"Just saying what we are all thinking" : Anti-Political Correctness and Authenticity Performances in Politics in Brazil and the United States

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Abstract

Various politicians have publicly denounced "political correctness" (PC). While some scholars argue that anti-PC discourses in politics are populist tools to label elites (Mudde 2004) or a form of cultural backlash against liberal changes (Norris and Inglehart 2019), these explanations focus on specific manifestations of anti-PC by specific politicians that embody their arguments. This article argues that anti-PC discourses are performances of authenticity in politics. As authenticity performances, anti-PC discourses reduce the perceived link between thinking and saying for audiences (Conway et al. 2009). A framework for identifying several discursive performances of authenticity in politics, beyond anti-PC, that focuses on displays (what), projections (who, when, and where), and mechanisms (how) is developed. A purpose-built dictionary of terms is designed to detect authenticity performances in text datasets of campaign rallies, debates, interviews, and official speeches gathered for presidents and presidential candidates in Brazil and the United States since the 1980s. The analysis indicates that authenticities are not performed more frequently in election years, politicians usually perform authenticities most when they are candidates or after having left office. However, in the case of Brazil, authenticity performances spiked from 2010 to 2016 while Dilma Rousseff was in office. Nonetheless, the types of authenticity performed over time changed in each case, indicating that contextual conditions make some types of performances more, or less, credible to audiences and that politicians adapt to perform what audiences "want to hear". Lastly, debates have become the setting in which authenticity is performed most frequently, whereas interviews are the setting in which authenticity is performed least frequently, in both cases in recent years.

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1 Introduction

In the second sentence of his inaugural speech as president of Brazil, Jair Bolsonaro declared the day in which the people began to be free from political correctness [1]. Bolsonaro is not unique in this sense, politicians as Trump, Chavez, Morales, Berlusconi, Bush, Sanders, and Lula, have openly denounced political correctness (PC) [2] and/or publicly employed politically incorrect language [3]. Broad audiences appear to respond positively to these statements in multicultural countries, such as the United States (US) and Brazil, where large portions of the population fall under racial, ethnic, and other categories PC language attempts to safeguard [4]. Populist scholars argue that contemporary populists' profit from breaking with PC language and use PC to identify modern elites (Mudde 2004) [5]. Cultural backlash scholars argue that anti-PC discourses speak to resentment caused by silent liberal changes (Norris and Inglehart 2019). However, both populism and cultural backlash focus on specific manifestations of these discourses by specific leaders that embody their arguments, leaving aside any systematic or empirical analysis of language usage or patterns across contexts. *How, then, do anti-PC discourses appear and change over time in politics?*

This paper argues that anti-PC discourses in politics are performances of authenticity. Performances are the projections of definitions of a situation to others (Goffman 1956). Authenticity, as a perceived character trait that conveys ones' convictions, is connected to higher levels of political trust from electorates (Stiers et al. 2021; Valgarosson et al. 2021) and is essential to a candidate's political success [seem@alexander2010; Fordahl (2018)]. As an authenticity performance, anti-PC language reduces the perceived link between "thinking and saying" to audiences (Conway et al. 2009; Conway, Repke, and Houck 2017). But anti-PC is not the only type of authenticity performance in politics. This article, therefore, develops a framework to identify various types of authenticity performances in political discourses. The framework focuses on the performative display (what), the projection (who, when, and where), and the mechanisms (how). Authenticity performances are divided into two types, individual and collective. Individual authenticity performances derive plausibility from audiences' expectations about a political performer. These performances include claims of truth telling, lie accusations, taking responsibility for actions, or pointing fingers at other politicians' mistakes. Collective authenticity performances derive plausibility from the shared cultural knowledge between politicians and audiences. These include references to origins, allusions to common sense, anti-PC discourses, or assertions of territorial knowledge.

Political discourses at the national level in Brazil and the US since the 1980s were gathered and explored to assess variations over time, by politicians, and across different settings. The 1980s were chosen as the starting point as they both mark the beginning of the university debates surrounding PC language in the US and the decade in which democracy was re-established in Brazil. Texts for campaign rallies, debates, interviews, and official speeches for presidents and presidential candidates in Brazil and the US until December 2021 were scraped to construct the datasets. A purpose-built dictionary of terms was created to capture various authenticity performances, as anti-PC, in discourses.

[1] Find the whole speech here. Besides denouncing PC, Bolsonaro has also frequently referred to indigenous peoples and LGBT community in politically incorrect ways.

[2] PC is used as an abbreviation for political correctness and politically correct throughout the paper, that is, as a noun and as an adjective.

[3] Trump denounces PC and employs politically incorrect language across several domains ranging from immigration to race and indigenous people. Trump's 'war' on PC is frequently brought up in campaign rallies and on Twitter. Morales displays 'bad manners', favors plain speaking and is not PC often making sexist and homophobic comments. When it comes to Hugo Chavez, the leader making public sexual comments during his talk show aired on national television, towards George W. Bush, among many others controversial remarks. Berlusconi has numerous times made references to Barack Obama's skin color in incorrect ways, made similar comments about some football players, and made several sexist and homophobic public remarks. Lula quickly recalled the national guide on PC language as he constantly used several of the expressions listed in his speeches and campaign rallies. Bush, while president, famously denounced PC language on campuses during a commencement speech. Bernie Sanders stated several times how important PC was for Trump's campaign and PC had gone too far.

[4] Most Americans appear unsupportive of PC language with estimations that range from 52% of the population (Montanaro 2018) to 80% of the population disliking PC (Mounk 2018). This change in percentages derives from the type of questions asked. For example, one poll asked if participants thought that PC was a big issue in the US, while another asked if they favored the process of the country becoming more politically correct. For Brazil, a recent national poll asked participants whether they agreed that the 'PC patrol is making the world too boring', 56% of participants agreed completely or partially with the statement (Goncalves and Goncalves 2020).

[5] To discuss whether, or the extent which, Bolsonaro and Trump are populists is not the objective of this paper, though there are many excellent discussions on this topic (see Tamaki and Fuks 2020; Hawkins and Rovira Kaltwasser 2018).

The analysis indicates that the frequencies of authenticity performances are not systematically greater in election years. Usually, politicians perform authenticities above the 95th percentile when they are candidates, before being elected a first time, or after having left office. However, in the case of Brazil, we see a spike in the frequency authenticity is performed in politics from 2010 to 2016, the Dilma Rousseff years in office. Women in politics, arguably, need to perform some authenticities to personally justify themselves and their public policy choices more frequently than the men in the sample. Moreover, the variation in types of authenticity performed over time and across cases indicates that contextual conditions make some performances more, or less, credible to audiences at certain junctures. Indeed, many authenticity performances appear in high frequencies for opposing, and associated, candidates in similar years. Politicians, thus, adapt to perform authenticities audiences "want to hear". Finally, debates have became the setting in which authenticity is performed most frequently, whereas interviews are the setting in which authenticity was performed the least frequently, in both cases in recent years. Debates are large-scale media events that produce "sticky" political bites charged with imagery that circulate more than ever in democracies. Alternatively, social media platforms give politicians diverse outlets to interact directly with audiences, bypassing journalists in interviews.

