

PS: Political Science Online Appendix for: “Surviving Scandal”

Data List

Appendix Tables 1 and 2 list the individuals involved in the 119 presidential and the 56 gubernatorial scandals from 1972 to 2011.

APPENDIX TABLE 1
List of Presidential Scandals

PRESIDENT	TYPE	LEVEL	TARGET NAME	DESCRIPTION
Nixon	Political	Cabinet	Mitchell, John	Shakedowns
Nixon	Political	Cabinet	Kleindienst, Richard	Shakedowns
Nixon	Political	Cabinet	Stans, Maurice	Shakedowns
Nixon	Political	President	Nixon, Richard	Watergate
Nixon	Political	President	Dean, John	Watergate
Nixon	Political	President	Kleindienst, Richard	Watergate
Nixon	Political	President	Mitchell, John	Watergate
Nixon	Political	President	Erlichman, John	Watergate
Nixon	Political	President	Haldeman, Bob	Watergate
Nixon	Political	President	Stans, Maurice	Watergate
Nixon	Political	President	Colson, Charles	Watergate
Nixon	Political	President	Mardian, Robert	Watergate
Nixon	Financial	Cabinet	Agnew, Spiro	Agnew
Nixon	Financial	Affiliated	Nixon, Pat	Nixon Jewelry
Ford	Political	Sub-Cabinet	Colby, William	Colby
Ford	Financial	Sub-Cabinet	Kelley, Clarence	Kelley
Ford	Financial	President	Ford, Gerald	Ford
Carter	Financial	Cabinet	Lance, Thomas	Lance
Carter	Personal	Cabinet	Bourne, Peter	Bourne
Carter	Financial	President	Carter, Jimmy	Carter (Taxes)
Carter	Political	President	Carter, Jimmy	Carter (Peanut Warehouse Loan)
Carter	Personal	Cabinet	Jordan, Hamilton	Jordan
Carter	Personal	Affiliated	Kraft, Timothy	Kraft
Reagan	Financial	Affiliated	Donovan, Raymond	Donovan, nominee
Reagan	Financial	Cabinet	Casey, William	Casey, I
Reagan	Financial	Cabinet	Allen, Richard	Allen
Reagan	Financial	Cabinet	Donovan, Raymond	Donovan, I
Reagan	Financial	Cabinet	Donovan, Raymond	Donovan, II
Reagan	Financial	Cabinet	Donovan, Raymond	Donovan, III

Reagan	Financial	Sub-Cabinet	Nimmo, Robert	Nimmo
Reagan	Financial	Cabinet	Smith, William French	Smith, I
Reagan	Financial	Cabinet	Smith, William French	Smith, II
Reagan	Political	Cabinet	Burford, Anne Gorsuch	Burford
Reagan	Financial	Sub-Cabinet	Bogard, Donald	Bogard
Reagan	Financial	Sub-Cabinet	Lehman, John	Lehman
Reagan	Financial	Sub-Cabinet	Savas, Emanuel	Savas
Reagan	Financial	Sub-Cabinet	Lavelle, Rita	Lavelle
Reagan	Political	Sub-Cabinet	Olson, Theodore	Olson
Reagan	Financial	Sub-Cabinet	Perle, Richard	Perle
Reagan	Financial	Sub-Cabinet	Fiske, Guy	Fiske
Reagan	Financial	Sub-Cabinet	Hayes, Arthur	Hayes
Reagan	Financial	Cabinet	Casey, William	Casey, II
Reagan	Political	Cabinet	Casey, William	Debategate
Reagan	Political	Cabinet	Baker, James	Debategate
Reagan	Financial	Sub-Cabinet	Thayer, Paul	Thayer
Reagan	Financial	Sub-Cabinet	Helms, J. Lynn	Helms
Reagan	Political	Sub-Cabinet	Wick, Charles	Wick
Reagan	Financial	Affiliated	Meese, Edwin	Meese
Reagan	Financial	Sub-Cabinet	Giuffrida, Louis	Giuffrida
Reagan	Financial	Sub-Cabinet	Deaver, Michael	Deaver
Reagan	Financial	Sub-Cabinet	Beggs, James	Beggs
Reagan	Financial	Sub-Cabinet	Deaver, Michael	Deaver, lobbying
Reagan	Financial	Affiliated	Whittlesey, Faith	Whittlesey
Reagan	Financial	Sub-Cabinet	Wallace, W. Lawrence	Wallace
Reagan	Financial	Cabinet	Meese, Edwin	Meese, Wedtech
Reagan	International	Cabinet	Bush, George H.W.	Nicaraguan Contra aid
Reagan	International	Cabinet	Casey, William	Nicaraguan Contra aid
Reagan	International	Cabinet	Poindexter, John	Nicaraguan Contra aid
Reagan	International	President	Bush, George H.W.	Iranian Arms Sales
Reagan	International	President	Casey, William	Iranian Arms Sales
Bush 41	International	President	Weinberger, Caspar	Iranian Arms Sales
Reagan	International	President	McFarlane, Robert	Iranian Arms Sales
Reagan	International	President	Reagan, Ronald Wilson	Iranian Arms Sales
Reagan	International	President	Meese, Edwin	Iranian Arms Sales
Reagan	International	President	Poindexter, John	Iranian Arms Sales
Reagan	International	President	Shultz, George	Iranian Arms Sales

