

Appendix A

Scandal Variable Coding Notes

The ratio-level scandal-intensity variable represents the mean number of *Washington Post* front-page stories pertaining to the scandal in the month prior to each key vote. We chose the *Post* as our source because it is the paper to which House members likely devote the greatest amount of attention, and House members are the target for this study. Our coding involved a simple count of *Post* stories on Page 1 for each day from the scandal's start through the end of our designated time frame. For the Watergate scandal, coding began with the Watergate break-in coverage in Summer 1972. For Iran/contra, we initially began our coding with the breaking of the story in November 1986, but extended our coding back to early October 1986 when we discovered that the Hasenfus capture in Nicaragua generated considerable media attention and suspicion, although the full implications were not yet apparent in October.

Although we believe this operationalization of scandal is the best available measure, there are shortcomings that should be acknowledged. In particular, the use of front-page stories makes our measure conspicuously subject to the effect of other major stories, even when the scandal itself has not abated. For instance, in 1987 alone, when the Iran/contra affair was at its peak, the story was often given second-billing behind the Gary Hart scandal (which coincided with the opening of congressional hearings into Iran/contra), the Bork nomination, the October stock market crash, and the INF treaty. One could make the argument that the Iran/contra scandal became less salient to Congress at these times, but this still seems to be a drawback in the measure.

Intercoder reliability is a concern but identifying the scandal stories was generally an objective task. Although we did not use multiple coders to test for reliability, we did choose to have one researcher code each time period in its entirety to ensure a high level of consistency. More importantly, we established some ground rules to promote consistency when stories of questionable relevance to the scandal inevitably arose. If a story did not pertain directly to the scandal, but was loosely related, we examined the lead paragraph of the story to see if the journalist cast the related issue in terms of the scandal. For instance, when the lead paragraph of a 1987 story on President Reagan's popularity focused on the effect Iran/contra was having in the electorate, we included that story in our tally of scandal stories.

More specific rules applied to the individual scandals. In the case of Iran/contra, stories about the Iran arms-for-hostages deal, the administration's attempt to covertly support the Nicaraguan contras against Congress' will, and the infamous "diversion" all were relevant. Of course, stories about the scandal investigation and its cast of characters were also included. But, ongoing reports of the contra war and the administration's legal attempts to fund the contras were not included in our coding--these stories were considered to be too far from the scandal itself. In the case of Watergate, stories mentioning Watergate--whether discussions dealing directly with Nixon himself, stories related to the involvement of aides and advisors in the scandal, or about suspected Republican involvement, generally speaking--were included. In addition, stories relating to Spiro Agnew's financial misdeeds and eventual resignation from his position as vice president were also considered relevant. Finally, stories discussing questions about Nixon's own financial dealings, including the payment of back taxes, illegal campaign

contributions via the milk producers (among others), and investigations relating to such matters (directly mentioning Nixon's involvement) were included in the analysis.

Our look at Clinton's influence during the Lewinsky scandal focuses on the year 1998 only--we focused on 1998 since it was a year in which one scandal clearly dominated the reputation of the Clinton administration. Other years earlier in the Clinton administration will be complicated by the presence of multiple scandals of varying salience. Since we focus *only* on the Lewinsky scandal, coding is straightforward, but a couple of notes are in order. We included stories about the Paula Jones deposition and lawsuit--as well as the Kathleen Willey allegations--since these stories became relevant to the overall intern scandal after that story broke in late January. We do not, however, include stories about Webster Hubbell, Whitewater, and campaign finance.

Appendix B

Bills Included in Analysis

Source: Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, *various issues*

<u>Pres.</u>	<u>Bill #</u>	<u>Brief Description of Specific Roll-Call</u>
Position		
1970		
S	HR13111	Override veto of Labor HEW
S	HR16311	Family assistance
S	HR17550	Social Security--Betts motion to recommit bill w/automatic COLA
O	HRes914	Motion to order prev. question on the rule (914) for agreeing to Sen amends. on HR4249
O	HR11102	Override veto of Hill-Burton
S	HR18546	Agriculture Act of 1970
O	HR16916	Override veto Office of Education Appropriations
O	HR17548	Override veto Independent Agy/HUD appropriations
S	HR17755	Dept of Transportation appropriations--Motion tabling Yates motion (Yates motion killed funding for Supersonic Transport).
S	HR19446	Emergency School Aid
1971		
O	HJRes468	DoT Appropriations--Yates Amendment deleting SST funding from committee bill
O	HR6531	Military draft--Whalen Amendment limiting period for extending draft
O	HR1	Welfare/SS--Ullman motion deleting Title IV funding from bill
S	HR8432	Emergency Loan Guarantees
S	HR1746	Erlenborn amendment (substitute bill) allowing EEOC to sue in fed court
S	HR8687	Defense procurement Authorization--Hebert motion to end debate on Arends motion
S	HR10947	Revenue Act 1971--adopting conference report (S Rept 92-533)
1972		
S	HR14989	DoS, DoJ Appropriations--Derwinski amendment restoring UN funding
S	HR14370	Revenue Sharing