2 From PC and Anti-PC to Populism and Backlash

2.1 PC and anti-PC overview and effects

Definitions of PC range from an "idealistic intervention" to "liberal fascism" (Hughes 2011; Feldstein 1997). In practice, PC language avoids judgmental terms, preferring euphemistic substitutions and it presupposes that lexicon changes mediate discrimination in positive ways (Hughes 2011, 13) [6]. Anti-PC discourses, instead, represent a *dismissal of PC substitutions and/or the denouncing of PC language and users.* However, to understand what anti-PC language entails, we must first briefly overview PC's history and effects. The modern conception of PC originated in Mao Tsé-Tung's depiction of the 'correct' socialist party line in the 1930s, used to describe doing the right things and thinking the right thoughts (Hughes 2011). The term was picked up by leftist circles in the US during the 1960s and used to describe more orthodox followers of socialism or as a critique of excessive orthodoxy (Feldstein 1997; Weigel 2016; Hughes 2011). It was not until the 1980s that right-leaning conservative elites in the US, including many academics, started denouncing PC language substitutions as a left leaning strategy that restricted freedoms of speech (Feldstein 1997; Weigel 2016). These conservative elites were able to swiftly recycle the meaning of PC by keeping some of its' original meaning, but disconnecting it from historical context, and conflating it with enemy building narratives and imagery (Feldstein 1997).

The university debates in the 1980s and 1990s brought wide attention to PC, multiculturalism, and affirmative action in the US (Berman 2011). D'Souza (1991), for example, discussed the apparent duplicity between a liberal educational system and multicultural claims, arguing that PC further victimize minorities on campuses and undermine their merits with affirmative action policies that could potentially generate more racist backlash. As a response, Gutmann and Habermas highlighted how misplaced PC debates politicized and polarized important societal dialogues (Gutmann 1994). Yet, most multiculturalism scholars at the time dealt with PC as a matter of public or party disagreement and lamented their popularity with certain communities while leaving unaddressed the nature of PC language, the relation between the speaker's identity to the information provided, and why diverse communities related or contested semantic changes (Loury 1994). The university debates helped disseminate and connect matters of PC, affirmative action policies, and multiculturalism to left leaning (progressive) political ideologies and anti-PC to right-wing (conservative) ideologies across the world (Feldstein 1997; Bush 1995). By the mid-1990s, PC debates in the US had become as much about rhetorical strategies to forward ideological political agendas as about the diverse cultural movements' efforts to re-label (Feldstein 1997; Hall 1994).

[6] For a good discussion of lexicalization and language change in linguistics, refer to Brinton and Traugott (2005). For a discussion on the complexities involved in why language changes, and not, as well as how meaning might be affected by such changes refer to Bybee (2015)

The spreading of issues covered by PC language and the complex political forces supporting, and opposing, it required that the cultural and individual effects of PC in society be theorized. Hall (1994), for example, describes the ambiguous truth and contested cultural authority of the PC phenomenon to argue that individuals may disapprove of PC language because these are relatively new demands for cultural transformation. Similarly, Fairclough (2003, 24) argues that PC is a socially constructed cultural and political label for which effects depend on the resistance of structure and practices. Even though euphemistic substitutions are not a modern manifestation, as changing orthodoxies under moral imperatives exist since the invention of printing, PC language has expanded the number of substitutions (Hughes 2011). This expansion of PC language generates more abstract and imprecise replacements that can feel unnatural, create confusion, patronize subjects, and further socioeconomic inequalities via linguistic processes (Hughes 2011). This contributed to the evolution of PC from a noun used to describe language substitution to an adjective used to describe excess politeness or evasion of truths in society or for individuals (Weigel 2016; Chait 2015).

2.2 Anti-PC and populism(s)

In *The Populist Zeitgeist*, on the rise of populist parties in liberal democracies, Mudde (2004, 543) defines populism as a thin centered "ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, 'the pure people' versus the 'corrupt elite', and which argues that politics should be an expression of the volonté générale (general will) of the people". There are three mentions of PC in the article discussing how contemporary populists profit from breaking with politically correct language, because citizens' increased emancipation made issues surrounding PC more widespread, alongside how PC has been used to identify a modern elite (Mudde 2004, 594–602). Since then, populists have routinely been associated with anti-PC discourses, still, Mudde's analysis leaves undertheorized which elites are characterized as PC by various populist leaders with a variety of ideological commitments. This is puzzling since many political, economic, and intellectual elites are often the drivers of anti-PC discourses in societies. Moreover, for Mudde (2004), populism is not a standalone ideology (see Mudde 2007) [7]. This makes it hard to pinpoint if anti-PC discourses are a portion or manifestation of the populist (thin)ideology, an adjacent ideology, or a contextual feature of a specific society. Besides, the account leaves unclear when, and why, anti-PC discourses are a politically profitable strategy for populists but not for other political actors. In such, there appears to be a leap associating populism with anti-PC discourses without systematically or empirically analyzing its usage in time and patterns across contexts. Other influential theories of populism do not mention anti-PC discourses (see Weyland 2001; Laclau 2005; Hawkins 2009) and, when mentioned, anti-PC discourses fulfill a peripheral role to help identify exclusionary right-wing populist parties in Europe (Betz 2001).

Recent efforts to rethink populism as a political performance or a repertoire focus on patterns of communication in populism. For instance, Moffitt and Tormey (2014) (p. 387) argue that we must rethink populism as "the repertoires of performance that are used to create political relations". More specifically, we must think about how populists perform "the people", threats, breakdowns and crisis, and bad manners (Moffitt and Tormey 2014; Moffitt 2016). Concerning bad manners, the authors argue that "much of populists' appeal comes from their disregard for 'appropriate' ways of acting in the political realm" (Moffitt and Tormey 2014, 392). Bad manners often performed with swearing, slang words, and political incorrectness (Moffitt and Tormey 2014, 392). Performing these repertoires helps politicians appear as an "outsider" against the "establishment" (Moffitt and Tormey 2014; Moffitt 2016). Likewise, arguing against a minimal and pure definition of populism, Brubaker (2020, 60) contends that populism is a discourse and stylistic repertoire that includes "a communication style that claims to favor plain-speaking, common sense and authenticity against intellectualism and political correctness". Anti-PC discourses then are a portion of a broad populist communication style or repertoire, although favoring plain speaking, displaying bad manners, or being anti-PC are not exclusive to populists or connected to populist discourses by ideology [8].

[7] See Aslanidis (2016) for a good discussion on whether populism is an ideology.

[8] Brubaker (2017) view of anti-PC discourses is not inconsistent with Mudde (2004) point about PC and elites (see Brubaker 2020; Mudde 2007). Rather it implies that certain intellectual elites might be tagged as PC, not any elite, and this is connected to anti-intellectualism. This is also consistent with Hughes (2011) argument about PC language expansion that leaves some people feeling patronized and confused by PC language.

2.3 Anti-PC Backlash

At the intersection between populism, authoritarianism, and multiculturalism, *Cultural Backlash* argues that authoritarian populists appeal to more conservative portions of the population, who feel ignored seeing their societies shift towards post-materialism (Norris and Inglehart 2019). These factors, alongside economic fluctuations and immigration flows, allow leaders to exploit generational gaps by voicing cultural backlash and enacting reactionary policies (Norris and Inglehart 2019, 446). There are eight mentions of PC in the book. On anti-PC, the authors argue that social conservative individuals with authoritarian orientations react to some trends with feelings of resentment for the erosion of respect for their core values and that "is the essence of the backlash against 'political correctness', in which sexist language, anti-foreigner sentiments, or the expression of racist attitudes are condemned by the liberal consensus and silenced in mainstream political debate" (Norris and Inglehart 2019, 123). Rather than developing further the mechanisms of how anti-PC discourses work, deliberate on which types of anti-PC discourses connect to resentment, or exemplify what is meant by anti-PC discourses, the authors take for granted that anti-PC discourses are connected to resentment, and that is why they resonate with "old, rural, or uneducated" electorates [9]. Even so, anti-PC discourses appear to resonate more broadly within societies for various reasons, many unrelated to resentment (e.g. humor) [10]. How Bolsonaro, for example, employs anti-PC in quick, direct, and short comments that focus on culturally salient themes without being necessarily internally coherent is, arguably, more decisive to his following than the content itself (Carlo and Kamradt 2018). Or how Trump is characterized as 'not being PC', as a character trait, appears more decisive to voters than his recognizable flaws or the negative meanings associated to what he says [11]. While both the cultural backlash and populism accounts of anti-PC in politics have merits, they focus on a few specific manifestations of these discourses by particular leaders that embody their respective arguments. Consequently, these literatures only partially explain what anti-PC discourses are, how they function, or why they matter for political outcomes.