Reagan	International	President	Regan, Donald	Iranian Arms Sales
Reagan	Personal	Affiliated	Ginsburg, Douglas	Ginsburg
Bush 41	Personal	Affiliated	Tower, John	Tower
Bush 41	Financial	Cabinet	Sununu, John	Sununu
Bush 41	Personal	Affiliated	Thomas, Clarence	Thomas
Bush 41	International	President	Bush, George H.W.	Bush, BNL
Bush 41	Political	Cabinet	Tamposi, Elizabeth	Passportgate
Bush 41	Political	Cabinet	Baker, James	Passportgate
Clinton	Personal	Affiliated	Baird, Zoe	Baird, Nannygate 1
Clinton	Personal	Affiliated	Wood, Kimba	Wood, Nannygate 2
Clinton	Personal	Affiliated	Clinton, Hillary Rodham	Hillary, Travelgate
Clinton	Financial	Cabinet	Brown, Ronald	Brown
Clinton	Personal	Affiliated	Inman, Bobby Ray	Inman
Clinton	Personal	Affiliated	Clinton, Hillary Rodham - Maggie Williams	Vince Foster Papers
Clinton	Personal	Affiliated	Bernard Nussbaum	Vince Foster Papers
Clinton	Financial	President	Clinton, Hillary Rodham	Whitewater
Clinton	Financial	President	Clinton, Bill	Whitewater
Clinton	Financial	President	Altman, Roger	Whitewater
Clinton	Personal	President	Clinton, Bill	Clinton, Paula Jones
Clinton	Financial	Affiliated	Clinton, Hillary	Hillary, Commodities
Clinton	Financial	Sub-Cabinet	Hubbell, Webster	Hubbell
Clinton	Financial	Cabinet	Espy, Michael	Espy
Clinton	Personal	Cabinet	Cisneros, Henry	Cisneros
Clinton	Financial	Cabinet	Pena, Federico	Pena
Clinton	Political	Affiliated	Clinton, Hillary	Filegate
Clinton	Political	Affiliated	Nussbaum, Bernard	Whitewater
Clinton	Political	President	Clinton, Bill	Chinagate
Clinton	Political	President	Gore, Albert	Chinagate
Clinton	Political	President	Lindsey, Bruce	Chinagate
Clinton	Political	President	Ickes, Harold	Chinagate
Clinton	Political	President	Clinton, Bill	Clinton, Lincoln Bedroom
Clinton	Political	President	Clinton, Bill	Clinton, WH Coffees
Clinton	Financial	Cabinet	Herman, Alexis	Herman
Clinton	Political	Cabinet	Gore, Albert	Gore, Campaign Calls
Clinton	Political	President	Clinton, Bill	Clinton, Campaign Calls
Clinton	Political	Cabinet	Babbitt, Bruce	Babbitt
Clinton	Financial	Sub-Cabinet	Segal, Eli	Segal
Clinton	Personal	President	Clinton, Bill	Clinton, Lewinsky
Clinton	Personal	President	Clinton, Bill	Clinton, Broadrick
Bush 43	Personal	Affiliated	Chavez, Linda	Chavez, Nannygate 3

