169)	(0.012)	(0.022)
partyDemocratic	0.007	(3 - 2)	-0.012	()
party Democratic	(0.054)		(0.010)	
partyPSDB	()	0.150	(/	-0.043**
partyress		(0.135)		(0.019)
partyOther		-0.167		0.101***
party other		(0.192)		(0.026)
statusIn office:categorySelf	0.142	-0.535^{***}	-0.000	-0.000
5000 40222 02220000000000000000000000000	(0.096)	(0.194)	(0.017)	(0.026)
statusAfter office:categorySelf	0.107	-1.202	0.000	-0.000
suddan in on it is a second of the second of	(0.202)	(0.735)	(0.036)	(0.096)
Observations	278	226	278	220
\mathbb{R}^2	0.185	0.129	0.349	0.416
Adjusted R ²	0.039	-0.071	0.232	0.278
F Statistic	$5.911^{***} (df = 9; 235)$	$2.706^{***} (df = 10; 183)$	$13.968^{***} (df = 9; 235)$	$12.625^{***} (df = 10; 177)$

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

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

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