3 Theory

3.1 Performance, authenticity, and anti-PC 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). But why should we understand discursive politics through performance or, rather, why do politicians say the things they do? Conventionally, there are two answers to this question. On the one hand, politicians might say the things they do according to what is more profitable to them (i.e. rational choice). On the other hand, politicians might say the things they do because of their beliefs (i.e. ideology). Though, neither may hold in practice as politicians can, at different times, say what is more profitable, say what they believe in, or say things without intentionally thinking about it. Normally, whether a politician is saying what they believe in, or what is more profitable, depends on the audiences' interpretation. Alternatively, understanding politics through performance offers a more flexible answer to why politicians say the things they do: to project their understandings. Performance allows to theorize that audience's interpretation hinges on factors beyond discursive content or meaning, such as how things are said. Seeing politics through performance provides more realistic assumptions to theorizing how politicians "do politics" (see Van Dijk et al. 1997). Understanding politics through performance focus less on causality and interpretation of message meaning in discourse and more on identifying discursive patterns and functioning.

[9] Norris and Inglehart (2019) appear to 'passively' pass on the blame to 'old, rural, and uneducate' voters for 'undesirable' political outcomes with broad causal explanations extrapolated from thin linear correlations that illustrate little of these complex relationships. Others, as Mishra (2017), rely on a misplaced engagement with history that focus on a few instances that exemplify arguments as if these were the rule.

[10] There are countless examples of PC and anti-PC language being explored in humoristic ways for entertainment as, for example, notoriously, TV shows as 'South Park', 'The Office', and 'It's Always Sunny in Philadelphia'.

[11] Bill Maher, a journalist and comedian who was the host of a television series called Politically Incorrect in the 1990s, contends that 'when you talk to Trump supporters, they're not blind to his myriad flaws, but they always say he is not politically correct'.

Understanding audience's perception and the discursive elements beyond text is challenging. There are, however, several capturable discursive displays connected to the how, the where, and the when of political performances that allow to identify patterns and variation in political performances. A good performer or performance, for example, is successful in projecting a view of a situation to audiences, which can be connected to authenticity perceptions. Additionally, performance emphasizes the performer's role, the script, the stage, and the audience, rather than the meanings associated with the content of a political discourse. There are also important implications of thinking discursive politics through performances. Performance places agency both with audiences, watching and evaluating politicians "doing" politics, and with political performers. This means script changes can be theorized to be intentional individual innovations or unintentional chattering by performers, while political accomplishments reflect positive evaluations from audiences. This does not mean factors such as social media, economic crisis, and cultural changes, among others, are irrelevant. Instead, these become political themes to be explored in politics and provide context for audiences' interpretation.

Authenticity has long been discursively performed in politics with, for example, self-references to origins, remarkable stories, allusions to civic tradition, and displays of 'vulgarism' (Fordahl 2018, 309; Alexander 2010). Authenticity is an individualistic performance that aims at radiating truthfulness outwards (Taylor 1992; Fordahl 2018). Authenticity in politics does not concern being truthful to oneself but appearing coherent with individual or societal values to audiences (Valgarosson et al. 2021; Fordahl 2018). Stiers et al. (2021) refer to authenticity in politics as an essential character trait that conveys candidates' convictions and that has positively affected electoral preferences across several European democracies. As a political tool, authenticity helps build political trust for candidates by demonstrating to electorates that politicians are in touch with ordinary people and their struggles (Valgarosson et al. 2021). Authenticity perceptions were, for example, essential for Obama's success in 2008 (Alexander 2010) and, arguably, defined the 2016 American election in Trump's favor (Fordahl 2018). Authenticity, in politics, is an unstable and malleable label that requires social validation while demanding contortion, modification, and active individual effort (Fordahl 2018). Therefore, authenticity, as a political performance, does not always culminate in consistency, but appearing real to one's inner self to audiences.

In social psychology, PC language is understood as a communication norm that attempts to remove negative language by means of self and group censorship (Conway et al. 2009; Conway, Repke, and Houck 2017). This communication norm can backfire due to contamination of individual information processes by authority or legitimacy effects (Conway et al. 2009; Conway, Repke, and Houck 2017). Authority effects surrounding PC language occur when language is believed to be insincere if it is commanded by an authority (Conway et al. 2009). Legitimacy effects are caused by individuals' own self-censorship, which leads to increased awareness that language interactions may not be genuine (Conway et al. 2009). Building on these findings, Rosenblum, Schroeder, and Gino (2020) use several survey experiments to illustrate how politically incorrect language makes political communicators appear more authentic, have stronger convictions, and be less strategic, in comparison to PC politicians. In fact, the denouncing of a "PC politician" or a "PC ideology" engrains an allusion to inauthenticity, to someone or something that expresses its views in calculated ways to avoid judgment (Hughes 2011; Weigel 2016). Anti-PC discourses are connected to authenticity in politics by reducing the perceived link between thinking and saying for audiences (Conway, Repke, and Houck 2017) [12]. Hence, anti-PC performances signals to audiences' precisely that politicians might be authentic to inner self. Though, as alluded above, anti-PC is one authenticity performance and authenticity in politics can be performed in politics in several ways.

3.2 Authenticity performances

Valgarosson et al. (2021) argue that there are three broad types of authenticities, historic, categorical, and value; value authenticity (i.e. the authentic politician) being the most pertinent in politics. Stiers et

[12]The argument also considers the insights of bad manners as a repertoire (Moffitt 2016; Moffitt and Tormey 2014) of plain speaking as communication style (Brubaker 2020, 2017) in populism. Though the conceptualization here is broader and intends to theorize anti-PC outside of populism, it is somewhat consistent with how these theorists understand what these repertoires/styles are, how they work in politics, and why they matter.

al. (2021) associate authenticity in politics to a sense of "realness" that, in recent times, has repeatedly turned to anti-politics to connect politicians with ordinary people. Authenticity, therefore, is an abstract individual trait or group perception, with huge political implications. But how does it come about in politics? Looking at authenticity in politics, as a performance, requires identifying displays, projections, and mechanisms. Display concerns detecting a certain performance (what) and is constrained by projection and mechanism. Projection relates to the level at which it is convincing that a performance is authentic. Projection encapsulates the role (who), the setting (where), and the structure (when) for certain display(s). The role relates to the part a performer takes in politics. Roles can generate different expectations and ranges of possibilities for authenticity performances (e.g. candidates versus elected officials). Setting refers to where a performance takes place (e.g. debate or official speech). Structure indicates the timing in which performance is inserted (e.g. before/after an election). Mechanisms refer to the theorized pathways (how) by which a projected display might work to produce authenticity. Diverse answers to each of these performative aspects generate different expectations about authenticity performances in politics.

