

Are Financial or Moral Scandals Worse? It Depends.

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Abstract:

Previous analysis finds that people respond differently to “financial” (e.g., tax evasion) and “moral” (e.g., sexual misconduct) political scandals. However, experimental and observational studies tend to reach different conclusions about which type of scandal induces a stronger negative reaction from the public. We use an experiment embedded in a national survey to examine the possibility that these divergent findings can, in part, be explained by a failure to consider the effects of abuses of power. Consistent with previous experimental work, we find that people respond more negatively to financial scandals than moral scandals when they do not involve abuses of power. However, abuses of power substantially affect responses to both types of scandals. We also find that moral and financial scandals affect personal and job evaluations of a politician differently. These findings support our contention that in order to understand public responses to scandal, it is crucial to consider the relationship between the scandalous behavior and the official’s formal responsibilities.

Keywords: political scandal, abuse of power, survey experiment

Are Financial or Moral Scandals Worse? It Depends.

There is little doubt that scandals have negative consequences for public evaluations of politicians (Abramowitz 1988; 1991; Peters and Welch 1980; Welch and Hibbing 1997; Groseclose and Krehbiel 1994; Jacobson and Dimock 1994) and the political system as a whole (e.g., Bowler and Karp 2004). Previous analysis finds that the magnitude of these negative responses depends on whether the scandal is “financial” (e.g., tax evasion) or “moral” (e.g., sexual misconduct). However, experimental research finds that people respond more negatively to financial scandals (Carlson, Ganiel, and Hyde 2000; Funk 1996), whereas observational work tends to either find no difference between the two or the reverse relationship (Brown 2001, 2006, 2007; Peters and Welch 1980; Welch and Hibbing 1997). Here we use an experiment embedded in a large national survey to reexamine how people respond to the substantive dimensions of scandals. We make two contributions.

First, we examine the possibility that the divergent findings from experimental and observational research can, in part, be explained by an additional dimension of scandals that has not been considered in previous research: whether a scandal involves an abuse of power. Although experimental work has compared responses to moral and financial scandals that do not involve abuses of power, many of the scandals analyzed in observational research involve entanglements between the politician’s personal and professional responsibilities. This distinction may be particularly important in the realm of moral scandals, as people might be reluctant to punish politicians for personal peccadilloes unless they involve additional transgressions, such as using political power to cover-up an affair. Consistent with previous experimental work, we find that people respond more negatively to financial scandals than moral ones when they do not involve a clear abuse of power. However, an abuse of power substantially affects how people respond to both types of scandals. Importantly, we find that a moral scandal that involves an abuse of power affects vote intent as much as a financial scandal that does not.

Second, we examine whether people make a distinction between what a scandal reveals about a representative as a person and what it implies about the job he or she is doing. We find that people make clear distinctions between personal and job evaluations of representatives involved in scandals. Most

notably, moral scandals that do not involve an abuse of power have a substantial negative effect on *personal* evaluations of a representative, but have only a weak effect on *job* evaluations. This further supports our contention that the relationship between the scandalous behavior and the official's formal responsibilities plays an important role in shaping public responses to scandals.

1. Public Responses to Different Type of Scandals

A number of factors—such as differences in media coverage (Puglisi and Snyder 2008) or the fact that previous experimental work has relied on convenience samples—may contribute to the difference in findings between observational and experimental studies. Here we examine whether differential responses to scandals that involve abuses of power can help to explain this disparity. Recent examples of scandals illustrate the potential importance of this dimension. For instance, New York Congressman Vito Fossella was involved in a highly visible infidelity scandal in 2008 when it was revealed that he had fathered a child with a woman other than his spouse. However, his affair did not involve his public responsibilities. In contrast, the infidelity scandal that ended John Edwards' 2008 presidential campaign included allegations of using campaign funds to buy the silence of involved parties. Similarly, some financial scandals are essentially unrelated to politicians' official roles. The 2008 allegations that Congressman Charles Rangel failed to report income from rental properties he owned were unrelated to his official responsibilities. Yet the tax evasion charges against Duke Cunningham involved *quid pro quo* exchanges closely related to his role as a congressman. Treating the Edwards and Fossella scandals as “moral” and the Rangel and Cunningham scandals as “financial” may obscure an important distinction between these scandals—whether an abuse of power is involved—that may be relevant to voters.