Bush 43	Political	Cabinet	Rove, Karl	Plame
Bush 43	Political	Cabinet	Armitage, Richard	Plame
Bush 43	Political	Cabinet	Cheney, Richard	Plame
Bush 43	Personal	Affiliated	Kerik, Bernard	Kerik
Bush 43	Personal	President	Bush, George W.	Bush, National Guard
Bush 43	Financial	Sub-Cabinet	Griles, Steven	Griles (Abramoff)
Bush 43	Political	President	Bush, George W.	NSA Warrantless wiretaps
Bush 43	Political	President	Cheney, Richard	NSA Warrantless wiretaps
Bush 43	Political	President	Gonzales, Albert	NSA Warrantless wiretaps
Bush 43	Political	President	Hayden, Michael	NSA Warrantless wiretaps
Bush 43	Financial	Sub-Cabinet	Allen, Claude	Allen
Bush 43	Financial	Cabinet	Jackson, Alphonso	Jackson, I
Bush 43	Financial	Cabinet	Bremer, L. Paul	Bremer
Bush 43	Political	Sub-Cabinet	Doan, Lurita	Doan
Bush 43	Political	Cabinet	Rove, Karl	US Attorneys
Bush 43	Political	Cabinet	Gonzales, Albert	US Attorneys
Bush 43	Political	Cabinet	Miers, Harriett	US Attorneys
Bush 43	Personal	Sub-Cabinet	Tobias, Randall	Tobias
Bush 43	Financial	Cabinet	Jackson, Alphonso	Jackson, II

APPENDIX TABLE 2
List of Gubernatorial Scandals

GOVERNOR	STATE	LEVEL / POSITION	TYPE	DESCRIPTION
Barron	West Virginia	Governor	Personal	bribery
Smith	Texas	Lieutenant Governor	Financial	evade banking regulations; stock fraud
Hall	Oklahoma	Governor	Personal	bribery; extortion
Mandel	Maryland	Governor	Personal	mail fraud; racketeering
Mandel	Maryland	Governor	Financial	mail fraud; racketeering
Blanton	Tennessee	Governor	Financial	bribery
Blanton	Tennessee	Special Assistant to the Governor	Personal	conspiracy; mail fraud; tax evasion
Blanton	Tennessee	Governor	Personal	influence peddling; sale of pardons
Allain	Mississippi	Governor	Political	homosexuality charge
Edwards	Louisiana	Governor	Personal	conspiracy
Sheffield	Alaska	Governor	Financial	impeachment charge for handling state contract

Sheffield	Alaska	Chief of Staff		Manipulated lease requirements so company could win state contracts
Smith	Texas	Governor	Financial	evade banking regulations; stock fraud
Walters	Oklahoma	Governor	Financial	bribery and extortion
Tucker	Arkansas	Governor	Personal	conspiracy; mail fraud
Edwards	Louisiana	Governor	Personal	racketeering ;conspiracy
Siegelman	Alabama	Legislative Liaison	Personal	traffic ticket fixing
Siegelman	Alabama	Community Relations Director	Personal	traffic ticket fixing
Siegelman	Alabama	Chief of Staff	Personal	received ticket fixing benefit
Patton	Kentucky	Governor	Political	affair; abusing patronage powers
Patton	Kentucky	Lieutenant Governor	Financial	Medicare/Medicaid fraud
Wise	West Virginia	Governor	Political	affair with state employee
McGreevey	New Jersey	Governor	Political	sexual harassment and assault
Siegelman	Alabama	Governor	Personal	bribery and mail fraud
Corzine	New Jersey	Governor	Personal	car wreck I-not wearing seat belt
Corzine	New Jersey	Governor		gifts / influence from Carla Katz
Spitzer	New York	Governor	Political	involved with prostitution ring-call girl
Paterson	New Jersey	Governor	Political	affairs and cover-up
Easley	North Carolina	Governor	Financial	travel costs
Easley	North Carolina	Governor	Financial	violating campaign law
Blago	Illinois	Chief of Staff	Personal	selling vacant Senate seat
Blago	Illinois	Governor	Personal	plotting to sell Senate seat
Blago	Illinois	Chief of Staff	Personal	mail fraud
Siegelman	Alabama	Chief of Staff	Personal	bribery, conspiracy and mail fraud
Reinecke	California	Lieutenant Governor	Political	perjury
Moore	West Virginia	Governor	Personal	extortion
Mecham	Arizona	Governor	Financial	
Moore	West Virginia	Governor	Personal	extortion; mail and tax fraud; obstruction of justice
Hunt	Alabama	Governor	Financial	violating state ethics law
Fordice	Mississippi	Governor	Political	affair
Symington	Arizona	Governor	Political	defrauding Political banks; wire fraud
Ryan	Illinois	Chief of Staff	Personal	Federal charges of racketeering and fraud
Ryan	Illinois	Governor	Financial	Racketeering and fraud
Rowland	Connecticut	Chief of Staff	Personal	bribery scheme
Rowland	Connecticut	Governor	Political	ethics and graft charges