Although what can be an authenticity performance is not always straight forward or capturable discursively, there are several indications of how authenticity has been previously performed in politics. Alexander (2010), for example, discusses how allusions to origins, territory, and civic traditions were employed by Obama to connect with audiences and generate a sense of authenticity. These performances focus on the cultural connections shared by politicians and audiences and can be essential to legitimize a candidate's knowledge about the "real" issues people in the country face. Fordahl (2018) argues that Trump's authenticity was built upon iconic, often vulgar, representations of American life and reality performed consistently from his "straight shooter dealmaker" role. Allusions to national values and his business experience were central to Trump's performances. These noticeable types of performances in discursive politics become, then, displays of authenticity performance, which can be divided in two broad types: *individual* and *collective*. The types refer to the mechanism that might give plausibility to a certain performance. Individual authenticity performances derive plausibility for performance based on audiences' expectations about a political performer (or opponent) considering the information they have. These performances include stating to be telling the truth, claiming others are lying, taking responsibility for actions, or pointing fingers at other's errors. Collective authenticity performances are more elaborate displays of authenticity that derive plausibility for performance based on the cultural connections shared between audiences and performer. These performances include anti-PC [13], pointing at origins, allusions to common sense, or claims of territorial knowledge. Table 1, below, summarizes each authenticity performance theorized, their respective displays, and mechanisms. The first four authenticity performances in Table 1 refer to individual authenticity performances and the later four refer to collective performances.

[13]Politically incorrect expressions coded in dictionary were selected from a 1992 dictionary of politically correct language, this assumes that most of these terms have for long been agreed upon as not PC (Beard and Cerf 1993).

Authenticity Performance	Displays	Mechanism
Truth Telling	Mentions truthfulness, sincerity, and honesty when describing oneself. Examples: 'the truth is', 'this is the truth', 'am not lying', 'is/are/am honest', 'honesty', 'is/are/am sincere', 'is/are true'	Speaker appears to be telling the truth regarding their beliefs or facts - Individual.
lying accusations	Mentions dishonesty, untruthfulness, and insincerity when used to describe others. Examples: 'not the truth', 'not true', 'untruthful', 'is/are lying', 'is/are liars', 'is/are dishonest', 'is/are fake', 'is/are a hypocrite'	Speaker appears more sincere vis-a-vis others - Individual.
Consistency	Mentions career consistency, responsibility, accountability for individual. Examples: 'I/we delivered', 'check and see', 'keep my word', 'keep promises', 'I am/we are responsible', 'I/we take responsibility', 'I/we guarantee'	Speaker appears consistent regarding pledges - Individual.
Finger Pointing	Mentions lack of accountability, inconsistency and/or blame others for mistakes. Examples: 'are/is inconsistent', 'are/is irresponsible', 'their fault', 'not my fault', 'they left us with', 'are/is responsible', 'costed us', 'false/fake/broken promises'	Speaker appears not accountable for previous undesirable outcomes - Individual.
Origins	Alludes to birthplace, origins, and roots to describe background, values, and tell their story. Examples: 'I was born in', 'I come from', 'I/we grew up in', 'my family', 'I was raised', 'my background', 'I was thought', 'my hometown/community/city'	Speaker seems culturally connected to the nation - Collective.
Common Sense	Alludes to common sense, reason, and logic to describe choices or preferences. Examples: 'is/are common sense', 'everyone/everybody knows', 'it is undeniable', 'stating the obvious', 'everyone agrees', 'we all know', 'no one disagrees that', 'we have all learned that'	Speaker seems to make choices consistent with what others in society would do - Collective.
Territory	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', 'came/came back from', 'saw/see first-hand in', 'I/we were hosted', 'my/our time in'	Speaker seems territorially connected to sub-regions, regions, or national territory - Collective.
Anti-PC	Alludes to PC language negatively, employs politically incorrect language, or claims to speak what one thinks without filters. Examples: 'not politically correct', 'political correctness', 'speak/speaking my mind', 'say/saying what everyone thinks', 'colored/oriental/fat/handicapped people'	Speaker seems to be saying what thinks on culturally contested themes - Collective.

Table 1: Authenticity Performances, Displays, and Mechanisms

4 Methodology

4.1 Case selection

In Brazil, restrictions to freedoms of speech based on racism were criminalized in the constitution of 1988 and affirmative action policies in universities were put in place since the late 1990s. While these were widely discussed in society, albeit a long history of direct and indirect political opposition to them, neither constitutional nor affirmative action debates sparked much discussion about PC (see Farias 2001; Freitas and Castro 2013). In fact, the PC terminology was translated from outside Brazil (Possenti 1995) and it did not directly appear in public debates until 2004, when the Secretariat of Human Rights of the President published a manual of PC language which contained 96 popular expressions deemed incorrect for being racist, sexist, or homophobic (Fiorin 2008; Morato and Bentes 2017). A that time, the federal government quickly recalled the publication due to internal opposition and external backlash (Fiorin 2008; Morato and Bentes 2017). Since the mid-2000s humoristic interpretations of politically incorrect language and politically charged calls against a PC country started to appear frequently in the brazilian media (Morato and Bentes 2017; Weinmann and Culau 2014). Alongside this, several articles in popular periodicals such as magazines and newspapers, as well as some influential books, were written against PC language ever since (Weinmann and Culau 2014). By the 2010s, PC started to be referred to as a "controversy" and, nowadays, PC in Brazil is a widely contested phenomenon in society and politics.

Nonetheless, Brazil and the US held the world's largest slave populations until slavery was abolished respectively in each country. Similarly, these two countries became large settler states for diverse groups of migrants in the following centuries. These historical processes rendered their current populations heterogenous in terms of demographic composition and cultural heritage. This explain the appearance and influence of PC language in these societies, but the eminence of anti-PC discourses in national politics is somewhat puzzling as electorates are likely to encompass several of the same large groups that PC language safeguards. While Brazil and the US are relatively similar in geographical and population sizes, they are dissimilar in many other ways including levels of economic development, culture and, in some ways, their political systems. Thus, each case is understood as a configuration, formed by the aggregation of parts that make sense in the context of each case (Ragin 1987). This allows us to consider similarities and differences across time and space and broadly compare them in many aspects, including political discourses.

4.2 Data

Text data on official speeches, campaign rallies, debates, and interviews for elected presidents and runoff candidates were gathered since 1980 for the US and 1985 for Brazil. In the US, the 1980s marked the beginning of the university debates surrounding PC. In Brazil, democracy came back in 1985, though direct presidential elections were held in 1989. All the texts for the US were scraped from The American Presidency Project repository (TAPP). Collecting data for Brazil proved more difficult due to availability. For official speeches, Cezar (2020) dataset on official speeches for Brazilian presidents from 1985 to 2019 was updated to include the missing speeches from 2019 to 2021 using the Brazilian Presidential Library. Text for debates, interviews, and campaign rallies were scraped from subtitles automatically generated for YouTube videos. The number of videos available for later election cycles, after the 2000s, is considerably larger than earlier ones. Additionally, some election cycles in Brazil were shorter than others as national elections were decided on the first round, therefore, data for those cycles is more limited. For these reasons, and due to the longer time scope, the number of observations in the text datasets for the US is greater than for Brazil [14].

The comparison of data for different settings in which politics gets done provide more complete picture of how discursive politics change, and not, in each of these settings, across time, or by politicians. Table 2, below, summarizes the number of text observations by setting in each case, the earliest date, the latest date, and the sources. For interviews, those occurring in the period between two years before elections and one

[14]For all the data, scripts, and additional information please request access to the authenticity performances repository available on GitHub. For more information on some the functions developed see the poldis (Sposito 2021) R package.

Country	Setting	Observations	Earliest Date	Latest Date	Source
US	Speeches	15016	1981	2021	TAPP
US	Campaign	1563	1980	2020	TAPP
US	Debates	59	1980	2020	TAPP
US	Interviews	936	1980	2021	TAPP
Brazil	Speeches	6130	1985	2021	Cezar (2020)
Brazil	Campaign	175	1989	2018	YouTube
Brazil	Interviews	262	1987	2021	YouTube
Brazil	Debates	29	1989	2018	YouTube

Table 2: Text Data for Brazil and the US

year after the election (or tenure for elected) were compiled. For debates, data on runoff debates in Brazil and debates after party candidates were nominated in US were gathered [15]. Campaign remarks occurring on election years for runner-up candidates were gathered. Therefore, the datasets for campaign and debates have their latest date as the last election year in each case, that is 2018 for Brazil and 2020 for the US.