We know of no existing empirical evidence (observational or experimental) that addresses how abuses of power influence evaluations of representatives. Experimental work has focused on responses to moral and financial scandals that do not involve abuses of power: extramarital affairs in the case of moral scandals (Carlson, Ganiel, and Hyde 2000; Funk 1996) and, in the case of financial scandals, tax evasion

(Funk 1996) or embezzlement of funds from a client while an attorney before running for office (Carlson, Ganiel, and Hyde 2000). Observational research has also not typically accounted for abuses of power.¹ For instance, Brown's (2007) analysis of the effects of scandals on incumbents in the 2006 House elections includes three (of 18) cases of "sexual misconduct" (Mark Foley, Jim Kolbe, and Don Sherwood). In addition to the fact that these three representatives were engaged in extramarital sexual behavior, Foley and Kolbe engaged in this behavior with employees, implying an abuse of official power.² Thus, public responses to these scandals should not be attributed solely to their moral (or sexual) content.

We also examine whether people distinguish between how they evaluate a representative as a person and how they evaluate the job a representative is doing. This analysis provides a way to further determine whether citizens draw a distinction between events that are closely related to an official's formal job function and those that are not. Moral scandals are often emotionally charged and speak to the character of a politician. Therefore, we expect moral indiscretions to negatively influence personal evaluations of a representative. However, because events like extramarital affairs are peripheral to the politician's official duties, we expect that the effect of moral scandals on job evaluations will be weak. In contrast, financial scandals like tax evasion involve illegal behavior. Thus, because they imply that a representative cannot (or is unwilling to) adhere to the law, financial scandals may say more about an individual's competence as a government official (Carlson, Ganiel, and Hyde 2000). We therefore expect this type of scandal to affect job evaluations as well as personal evaluations of a representative.

With respect to the abuse of power dimension of scandal, we expect voters to recognize the difference between scandals that involve this type of abuse and those that do not. People may not see an

¹ Peters and Welch (1980) and Welch and Hibbing (1997) classify scandals into five types, plus a residual "other" category. The authors place "moral" scandals in one category with scandals that are "financial" in nature making up the remaining categories. One of the categories is "abuse of congressional prerogatives," which involves relatively minor infractions such as abuses of the franking privilege. The authors do not code whether other abuses of power are a part of the other scandals.

² Sherwood paid his mistress \$500,000 as part of a legal settlement. The terms of the settlement specified that she could not discuss the case until after the upcoming election. The relationship between this behavior and Sherwood's official role is somewhat ambiguous, but highlights the fact that many political sex scandals involve more than an "uncomplicated" affair.

extramarital affair as directly related to a representative's job performance. However, they may see affairs that involve abuses of power (e.g., giving a mistress a cushy job) as reflecting on both the job the representative is doing and the kind of person he is. We anticipate that abuses of power will amplify the negative effects of scandals on both job and personal evaluations.

2. Study Design

We administered a survey experiment as part of the 2009 Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES: Ansolabehere 2010).³ Our experiment was completed by roughly 800 participants that approximate a nationally representative sample of the U.S. adult population. All respondents completed the survey between 10 November and 16 December 2009. Our experiment consisted of a brief vignette that provided a short biography of a fictitious state representative whose party affiliation was randomly assigned with equal probability to be either Democratic or Republican or left blank (i.e., no party).⁴ All respondents saw this text:

{Democrat/Republican/No party} Mark Jones is a 44-year old fourth term state representative. He was first elected in 2002, and has been re-elected by wide margins in the last three elections. Mark lives with his wife, Diane, and has three children, Eric, Alex and Brian.

Some respondents were randomly assigned to a treatment condition in which Representative Jones was also reported to be involved in one of four scandals: (1) moral scandal (marital infidelity) with no abuse

³ The CCES was administered over the Internet, where respondents “opt-in” in order to participate, by YouGov/Polimetrix (<http://www.polimetrix.com/>). Polimetrix uses a combination of sampling and matching techniques to account for the fact that (opt-in) respondents may differ from the general population. This process is designed to approximate a random digit dialing (RDD) sample.

⁴ We presented the representative as a state representative to decrease the chances that respondents would think they should have heard about the scandal in the news. Manipulating the party identification of the representative allowed us to test whether people are more forgiving of co-partisans who are engaged in scandals. We find only weak evidence of such effects. In seemingly unrelated regression (SUR) models including three-way interactions between respondent party identification, the randomly assigned party identification of the representative, and indicators for each of the four scandal treatments (as well as the component terms and two-way interactions) we find that only one of the twelve (four for each of the three outcome measures) three-way interactions reaches conventional levels of statistical significance. The negative effect of infidelity scandals involving no abuse of power on *Vote Intent* was stronger among respondents presented with a representative from their preferred party (p-value on three-way interaction = .013; full results available upon request). The lack of consistent effects is somewhat surprising given aggregate evidence that people are more willing to “forgive” co-partisans (Peters and Welch 1980). However, in the context of the brief vignette, information about the scandal may have washed out the effects of the party cue. Future experiments might be able to shed additional light on the manner in which the “partisan lens” moderates responses to scandal by making a stronger connection between the representative and his party.

of power, (2) moral scandal (marital infidelity) with an abuse of power, (3) financial scandal (tax evasion) with no abuse of power, or (4) financial scandal (tax evasion) with an abuse of power. Table 1 displays the specific treatments that each group received.