Taft	Ohio	Governor	Financial	convicted ethics violation
Fletcher	Kentucky	Chief of Staff	Personal	investigated for his part in criminal conspiracy
Fletcher	Kentucky	Deputy Chief of Staff	Personal	criminal conspiracy; political discrimination
Fletcher	Kentucky	Governor	Personal	improper hiring
Gibbons	Nevada	Governor	Personal	ethics issues
Murkowski	Alaska	Chief of Staff	Personal	conspiracy
Palin	Alaska	Governor	Personal	abuse of power
Sanford	South Carolina	Governor	Political	flew to Argentina for affair; using office for personal gain
Haley	South Carolina	Lieutenant Governor	Financial	campaign finance irregularities
Fletcher	Kentucky	Deputy Chief of Staff	Personal	improper hiring

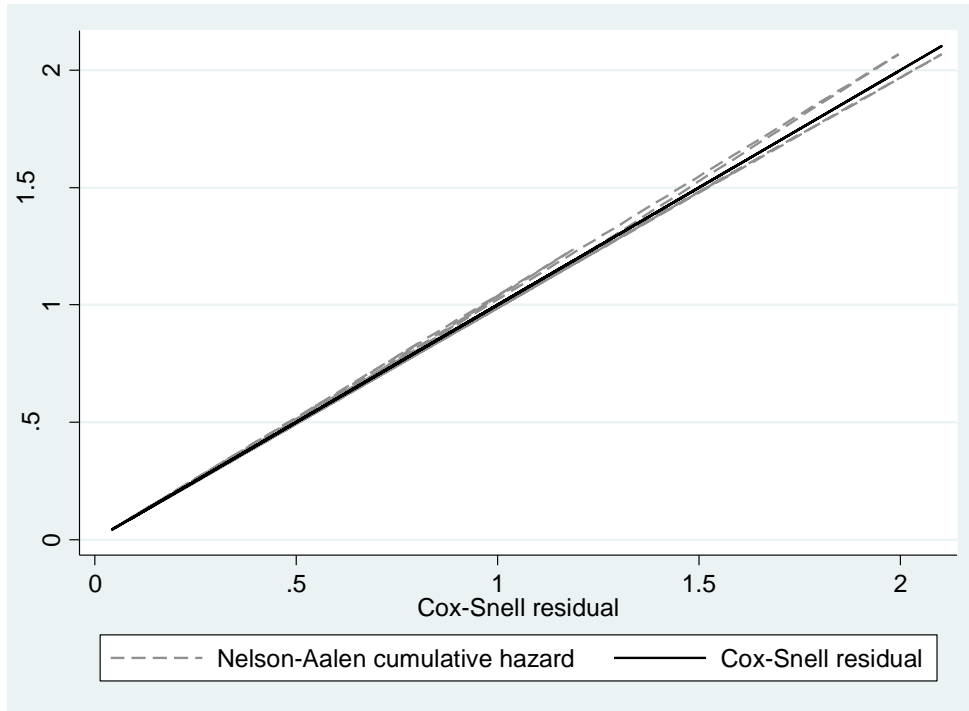
Cox-Snell Goodness of Fit

The models in Tables 1 and 2 in the accompanying text display two models of goodness of fit: Harrell's C and Somer's D. The graphs below model the fit of the model of the Cox-Snell residuals against a straight 45 degree line and verifies the fit of the model by estimating the empirical Nelson-Aalen cumulative hazard function with the Cox-Snell residuals (Cleeves, et al. 2010). The Cox-Snell residual for the j th observation is defined as: $CSresidual_j = H_0(t) \exp(x_j \beta_\omega)$. The graphs below (Figures 1 and 2) are not exhaustive of all of the variables employed but sample a few of the key covariates. In each case, the residuals appear to fit the model well. These findings, along with those from Tables 1 and 2 in the text, suggest that there is consistent goodness of fit for the models.