4.3 Operationalization

After collection, the data was cleaned by standardizing variables across datasets and removing punctuations and accents to facilitate comparison. The texts were aggregated by politician and year. Authenticity performances, including anti-PC discourses, were identified via a purpose-built dictionary of terms that codes the discursive displays associated with each performance (see Appendix 1) [16]. The dictionary of terms was developed listening to samples of randomly selected speeches, campaign remarks, interviews, and debates from the datasets. The dictionary has similar definitions in Portuguese and English in relation to the words and expressions searched. The number of words included in the dictionary for each performance is similar across languages. The dictionary was 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 and to distinct when speakers talk about themselves or others, thus, no stop words were removed from the text datasets. That is, the dictionary of terms includes combinations of pronouns/determiners and verbs/nouns to avoid false-positive matches. All frequencies of authenticities performances are normalized for the number of characters in each text. Normalization helps account for discrepancies in the number of observations for the two cases and in time for the same case.

5 Analysis

5.1 Authenticity Performances in Time in Brazil and the US

Allusions to origins and mentions of truth telling are the two most regularly performed authenticities in Brazil and the US. Table 3, below, displays the average values for each authenticity performance by country. The values were normalized by the number of characters in texts. While origins are a collective authenticity performance (i.e. based on the cultural connections shared between audiences and performer), truth-telling is an individual authenticity performance (i.e. based on audiences' expectations about a political performer or performance). Yet, as authenticity performances, claiming to be telling the true or being truthful and allusions to origins promote oneself instead of focusing on others. Indeed, authenticity performance that focus on others, such as lie-accusations and finger-pointing, are performed infrequently, on average, in both

[15] Those are debates after party nominations in the US and runoff debates for Brazil. There are a few exceptions to this in Brazil for elections decided in the first round (e.g. 1994) or elections where candidates were unable to participate in runoff debates (e.g. 2018). In these cases, the participations of the two most voted candidates in the first-round debates were gathered. The number of debates for both Brazil and the US in Table 2 reflect the number of politicians coded for each runoff debate in dataset. That is, the text of each debate was separated by politicians.

[16] See also Kentikelenis and Voeten (2021) for a good example of a purpose-built dictionary in a bag of words approach to text analysis.

cases. Consistency, an inward-looking individual authenticity performance, also appears relatively frequently in both cases. In the case of the US, territory and anti-PC are performed somewhat frequently. In the case of Brazil, common sense is performed relatively frequently. Unsurprisingly, politicians speak mostly about themselves when doing politics.

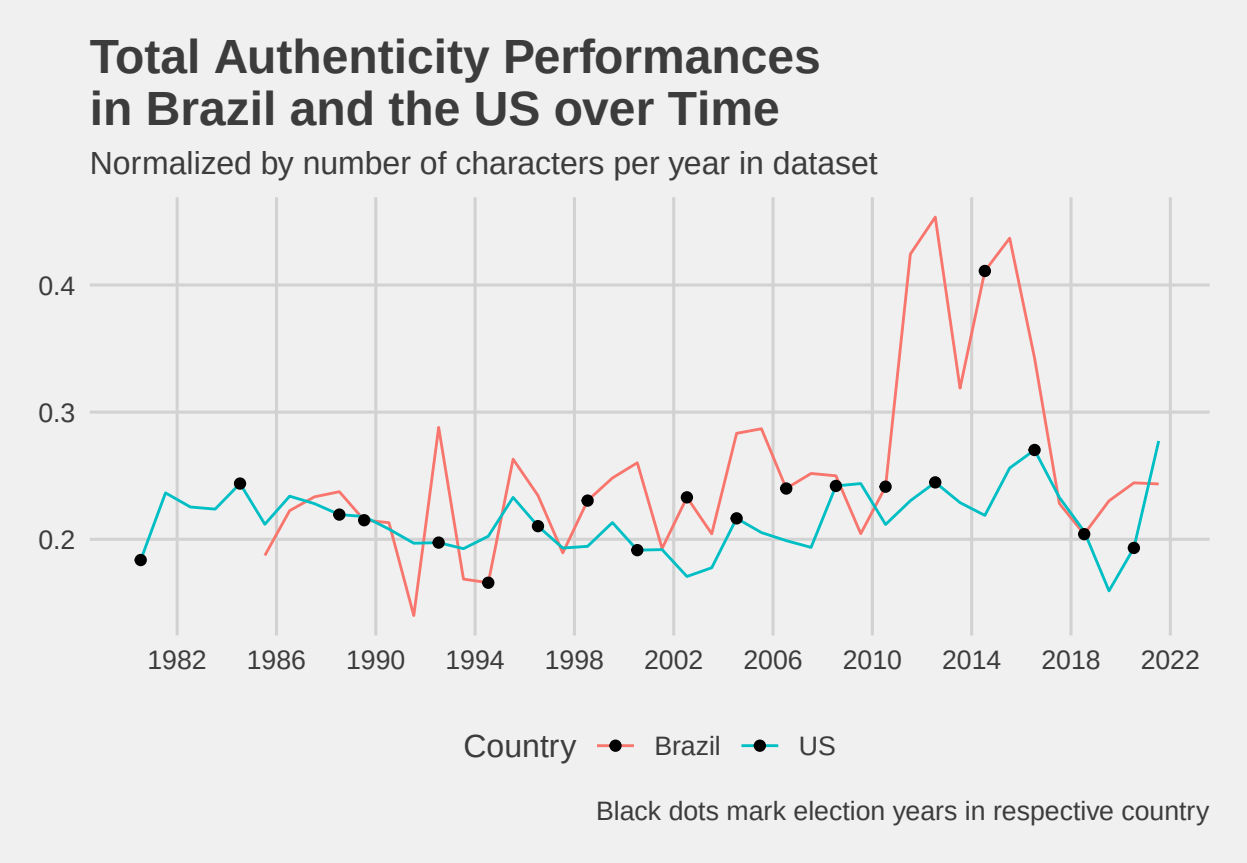
Authenticity Performance	Average US	Average Brazil
Truth Telling	0.0604840	0.0593846
Lie Accusations	0.0078566	0.0051667
Consistency	0.0349932	0.0348182
Finger Pointing	0.0034804	0.0096902
Origins	0.0619121	0.1446111
Common Sense	0.0117105	0.0420716
Territorial	0.0175536	0.0093452
Anti-PC	0.0169267	0.0048119

Table 3: Average Authenticity Performances in Brazil and the US

Authenticity performances are not monolithic in time. How, then, do their frequencies change over time? Figure 1, below, illustrates the total frequencies for authenticity performances in Brazil and the US in time. In the figure, the x-axis represents the years and the y-axis represents the sum of all normalized authenticity performances for that year. For each case, the black dots represent election years. Remarkably, the figure appears to show no systematic increases in the total frequency scores associated to election years in Brazil and the US over time [17]. This is puzzling considering that appearing authentic to electorates is shown to influence election outcomes (Fordahl 2018; Stiers et al. 2021; Valgarosson et al. 2021). These findings indicate that politicians running for re-election might be more careful towards when, where, and how authenticity is performed around election years.

[17] A linear regression that correlates election years, as factors, to the total of authenticity performances for each case has also been run. The coefficients show that for both cases the relationship between election years and the frequency of authenticity performances is slightly negative (i.e. elections year correlate with a decrease in the total of authenticity performances). This relationship is negative and statistically significant for the case of the US.