[Insert Table 1 about here]

After reading the vignette, respondents were asked to evaluate Representative Jones in three ways. Respondents were asked how likely they would be “to vote for him in the 2010 election” (“not very likely” to “very likely”; *Vote Intent*); to rate the job Representative Jones “is doing as a representative” (“poor” to “excellent”; *Job Evaluation*); and how they “feel about Representative Jones as a person” (“negative” to “positive”; *Personal Evaluation*). Responses to these three items were recorded on a scale ranging from 0 to 100, with 0 corresponding to unfavorable ratings and 100 corresponding to favorable ratings (see the Appendix for complete question wording and coding details). In order to allow us to appropriately compare the effects of scandals on each of these evaluations we standardized each of these measures to have a mean of zero and standard deviation of one in the control condition.⁵ This rescaling provides a way to account for any natural variability in how people form each of the three types of evaluations. We restrict our analysis to the 760 respondents who provided responses to all of the questions used in the analysis presented below.

Because we expect errors across models predicting the three outcome measures to be correlated, we estimate the effects of the scandal treatments using seemingly unrelated regression (SUR).⁶ To predict each outcome measure (*Vote Intent*, *Job Evaluation*, and *Personal Evaluation*), we include indicators for each of the four treatments, with the control group serving as the excluded category. We also include measures of age and age-squared to account for slight imbalances on these variables across treatment conditions.⁷

⁵ For example, $Vote\ Intent = (\text{original vote intent value} - \text{mean of original vote intent value in the control condition}) / \text{standard deviation of original vote intent value in the control condition}$.

⁶ A series of three separate OLS regression models yields findings that are substantively similar to the results of the SUR model. However, as we would expect, the estimated standard errors in the SUR model are somewhat smaller.

⁷ We tested for balance across treatment conditions using a multinomial logit model with the nominal experimental scandal treatment condition variable as the outcome. Covariates: gender, age, age-squared, race, education, income,

3. Estimating Public Responses to Scandals

Figure 1 presents the treatment effects estimated in the SUR model described above (the full model is presented in Appendix Table A1). Overall, we find that people respond negatively to politicians engaged in scandal; the coefficients on each of the four treatment indicators are negative across all three models. More importantly, our analysis (1) shows that people make clear distinctions between different types of scandals and (2) highlights the importance of considering the role of abuses of power in shaping public responses to scandals.

[Insert Figure 1 about here]

The analysis demonstrates that people respond more negatively to scandals that involve abuses of power (striped bars) than those that do not (solid bars). The amplifying negative effects of abuses of power are evident across all three evaluation outcomes. For example, participants who were told that the representative was involved in a tax evasion scandal that did not involve abuse evaluated his job performance 1.20 standard deviations less favorably than those in the control group. The negative effects of a tax evasion scandal that involved an abuse of power on job performance were substantially larger (2.14 standard deviations, $p < .01$ for test of the equality of the coefficients on the two financial scandal indicators in the job evaluation model).⁸

We posited that one explanation for the divergent findings reported in previous observational and experimental research is that experimental studies have only examined responses to scandals that do not involve abuses of power while many of the scandals used in observational studies involve abuses of power. We find support for this claim in our estimates of the effects of scandals on *Vote Intent*. Consistent with findings from previous experimental work, we find that people responded more negatively to the tax

social conservatism, political interest, and party identification. This analysis identified some minor imbalance on age ($chi-square = 8.11$; $p = .088$) and age-squared ($chi-square = 10.36$; $p = .035$).

⁸ See Appendix Table A2, Panel A for p -values for comparisons of scandal treatment effects for each outcome measure.

evasion scandal than the infidelity scandal when neither involved an abuse of power ($p < .01$).⁹ However, we find that people responded similarly to the infidelity scandal that involved an abuse of power and the tax evasion scandal that did not ($p = .914$).