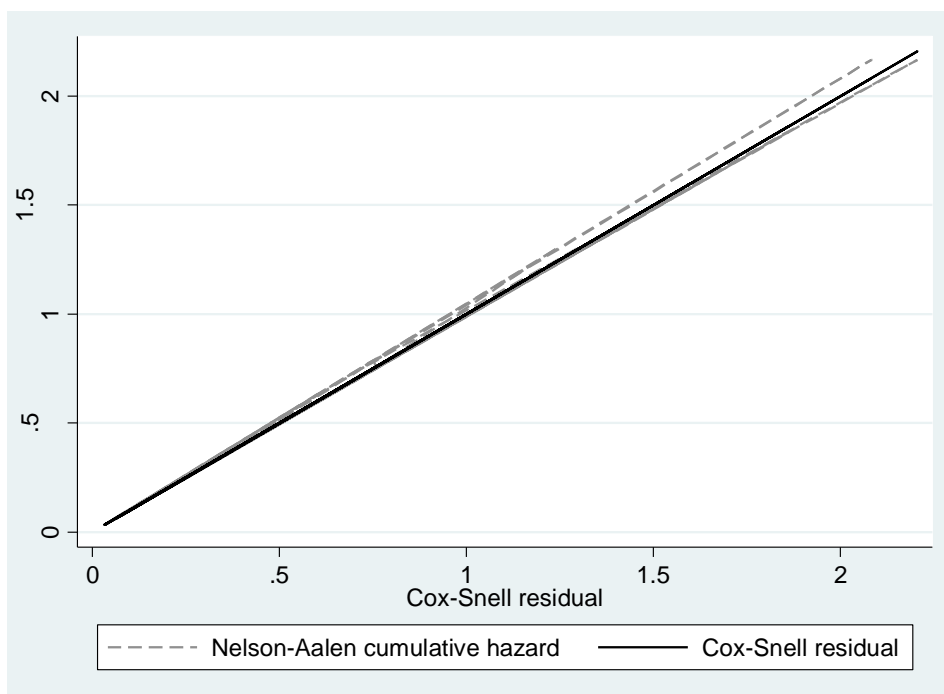
APPENDIX FIGURE 1

Cumulative Hazard of Cox-Snell Residuals (Table 1): Personal Scandals

(A) Governor Scandals



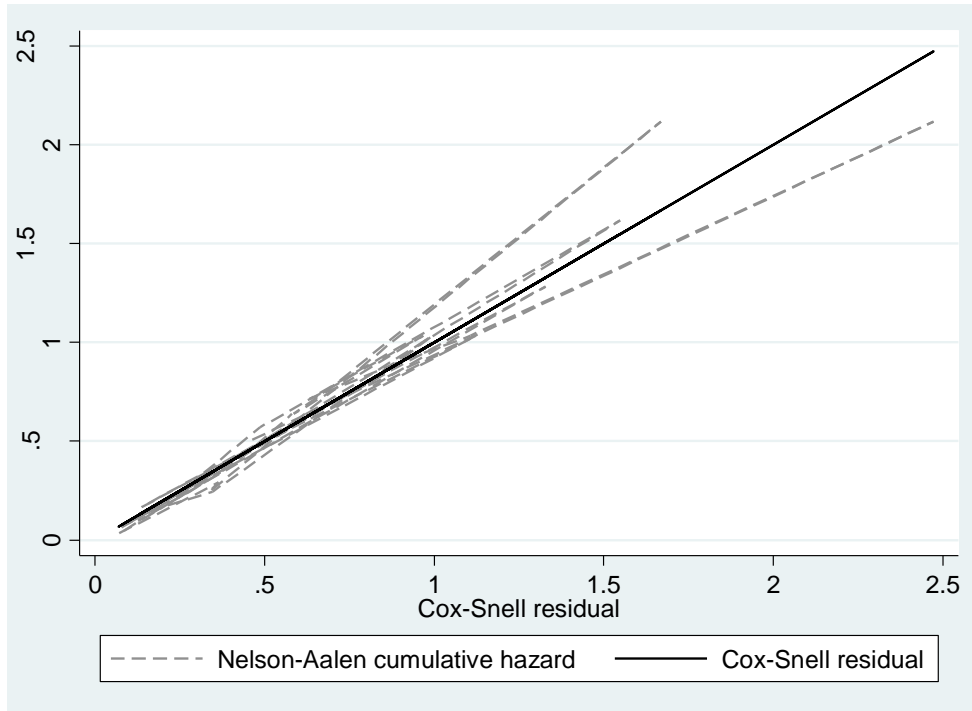
(B) Presidential Scandals



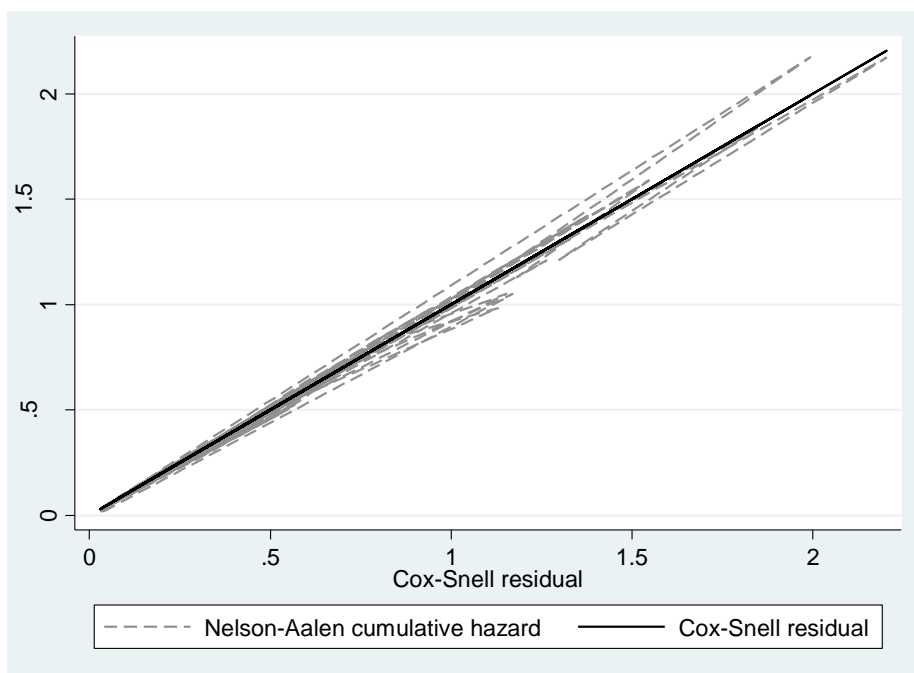
APPENDIX FIGURE 2

Cumulative Hazard of Cox-Snell Residuals (Table 1): Personal Income Change

(A) Governor Scandals



(B) Presidential Scandals



Alternative Parameterized Models

The data presented in the tables in the text employ a Cox model which is appropriate as a fit for the data. However, if we made other assumptions about the shape of the hazard function, we might want to employ a parameter function. The data in Appendix Tables 3 and demonstrate that the findings with respect to the key variables is virtually identical in sign and statistical significance. Thus, although the data in the text are appropriate, it appears to matter little which specific models are used.