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



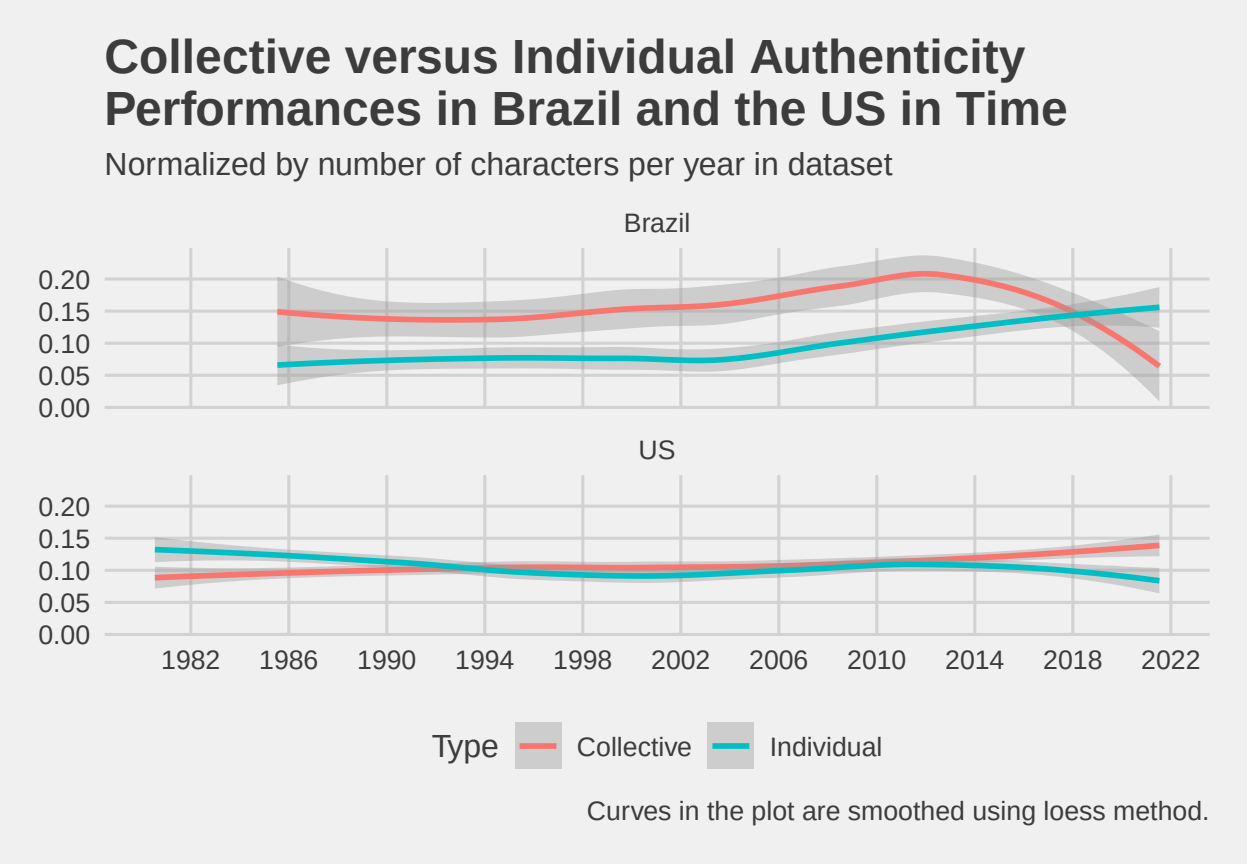
In the case of Brazil, we also see a large increase in frequencies of authenticities performed between 2010 and 2016, the Dilma Rousseff years [18]. This could indicate that there is a relationship between gender and the frequencies at which authenticity is performed in politics. While there only two women politicians in the sample (Dilma Rousseff and Hillary Clinton), making it challenging to extrapolate how gender and authenticity performances correlate, there is a vast literature that investigates different communication styles by gender in politics (Wood 1994; Christine Banwart and McKinney 2005; Blankenship and Robson 1995; Franceschet, Piscopo, and Thomas 2016). Rousseff, arguably, needed to justify herself and her public policies with further concrete reasoning and perform certain authenticities to connect with audiences more frequently than the men in the sample. Nevertheless, authenticity has generally been performed with greater frequency in politics in Brazil since the mid-1990s in comparison to the US, which could be related to the differences in the number of parties in the political system. Brazil features many parties and, thus, politicians are less susceptible to broad party pressure to conform and represent interests of heterogenous groups within it, in comparison the US with two major parties.

The types of authenticity performed in politics change over time. Figure 2, below, illustrates how collective and individual authenticity performances have changed in time for Brazil and the US. In the figure, the x-axis represents the years and the y-axis represents the sum of individual and collective authenticity performances for that year. In Brazil, collective authenticity performances were performed considerably more frequently than individual performances from the 1980s until the early-2010s. This trend began to change at that point and, by 2019, we see a reversal of this pattern where individual authenticity performances surpass collective performances. Conversely, in the case of the US, individual authenticity performances were performed more frequently throughout the 1980s. From the early-1990s until the early-2010s, both performances appear at

[18] A linear regression correlating the total of authenticity performances to years, as factors, in Brazil confirms statistically significant increases for the years of 2012 and 2015, non-election years and when Rousseff was president.

very similar rates in the US. This pattern changed in the mid-2010s with collective authenticity performances surpassing individual. These changes are likely related to contextual conditions that make some types of performances more, or less, credible to audiences in each case at certain points in time. Audiences in Brazil, arguably, became tired of collective authenticity performances that focused on share cultural links with the politico-economic crisis of the mid-2010s and, in turn, became more interested in simpler individual performances that were credible based on expectations for political performers. In the US, instead, audiences arguably grew tired of performances that were balanced and focus on both collective and individual authenticities equally around the early-2010s in favor performers and/or performances that focused on shared cultural connections. In both cases, these patterns began to change much before recent election years (2016 for the US and 2018 for Brazil) and continue after even as politicians at the top might have changed. This indicates that timing could favor certain candidates who already perform certain authenticities, but also that politicians adapt to perform authenticities that audiences "want to hear" (i.e. are more credible at certain juncture).

Figure 2: Collective versus Individual Authenticity Performances in Time in Brazil and the US