This finding suggests that observational studies that compare the effects of moral and financial scandals may overstate the public's aversion to moral scandals. Publicized scandals that involve abuses of power may not be evenly distributed between moral and financial scandals. If abuses of power are more common in moral scandals than in financial scandals, direct comparisons between moral and financial scandals may attribute the negative consequences of abuses of power to the moral dimension of scandals.¹⁰

It is also informative to assess whether the various scandals used in the experiment had different effects across outcome measures. We examine this by conducting a series of tests of the equality of coefficients on each scandal treatment indicator estimated in the SUR analysis across the three outcomes.¹¹ The most notable finding from that analysis is that people distinguish between *Job* and *Personal Evaluations*, especially when responding to scandals involving infidelity. The infidelity scandal without an abuse of power caused a substantial 1.69 standard deviation decrease in *Personal Evaluations* of the representative, but only modestly affected *Job Evaluations* ($p < .01$ for test of equality of coefficients). The effect of the infidelity scandal that did not involve an abuse of power on *Job Evaluations* was small (-.28 standard deviations) and barely reached conventional levels of statistical significance ($p = .049$). Similarly, the infidelity scandal that involved an abuse of power affected personal evaluations substantially more than job evaluations ($p < .01$ of test of equality of the coefficients). In

⁹ We note that this finding suggests that the different conclusions reached by previous experimental and observational work do not stem from idiosyncrasies of the samples used in the experimental studies.

¹⁰ Although the most grievous abuses of power may be financial (e.g., peddling influence), many common financial scandals, such as tax evasion or hiring an undocumented worker, are not directly related to politicians' official roles. In contrast, in the realm of moral scandals, illegal efforts to cover-up behavior such as an affair or a drunk-driving offense may be the factors that bring this type of scandal to light.

¹¹ P -values from these tests are reported below the diagonal in Panel B of Appendix Table A2. In additional analysis we conducted pairwise bootstrapped t -tests of differences in evaluations between the control group and each of the four treatment groups. We used these bootstrapped means and standard errors to conduct hypothesis tests of whether the differences in these treatment effects varied across outcomes (whether the differences in differences were statistically significant). P -values from these tests are reported above the diagonal in Panel B of Appendix Table A2 and are substantively similar to those we find in the tests of equality of SUR coefficients reported in the text.

contrast, the financial scandal involving an abuse of power, as well as the financial scandal that did not, affected personal and job evaluations similarly (p -values of tests of equality of coefficients=.135 and .251, respectively).

These results further underscore the importance of accounting for the relationships between scandals and the official role of the individual involved. Whereas tax evasion—i.e., failing to comply with government policies (laws)—affected both *Personal* and *Job Evaluations* of the representative, respondents seemed to recognize that although infidelity may be a sign of poor character, it says more about a representative’s personal character than it does about that representative’s job performance.

3.1 Heterogeneous Treatment Effects

We conclude this section by describing findings from additional analysis that assessed whether the effects of the scandal treatments depended on a number of additional factors. We focus on three individual-level characteristics that might condition responses to scandals: social conservatism (an index of attitudes about abortion and gay marriage), gender, and political interest. We expect that, first, social conservatives may see infidelity scandals as particularly problematic. Second, women may respond particularly negatively to infidelity scandals committed by the male politician in our vignette. Third, individuals who are more interested in politics may be more tolerant of scandals, seeing them as “par for the course.” We also examine whether the party identification of the representative conditioned the effects of the scandal treatments. One possibility is that Republican representatives engaged in an infidelity scandal were evaluated particularly unfavorably because this type of violation of traditional values is seen as particularly hypocritical for a member of a party that is often associated with promoting those values. We estimate these moderating effects by adding these four variables, as well as interactions between each of these variables and each of the scandal treatment indicators to our base SUR model (twelve interactions for each potential moderating variable—four for each of the three outcomes; see Appendix Table A3 for full results).

The moderating effects of social conservatism are substantial and in the expected direction. More socially conservative respondents evaluated representatives engaged in infidelity scandals particularly

unfavorably. The negative effects of these scandals on each of the three outcome measures were approximately .8 standard deviations stronger for individuals high on social conservatism (one SD above the mean) than for those low on social conservatism (one SD below the mean). Five of these six interactions are statistically significant at the $p < .01$ level (p -value = .075 for the interaction between social conservatism and the infidelity scandal, no abuse treatment for the personal evaluation outcome measure). Social conservatism did not significantly condition the effects of either of the financial scandal treatments.

We find some evidence that gender and political interest conditioned the effects of the scandal treatments. Female respondents were more inclined to see the infidelity scandal that did not involve an abuse of power and the financial scandal that did not involve an abuse of power as indicative of poor job performance (p -values on interactions = .005 and .097, respectively). Interestingly, we find that the effects of the infidelity scandal that did not involve an abuse of power on vote intent, job evaluation, and personal evaluation were *stronger* among individuals who reported being more politically interested (p -values on interactions = .045, .132, and .004, respectively). Finally, we find some evidence that the effects of the infidelity scandal that involved an abuse of power on vote intent and personal evaluations were particularly strong among respondents presented with a Republican representative (p -values on interactions = .030 and .035, respectively).