APPENDIX TABLE 3
Weibull Parameterized Governor Scandals Duration Models

	Model 1 [‡]	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Governor	.343 ** (.177)	.211 ** (.177)	.399 ** (.209)	.286 * (.192)	.291 ** (.189)
Personal Scandal	3.65 * (2.99)	3.42 (2.79)	2.13 (1.60)	2.84 (2.19)	1.78 (1.46)
Financial Scandal	1.25 (.746)	1.37 (.859)	1.45 (.897)	1.46 (.880)	.841 (.810)
Second Term	1.50 (.835)	2.42 (1.24)	1.96 (.969)	2.39 * (1.22)	2.17 (1.26)
Term Limited Term	.801 (.482)	.912 (.436)	.800 (.480)	.756 (.381)	1.19 (.580)
Recall	.887 (.499)	.990 (.652)	1.09 (.692)	1.03 (.650)	.912 (.852)
GSP Change	.868 (.089)	.832 (.103)	.825 (.118)	.837 (.107)	.844 (.126)
State Personal Income Change	1.37 *** (.170)	1.47 * (.296)	1.37 * (.237)	1.41 * (.261)	1.46 (.463)
Approval	.980 (.022)	—	—	—	—
Governor's Partisans Senate	—	45.6 (142.0)	—	—	—
Governor's Partisans House	—	—	2.85 (5.78)	—	—
Opponent Average in Legislature	—	—	—	.134 (.243)	—
Divided	—	—	—	—	.381 (.348)
N (Observations)	30	32	32	32	32
Number Failures	20	21	21	21	29
Log Pseudo Likelihood	-49.44	-52.39	-53.66	-52.92	-52.46
Wald χ^2	15.49 *	13.37	13.13	12.98	16.99 **
Time at Risk	7,914	10,445	10,445	10,445	10,445

NOTE: [‡] Truncated from 1993-2009 because of availability of approval data. Coefficients are exponentiated coefficients of the hazard ratio using the Weibull distribution. Dependent variable: total time (in days) from when the story broke to when the scandal ended. Failure means the resolution to the scandal ended in resignation, firing or removal from office. The standard errors are robust standard errors, clustered by each scandal. *** indicates statistical significance at p<.01. ** p<.05. * p<.10. Robust standard errors in parentheses.

APPENDIX TABLE 4
Weibull Parameterized Governor Scandals Duration Models

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
President	.114 ** (.110)	.112 ** (.101)	.122 *** (.108)	.122 *** (.108)	.122 ** (.110)
Personal Scandal	2.11 * (.966)	2.73 ** (1.14)	3.67 *** (1.60)	3.67 *** (1.60)	3.19 ** (1.37)
Financial Scandal	1.57 * (.408)	1.94 ** (.538)	1.78 ** (.490)	1.78 ** (.490)	1.76 ** (.491)
Second Term	1.77 ** (.467)	1.56 (.378)	1.58 (.442)	1.58 * (.442)	1.63 * (.451)
GDP Change	1.05 (.100)	1.01 (.098)	1.00 (.094)	1.00 (.094)	1.03 (.095)
Personal Income Change	1.09 (.080)	1.11 * (.100)	1.14 ** (.087)	1.14 ** (.087)	1.10 (.086)
Approval	.995 (.011)	—	—	—	—
President's Partisans Senate	—	.936 *** (.022)	—	—	—
President's Partisans House	—	—	.989 ** (.004)	—	—
Opponent Average in Congress	—	—	—	1.09 *** (.039)	—
Divided	—	—	—	—	1.86 ** (.525)
N (Observations)	119	119	119	119	119
Number Failures	67	67	67	67	67
Log Pseudo Likelihood	-179.0	-176.1	-176.0	-176.0	-177.3
Wald χ^2	22.01 ***	35.97 ***	33.20 ***	33.20 ***	27.17 ***
Time at Risk	93,187	93,187	93,187	93,187	93,187

NOTE: Coefficients are exponentiated coefficients of the hazard ratio. Dependent variable: total time (in days) from when the story broke to when the scandal ended (parameterized with Weibull distribution). Failure means the resolution to the scandal ended in resignation, firing or removal from office. The standard errors are robust standard errors, clustered by each scandal. *** indicates statistical significance at $p < .01$. ** $p < .05$. * $p < .10$. Robust standard errors in parentheses.