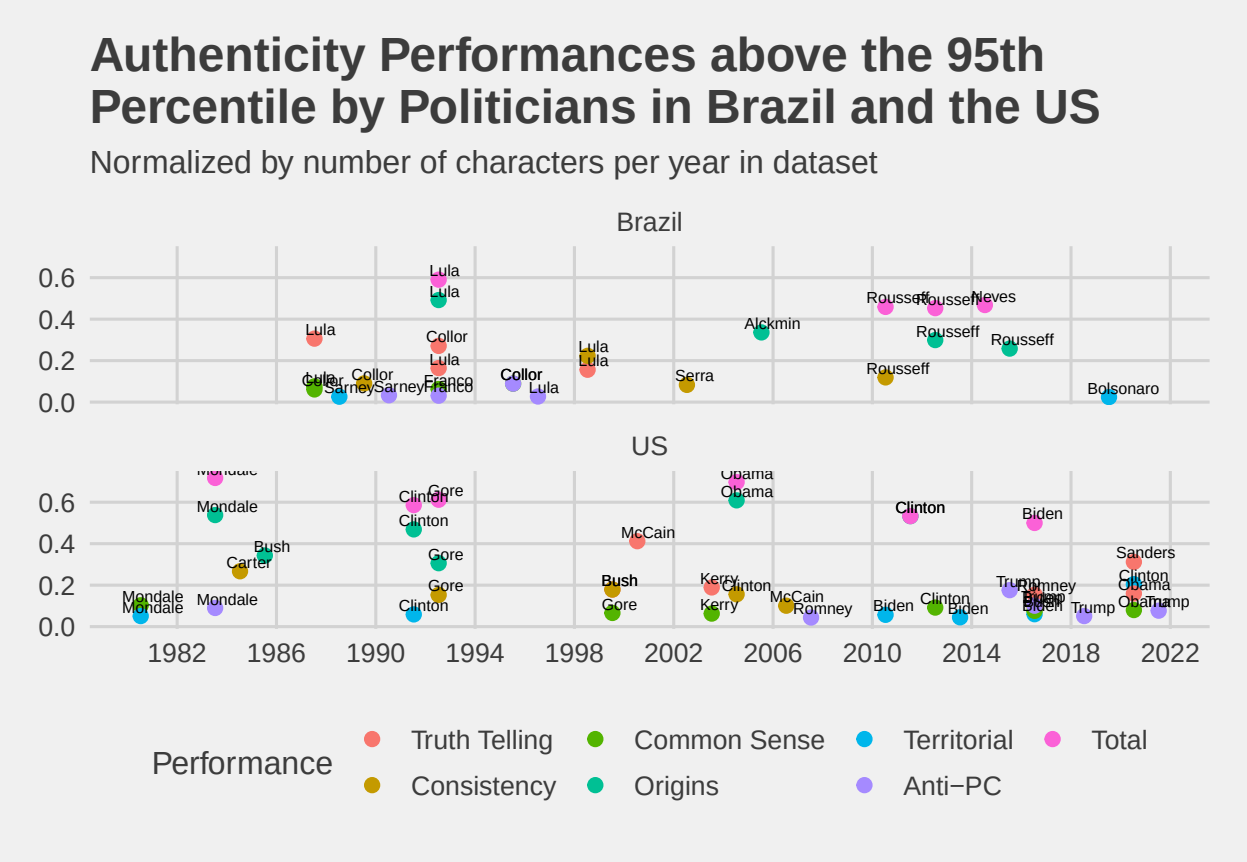


5.2 Authenticity Performances by Politicians in Brazil and the US

Presidents and presidential candidates focus on some authenticity performances over others. Figure 3, below, captures authenticity performances by presidents and presidential candidates that fall above the 95th percentile in a certain year. In the figure, the x-axis represents the years and the points represent a politician that performed one, or more, authenticities above the 95th percentile in that year. The 95th percentiles are calculated for each authenticity performance and for the total of authenticity performances. While some politicians and years appear multiple times, other candidates and years do not appear at all. Most politicians in Brazil and the US performed one, or more, authenticities above the 95th percentile when

they were candidates, before being elected the first time (e.g. Lula), or after having left office (e.g. Clinton). This corroborates that politicians running for re-election perform authenticity less around election years. Other politicians do not perform any authenticity at the 95th percentile for any year campaigning or in office (e.g. Reagan and Cardoso). This indicates that these politicians either perform authenticity less than others in general and that they do not focus on one authenticity more than other politicians at any point in time [19].

Figure 3: 95th Percentile Authenticity Performances by Politicians in Brazil and the US



Rousseff is the only politician in the whole sample to have performed the total of authenticities above the 95th percentile while in office. In the US, Mondale, Clinton, Gore, Obama, and H. Clinton perform the total of authenticity performances above the 95th percentile at a certain year, but none of these politicians were in the oval office when they did so. In the case of Brazil, Lula, Collor, Neves, and Rousseff performed the total of authenticities above the 95th percentile at a certain year, but only Roussef did so while president. In the case of Rousseff, Wood (1994) (p. 137-148) argues that women's speech style in politics include personal disclosures of details, using of anecdotes, and concrete reasoning, which are consistent with common sense, consistency, and origins performances that were performed above the 95th percentile during her years in office. The fact that Rousseff performed various authenticities in the 95th percentile while in office further indicates that women in politics have a distinct style and that they likely feel the need perform authenticity at a higher rate to connect to audiences and justify policy choices than their male counterparts.

Associated and opposing politicians often perform the same authenticities in similar years. In the case of the US, truth telling was performed above the 95th percentile by politicians as Kerry and McCain around the year 2000 and by Obama and Sanders around the year 2020. Consistency was performed above the 95th

[19]Since authenticity performances as lie acusations and figer pointing happen, on average, very infrequently the 95th percentile for these are not included on Figure 3 to improve visualization.

percentile in the 2000s by W. Bush, Clinton, McCain; while origins was performed above the 95th percentile by Mondale and Bush in the mid-1980s and by Gore and Clinton in the mid-1990s. However, in the case of anti-PC, Mondale in the 1980s and Trump from the mid-2010s onwards perform anti-PC. Though these politicians belonged to different parties and had divergent political stands, both often employed a "telling like it is" communication style [20]. Comparably, in the case of Brazil, truth telling, origins, consistency, and anti-PC were performed above the 95th percentile by Lula and Collor from the late-1980s and through the 1990s. Anti-PC was also performed by Sarney and Franco in the early-1990s. Mainly this indicates similar authenticity performances above the 95th percentile occur for associated and opposing politicians in similar years. This could be due to politicians responding to, or imitating, each other on specific authenticity performances at a certain election cycle or connected to a contextual condition that make certain authenticity performance more credible around certain times. This is especially pertinent as the same politicians usually perform different authenticities above the 95th percentile over time.

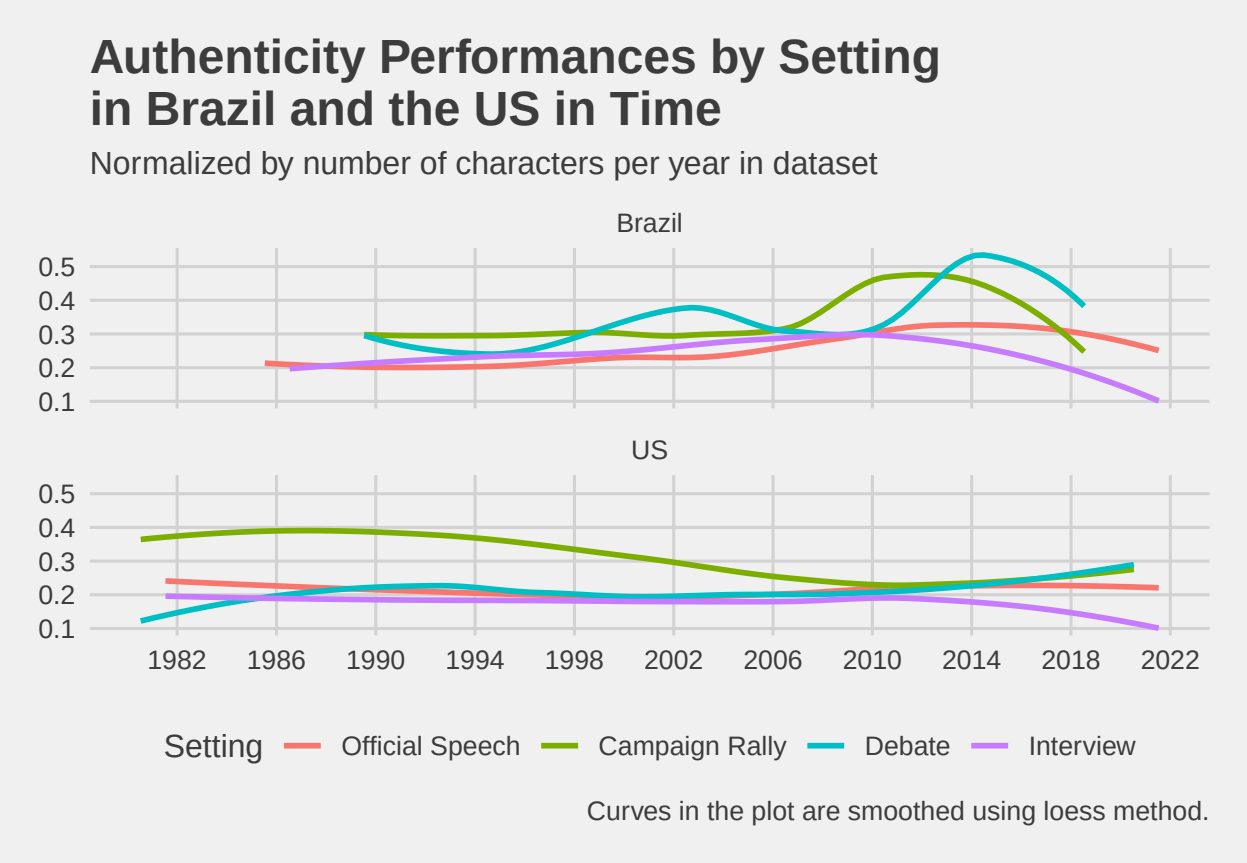
5.3 Authenticity Performances across settings in Brazil and the US