It is important to be cautious in interpreting these interaction effects—especially those associated with gender, political interest, and the partisanship of the representative. Examining the moderating effects of these four factors involved calculating p -values for 48 interaction terms. Although the conditioning effects of social conservatism are both strong and consistent with expectations, the same can not be said about the moderating effects of the other three factors. Only five of the 36 coefficients associated with these three factors reach conventional levels of statistical significance. Future work should assess whether these moderating effects are meaningful or if they are simply artifacts of sampling variation.

4. Limitations and Directions for Future Research

The results of our experiment suggest that in order to understand public responses to political scandals it is important to consider the role of abuses of power. We also find that people distinguish between what scandals say about a representative as a person and what they imply about the representative's job performance. For example, although people evaluated a representative involved in an infidelity scandal that did not involve an abuse of power less favorably, this type of scandal substantially affected personal evaluations of the representative, but only modestly affected evaluations of the representative's job performance. Finally, we find some evidence that individual level characteristics—most notably social conservatism—condition responses to scandals.

The benefit of the experimental design used in this study is that it provides a clean and direct way to assess how people respond to the substance of scandals. Like all research designs, however, our experimental design has limitations. One of these limitations is that the vignettes we used provided only rudimentary information about the representative. Outside of the experimental context people are likely to have more detailed information about representatives who are accused of scandalous behavior and may also have strong priors about these politicians. These factors may either diminish or amplify the consequences of scandals. Future experimental designs could provide a more robust information environment by using a vignette that provided more information about the representative (e.g., the representative's policy positions). Similarly, this study only examines initial responses to scandal. Although these initial reactions are important, our design does not allow us to assess how long they endure.

It is also important to consider how to best demarcate political scandals. Here we have treated abuse of power as a dimension of scandal. However, an alternative way to conceptualize scandals would be to treat the abuse of power scandals we used in our treatments as consisting of two scandals—an initial financial or infidelity scandal plus an abuse of power scandal. Our decision to treat scandals like those used in our abuse treatments as single occurrences of scandal stems from our interpretation of how scandals are typically treated in political discourse. Additionally, it tracks with how scandals are

demarcated in observational studies. For example, Brown (2006) codes Representative Mel Reynolds' 1994 behavior as a single sexual scandal although he was charged with abusing his power by pressuring a 16-year-old campaign worker to lie about their sexual encounter and ultimately was convicted of multiple counts of sexual assault, obstruction of justice, and solicitation of child pornography (Rudin 1998).

This said, in order to understand the mechanisms that shape responses to various types of scandals it is necessary to consider whether people's strong responses to scandals involving abuses of power are the product of a uniquely strong aversion to abuses of power or if, instead, they are simply responses to learning more repellent information about the individual involved in the scandal. Future work should consider this distinction more carefully. One way to do this would be to compare responses to a financial scandal that involved an abuse of power with responses to a representative involved in both a financial and a moral scandal—neither of which involved an abuse of power—or multiple moral scandals (e.g., multiple extramarital affairs).

Our findings also suggest a variety of additional directions for future research. Many other aspects of scandals may shape public responses to these events. For example, perceptions of hypocrisy may intensify the effects of a scandal. A representative who has previously taken a strong stance in favor of “family values” and who is later caught in an infidelity scandal may be punished particularly harshly (for observational evidence on this point see Brown 2006; Bishin, Stevens, and Wilson 2006). Factors including the gender and race of the individual involved, whether the scandalous behavior is confirmed, and the popularity of the accused may also have important consequences. Similarly, our findings suggest that the characteristics of the observer (respondent) can shape responses to different types of scandals. However, more work is needed to improve our understanding of how the characteristics we examined, as well as other individual-level factors, affect responses to political scandals.

Appendix

Question wording

Vote Intent: If you lived in Representative Jones' district, how likely do you think you would be to vote for him in the 2010 election?

RULER WIDGET: *Vote Intent*, Not very likely (0) – Very likely (100)

Job Evaluation: Based on what you know about Representative Jones, how would you rate the job he is doing as a representative?

RULER WIDGET: *Job Evaluation*, Poor (0) – Excellent (100)

Personal Evaluation: How do you feel about Representative Jones as a person?