APPENDIX TABLE 5
Significance Scandals

	President (NYT)	Governor (NYT)	President (Serious)	Governor (Serious)
President / Governor	.123 ** (.104)	.360 ** (.166)	.129 ** (.110)	.120 *** (.079)
Personal Scandal	1.86 (.916)	2.21 (1.78)	1.65 * (.830)	4.21 ** (3.91)
Financial Scandal	1.62 ** (.446)	1.41 (.957)	1.45 (.396)	3.15 ** (2.29)
Second Term	1.67 ** (.471)	1.06 (.614)	1.87 ** (.547)	1.15 (.515)
GDP Change	1.06 (.096)	.807 (.119)	1.08 (.101)	.668 (.139)
New York Times Stories	1.00 (.001)	1.00 (.010)	—	—
Serious Charges	—	—	.729 (.275)	4.56 (2.44)
N (Observations)	118	30	119	30
Number Failures	67	21	67	21
Log Pseudo Likelihood	-251.8	-52.83	-255.7	-49.85
Wald χ^2	22.46 ***	57.62 ***	19.82 ***	50.42 ***
Time at Risk	66.6	10,362	67.0	10,445
Harrell's C	.651	.683	.696	.724
Somers' D	.302	.367	.393	.448

NOTE: Coefficients are exponentiated coefficients of the hazard ratio. Dependent variable: total time (in days) from when the story broke to when the scandal ended. Failure means the resolution to the scandal ended in resignation, firing or removal from office. The standard errors are robust standard errors, clustered by each scandal. *** indicates statistical significance at $p < .01$. ** $p < .05$. * $p < .10$. Robust standard errors in parentheses.

Duration Selection Models

As noted in the text, there may be a selection effect at work in our data. Using the duration model with selection developed by Boehmke (2005), we examine whether or not there is a significant selection effect at work in the selection models in the text. This estimator allows the user to estimate Weibull duration models accounting for potential non-ignorable selectivity using maximum likelihood techniques. These models are analogous to Heckman models for OLS regression.

Specifically, this model uses the era of cable news (*Cable*) as the variable that records whether an observation selects into the duration sample and whether the number of news media stories from the Associated Press (*Media Concern*) was greater than its average number of stories for all stories in the database (more than 160). The assumption underlying this model is that scandals are more likely to emerge in the era of cable television, driven by specific attention the media pays to a specific scandal in which they are more involved.

As the results in the following table (Appendix Table 6) reveal, the selection effects do not improve the models from the text. The Wald χ^2 suggests that the coefficients are not distinct from zero. Likewise, the coefficients themselves for the selected variables (president involved, president's partisans in the House and Senate) are generally similar in sign and significance to those in the text. Finally, Q is not significant in two of the three models, demonstrating low correlations between the error terms (Boehmke, et al. 2006).

This mirrors Entman's findings that the media are not found to be effective at maintaining or ending scandal (Entman 2012).

APPENDIX TABLE 6
Duration Selection Models

	Model 1 (President)	Selection	Model 2 (Senate)	Selection	Model 2 (House)	Selection
Duration						
President	.048 *					
	(.341)					
Senate Partisans			-.089 ***			
			(.029)			
House Partisans					-.014 ***	
					(.004)	
Constant						
Media Concern		.116		.100		.097
		(.272)		(.268)		(.267)
N (Observations)	125		125		125	
Log Pseudo Likelihood	-508.3		-504.0		-503.6	
Wald χ^2	.18		.14		.13	
ρ	-.174 ***		-.107		-.097	

NOTE: Coefficients are exponentiated coefficients of the hazard ratio using Bohemke (2005) Stata utility **dersel**. Dependent variable: total time (in days) from when the story broke to when the scandal ended. The standard errors are robust standard errors, clustered by each scandal. *** indicates statistical significance at $p < .01$. ** $p < .05$. * $p < .10$. Robust standard errors in parentheses.