The frequency of authenticity performances changes across settings in which politics gets done. Figure 4, 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 sum of all normalized authenticity performances for each setting per year. The plot shows that, in the US, authenticity was performed much more frequently in campaign rallies than in all other settings until mid-2000s [21]. At that point, the frequency in which authenticity was performed across all settings in the US becomes similar until the early-2010s, when performances in debates increase while performances on interviews decrease in frequency. In the case of Brazil, we see a different trend. The frequency at which authenticity is performed in campaign rallies generally increased from the late 1980s to the mid-2010s. In fact, there is a sharp increase in the frequency in which authenticity is performed in campaign rallies, debates, and official speeches around the Rousseff years. We also see a sharp decrease in the frequency in which authenticity is performed across all setting from the mid-2010s onwards in Brazil.

[20] For more on Modale's "truth" telling style see his 1984 Democratic Convention acceptance speech. Some of Mondale's mentions of truth telling regarding raising taxes, for example, is similar to numerous accounts of Trump's denouncing PC in terms of wasting peoples time by not "telling how it is" what they might "not" want to hear.

[21] The relationship between the average frequencies of authenticity performances per year and setting was also investigated employing fixed-effects linear panel models. Fixed-effects models account for time effects while controlling for unobserved associations within the model variables (Allison 2009). In the regression (see appendix 2), the correlation between the frequencies of authenticity performances and campaign settings for the US, in comparison to official speeches (reference category), is positive and highly statistically significant. Interviews also appear to correlate positively with authenticity performances in the US, in comparison to official speeches. In the case of Brazil, both campaign and debate settings correlate positively with authenticity performances in relation to official speeches. However, using this approach, we miss how these correlations change in time.

Figure 4: Authenticity Performances by Setting Time in Brazil and the US



In Brazil and the US debates have become the setting in which authenticity is performed most frequently, whereas interviews are the setting in which authenticity is performed least frequently, from the early-2010s onwards. In the case of interviews, the spread of social media gave politicians alternative outlets to interact directly with audiences, bypassing journalists, while performing authenticity to a wide variety of people. Conversely, authenticity performances in debates increased in both cases over time. In the case of the US debates went from being the setting in which authenticity was least performed in the US in the early-1980s to the setting in which it was most performed by the late-2010s. Debates also became the setting in which authenticity is most performed in the mid-2010s in Brazil. In terms of authenticity performances, debates' format requires candidates to answer quick to sometimes unpredictable questions and, as large-scale media events, become sources of "sticky" sound, text, and video bites charged with imagery, rather than meaning, that circulate to mark and represent political cycles in democracies (Foley 2012,; Coleman 2000) [22]. As political bites become shorter but more widespread, debates become ever important settings for a wide variety of authenticity performances.

Conclusion

This article set to investigate how anti-PC discourses appear and change over time in politics. A brief review of the populism and cultural backlash scholarship illustrated how these literatures focus on particular manifestations of anti-PC discourses by specific leaders. Instead, this paper argues that anti-PC discourses in politics are authenticity performances that reduce the perceived link between what politicians are thinking

[22]Though why and the extent to which they might matter for election outcomes is contentious (see McKinney and Warner 2013).

and what they are saying to audiences (Conway et al. 2009). Several other authenticity performances were also theorized. Individual authenticity performances, for example, derive plausibility from audiences' expectations about a political performer (or opponent) considering the information they have. These performances include claims of truth telling or consistency and lie accusations or finger pointing. Collective authenticity performances derive plausibility for performance based on the cultural connections shared between audiences and performer. These performances include anti-PC, pointing at origins, allusions to common sense, or claims of territorial knowledge. A framework for investigating authenticity performances in politics that focuses on performative displays (what), projections (who, when, and where), and mechanisms (how) was developed. A dictionary of terms for investigating authenticity performances in discourses was built based on the framework. Texts for campaign rallies, debates, interviews, and official speeches for presidents and presidential candidates in Brazil and the US since the 1980s are scraped to construct the datasets. This allowed to identify, compare, and analyze how authenticity performances change over time, by politicians, and across political settings.

The analysis reveals that authenticity performances that promote oneself, as origins and truth-telling, occur with greater frequency on average than other performances. As well, the total frequencies of authenticity performances are not systematically greater in election years in comparison to non-election years. These findings indicate that incumbents might be more careful towards when, where, and how authenticity is performed around election years. Indeed, most politicians perform authenticities above the 95th percentile when they are candidates, before being elected a first time, or after having left office. However, in the case of Brazil, we see a spike in the frequency authenticity is performed in politics from 2010 to 2016 while Dilma Rousseff held office. Women in politics, arguably, perform authenticity more frequently to justify themselves and their public policy choices than the men in the sample. Moreover, the variation in types of authenticity performed over time and across cases indicate that contextual conditions make some types of performances more, or less, credible to audiences at certain junctures. Many authenticity performances appear in high frequencies for opposing and associated candidates in similar years. In such, politicians adapt to perform authenticities audiences "want to hear". Finally, debates became the setting in which authenticities are performed most frequently, while interviews are the setting in which authenticity was performed least frequently, in both cases in recent years. Debates are large-scale media events that produce "sticky" political bites charged with imagery that circulate more than ever in democracies. Conversely, in relation to interviews, social media platforms give politicians diverse outlets to interact directly with audiences, bypassing journalists. In sum, looking at politics as performances emphasizes the performer's role, the script, the stage, and the audience, rather than the content, while placing agency both with audiences and performers. Authenticity performances, as a framework, is a less contentious alternative to understand what discourses, as anti-PC, are, how they change over time, and why they might matter for political outcomes.

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Appendix

Table 4: 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
lying accusations	not truth, not the truth, not true, aren<U+2019>t true, isn<U+2019>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<U+2019>t sincere, aren<U+2019>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 4: 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

Table 4: Authenticity Performances Codebook *(continued)*

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<U+2019>t responsible, is not responsible, isn<U+2019>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<U+2019>t keep the, didn<U+2019>t keep her, didn<U+2019>t keep his, hasn<U+2019>t kept his, hasn<U+2019>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<U+2019>t deliver, hasn<U+2019>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
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

Table 4: Authenticity Performances Codebook *(continued)*

Authenticity Performance	Lexicon English	Lexicon Portuguese
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<U+2019>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
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, coloured 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

Table 4: Authenticity Performances Codebook *(continued)*

Authenticity Performance	Lexicon English	Lexicon Portuguese
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, travelled 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

	Brazil	US
SettingCampaign Rally	0.086*	0.087***
	(0.042)	(0.020)
SettingDebate	0.129**	−0.005
	(0.045)	(0.030)
SettingInterview	−0.025	−0.037*
	(0.024)	(0.017)
Num.Obs.	82	119
R2	0.250	0.337
R2 Adj.	−0.447	−0.057
AIC	−202.5	−319.2
BIC	−192.9	−308.1
RMSE	0.07	0.06

+ p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Table 5: Authenticity Performances by Setting in Brazil and the US