RULER WIDGET: *Personal Evaluation*, Negative (0) – Positive (100)

Social Conservatism Index: *Each of the two variables was rescaled to have mean=0 and standard deviation=1 with higher values corresponding to more conservative attitudes. Social conservatism is a mean index of these two standardized scales.*

Abortion: Which one of the opinions on this page best agrees with your view on abortion?

By law, abortion should never be permitted

The law should permit abortion only in case of rape, incest or when the woman's life is in danger

The law should permit abortion for reasons other than rape, incest, or danger to the woman's life, but only after the need for the abortion has been clearly established

By law, a woman should always be able to obtain an abortion as a matter of personal choice

Gay Marriage: Do you believe people should have the right to marry someone of the same sex?

Yes

No

Political Interest: Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs ... ? (*rescaled to have mean=0 and standard deviation=1 with higher values corresponding to greater interest*)

Most of the time

Some of the time

Only now and then

Hardly at all

Don't Know (4 respondents: coded as "Hardly at all")

Table A1. Evaluations of the Representative in Response to Political Scandal (SUR Results)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	<i>Vote Intent</i> (not very likely-very likely)	<i>Job Evaluation</i> (poor-excellent)	<i>Personal Evaluation</i> (negative-positive)
Infidelity Scandal (No Abuse)	-0.736 [0.121]**	-0.277 [0.140]*	-1.687 [0.137]**
Infidelity Scandal (Abuse)	-1.067 [0.126]**	-0.802 [0.146]**	-1.866 [0.143]**
Financial Scandal (No Abuse)	-1.081 [0.122]**	-1.205 [0.142]**	-1.398 [0.139]**
Financial Scandal (Abuse)	-1.612 [0.115]**	-2.138 [0.134]**	-2.278 [0.131]**
Age (mean-centered)	-0.009 [0.002]**	-0.013 [0.003]**	-0.006 [0.003]*
Age-squared/100 (mean-centered)	-0.006 [0.015]	0.006 [0.018]	-0.014 [0.017]
Constant	0.038 [0.090]	0.022 [0.104]	0.046 [0.102]
Observations	760	760	760

Note: Seemingly Unrelated Regression (SUR) coefficients with standard errors in brackets. Outcome variables rescaled to have means of zero and standard deviations of one in the control condition. * significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%

Table A2. Comparison of Equality of Scandal Treatment Coefficients

Panel A: Compare Within Outcomes				
<i>Vote Intent</i>	Infidelity	Infidelity (Abuse)	Financial	Financial (Abuse)
Infidelity	1.000			
Infidelity (Abuse)	0.010	-		
Financial	0.005	0.914	-	
Financial (Abuse)	0.000	0.000	0.000	-
<hr/>				
<i>Job Evaluation</i>	Infidelity	Infidelity (Abuse)	Financial	Financial (Abuse)
Infidelity	1.000			
Infidelity (Abuse)	0.000	-		
Financial	0.000	0.007	-	
Financial (Abuse)	0.000	0.000	0.000	-
<hr/>				
<i>Personal Evaluation</i>	Infidelity	Infidelity (Abuse)	Financial	Financial (Abuse)
Infidelity	1.000			
Infidelity (Abuse)	0.221	-		
Financial	0.040	0.001	-	
Financial (Abuse)	0.000	0.003	0.000	-

Note: Cell entries are p-values from tests of the equality of coefficients on treatment indicators from SUR analysis presented in Table A1.

Panel B: Compare Across Outcomes			
<i>Infidelity (No Abuse)</i>	Vote Intent	Job Evaluation	Personal Evaluation
Vote Intent	-	0.010	0.000
Job Evaluation	0.000	-	0.000
Personal Evaluation	0.000	0.000	-
<hr/>			
<i>Infidelity (Abuse)</i>	Vote Intent	Job Evaluation	Personal Evaluation
Vote Intent	-	0.167	0.000
Job Evaluation	0.013	-	0.000
Personal Evaluation	0.000	0.000	-
<hr/>			
<i>Financial</i>	Vote Intent	Job Evaluation	Personal Evaluation
Vote Intent	-	0.540	0.065
Job Evaluation	0.231	-	0.261
Personal Evaluation	0.003	0.135	-
<hr/>			
<i>Financial (Abuse)</i>	Vote Intent	Job Evaluation	Personal Evaluation
Vote Intent	-	0.001	0.000
Job Evaluation	0.000	-	0.354
Personal Evaluation	0.000	0.251	-

Note: Cell entries are p-values from tests of the equality of treatment effects across outcomes. P-values below the diagonal are tests of the equality of coefficients on treatment indicators from SUR analysis presented in Table A1; p-values above the diagonal are from pairwise t-tests using bootstrapped means and standard errors.

Table A3. Evaluations of the Representative in Response to Political Scandal - Heterogeneous Treatment Effects (SUR Results)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
	<i>Vote Intent</i> (not very likely-very likely)	<i>Job Evaluation</i> (poor-excellent)	<i>Personal Evaluation</i> (negative-positive)
Infidelity Scandal (No Abuse)	-0.547 [0.173]**	0.109 [0.203]	-1.532 [0.197]**
Infidelity Scandal (Abuse)	-0.990 [0.181]**	-0.677 [0.212]**	-1.806 [0.206]**
Financial Scandal (No Abuse)	-0.914 [0.175]**	-0.959 [0.205]**	-1.303 [0.199]**
Financial Scandal (Abuse)	-1.631 [0.167]**	-2.087 [0.195]**	-2.425 [0.190]**
Female x Infidelity Scandal (No Abuse)	-0.428 [0.244]	-0.795 [0.285]**	-0.334 [0.277]
Female x Infidelity Scandal (Abuse)	-0.220 [0.250]	-0.271 [0.292]	-0.205 [0.284]
Female x Financial Scandal (No Abuse)	-0.311 [0.246]	-0.476 [0.287]	-0.169 [0.279]
Female x Financial Scandal (Abuse)	0.058 [0.229]	-0.061 [0.267]	0.334 [0.259]
Political Interest x Infidelity Scandal (No Abuse)	-0.249 [0.124]*	-0.218 [0.145]	-0.406 [0.141]**
Political Interest x Infidelity Scandal (Abuse)	-0.130 [0.121]	-0.101 [0.141]	-0.266 [0.137]
Political Interest x Financial Scandal (No Abuse)	-0.026 [0.134]	0.047 [0.157]	-0.175 [0.152]
Political Interest x Financial Scandal (Abuse)	0.008 [0.116]	0.033 [0.136]	-0.114 [0.131]
Social Conservatism x Infidelity Scandal (No Abuse)	-0.399 [0.117]**	-0.369 [0.137]**	-0.237 [0.133]
Social Conservatism x Infidelity Scandal (Abuse)	-0.462 [0.124]**	-0.406 [0.144]**	-0.455 [0.140]**
Social Conservatism x Financial Scandal (No Abuse)	-0.159 [0.119]	-0.076 [0.139]	0.060 [0.135]
Social Conservatism x Financial Scandal (Abuse)	-0.134 [0.112]	-0.120 [0.131]	-0.117 [0.127]
Party of Rep. x Infidelity Scandal (No Abuse)	-0.250 [0.141]	-0.154 [0.165]	-0.022 [0.160]
Party of Rep. x Infidelity Scandal (Abuse)	-0.331 [0.153]*	-0.048 [0.178]	-0.366 [0.173]*
Party of Rep. x Financial Scandal (No Abuse)	-0.156 [0.144]	-0.202 [0.168]	-0.122 [0.163]
Party of Rep. x Financial Scandal (Abuse)	0.050 [0.139]	0.083 [0.162]	0.276 [0.157]
Age (mean-centered)	-0.006 [0.003]*	-0.011 [0.003]**	-0.003 [0.003]
Age-squared/100 (mean-centered)	-0.008 [0.015]	0.002 [0.017]	-0.018 [0.017]
Female=1	0.110 [0.166]	0.347 [0.195]	-0.027 [0.189]
Political Interest (M=0, SD=1; low-high)	-0.021 [0.089]	0.025 [0.104]	0.051 [0.101]
Social Conservatism (M=0, SD=1; liberal-conservative)	0.126 [0.081]	0.049 [0.095]	0.080 [0.092]
Party of Rep. (-1=Democrat;0=no party stated;1=Republican)	0.086 [0.101]	0.069 [0.117]	0.018 [0.114]
Constant	-0.017 [0.125]	-0.158 [0.146]	0.067 [0.142]
Observations	760	760	760

Note: Seemingly Unrelated Regression (SUR) coefficients with standard errors in brackets. Outcome variables rescaled to have means of zero and standard deviations of one in the control condition. * significant at 5%; ** significant at 1%

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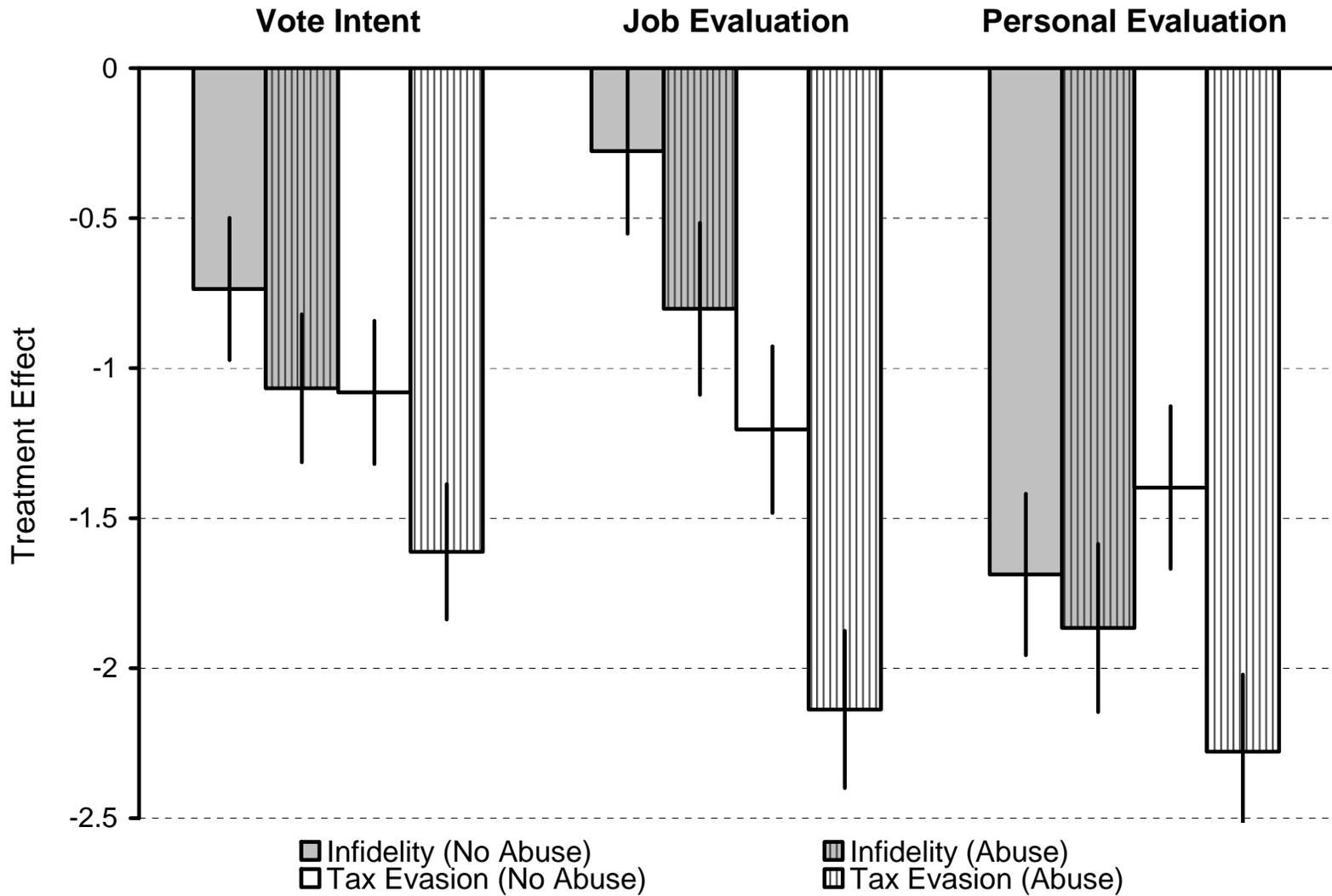
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Table 1. Political Scandal Treatments

	<i>No Abuse of Power</i>	<i>Abuse of Power</i>
<i>Moral Scandal (Marital Infidelity)</i>	Recently, reports have confirmed that Representative Jones has been having an extra-marital affair for the past five years with 29 year-old Sandra Mason. (N=153)	...Jones hired Mason as a paid policy consultant about two years into their affair. (N=126)
<i>Financial Scandal (Tax Evasion)</i>	Recently, reports have confirmed that Representative Jones has failed to pay over \$25,000 in income taxes over the past 10 years. (N=142)	...When the state auditor confronted him about this irregularity, Jones offered him a position as a paid policy consultant in exchange for not filing a formal complaint. (N=178)
<i>None (Control Group)</i>	-- (N=161)	

Note: Cells report text that appeared at the end of the vignette for individuals assigned to treatment conditions. The text in the *Abuse of Power* column was appended to the text in the *No Abuse of Power* column for respondents in those conditions.

Figure 1. Evaluations of the Representative in Response to Political Scandal (SUR Coefficients)



Note: Coefficient estimates based on Seemingly Unrelated Regressions reported in Appendix Table A1. Outcome variables rescaled to have means of zero and standard deviations of one in the control condition. Whiskers indicate 95% confidence intervals of these coefficient estimates.