S HR16029 Foreign aid auth--Bollings amend deleting stipulation for withdrawal from VN
O HR15417 Labor/HEW appropriations--OVERRIDE
O HR16810 Debt Ceiling Increase--Mahon amendment deleting provision that gave Nixon broad
power to make spending cuts
O S2770 Water Pollution control--OVERRIDE

1973

O Hr7447 Second Supplemental Appropriations--Addabbo amend removing fund transfers to VN
from other DoD accounts
O HR8860 Farm Program Extension
O HR9130 Alaskan Pipeline--Dellenback-Owens amendment
O Hr7935 Minimum Wage Increase--OVERRIDE
S HR6452 Urban mass transit--Second vote on Wylie amendment deleting funding for urban transit
O HJRes542 War Powers Act--OVERRIDE
S HR7130 Reorg. of Budget Procedure--Martin amendment restoring presidential impoundment
S HRes657 Ford confirmation (VP)
S HR10710 Trade reform

1974

S HR12435 Minimum Wage increase
S HR69 Elementary and Secondary Education Act--Esch Amendment banning most bussing for
desegregation
S HR12565 Defense supplemental authorization--Hebert Amend Increasing aid to VN
O HR13834 Standby energy emergency authority--Staggers motion to suspend rules

1985

S SJRes71 MX Missile Authorization
O HR1460 Anti-Apartheid
O HR2577 Supplemental Appropriations--Boland Amendment continuing ban on covert Contra

funding

S HR1872 DoD Auth--Skelton amend to Porter amendment funding chemical weapons
O HR1872 DoD Auth--Dicks amend to Price amendment cutting SDI funding
S HR1555 Foreign Aid Amendments--Stratton amendment allowing military funding to Angola
S HR2100 Farm Program Reauthorization--Madigan amendment
O HR1562 Textile Import Quotas
S HRes336 Tax overhaul (HR3838)
S HRes343 Tax overhaul (HR3838)

1986

S HR4332 Firearms Law Reform
S HR5052 FY87 Military Construction--Edwards amendment providing money to Contras
O HR1562 Textile Import Quotas--OVERRIDE
O HR4428 Defense Authorization--Aspin test-ban amendment
O HR4428 Defense Authorization--Bennet amendment cutting Star Wars
O HR4428 Defense Authorization--Porter amendment limiting chemical weapon production
S HR4759 Intelligence Authorization--Stump amendment removing restrictions on covert funding to
UNITA rebels in Angola
S HR3838 Tax overhaul--conference report
O HJRes738 Continuing appropriations--FY87
O HR4868 S. Africa sanctions--OVERRIDE

1987

O HR1 Clean Water Reauth--OVERRIDE
O HCR93 FY88 Budget Res--Gray substitute bill adjusting FY88 amounts
O HR3 Omnibus Trade--Gephardt amendment
S HR27 FSLIC rescue--StGermain amendment increasing borrowing authority
O HR1748 FY88-89 Defense Authorization--Schroeder amendment limiting testing
O HR2342 Coast Guard Authorization--Lowry amendment on Kuwaiti Reflagging
O HR1414 Price-Anderson Amendments--Sikorski amendment
O HR3545 FY88 Budget Reconciliation bill

1988

S HJRes444 Contra Aid
O S557 Civil Rights Restoration--OVERRIDE
O HR4264 FY89 Defense--Gephardt test-ban amendment
O HR4264 Spratt SDI-limit amendment
O HR3 Omnibus trade--OVERRIDE
S HR1158 Fair Housing--Shaw amendment deleting anti-discrimination provisions
S HR4481 Base Closings/Congressional Approval--Kasich amendment
S HR442 Wartime Relocation Reparations--Conference report
S HR5210 Death Penalty in drug-related murders--Gekas amendment

1998

O HR 2631 Override of Clinton military construction veto
O HR 6 Riggs Amendment to Higher Education Reauthorization Act
O HR 10 Financial Services Competition Act
O HR 4250 1998 Patient Protection Act
O Hres525 1998 Release of Starr Report to the public
O HR 3736 Workforce Improvement and Protection Act
S HR 4328 On agreeing to Conference Report for HR4328 Transportation and Related
Agencies Appropriations

**Appendix C: Presidential Support on Randomly-Sampled Presidential Position
Votes¹**

All House Members

	Nixon 1970-74			Reagan 1985-88		
	b_k	S.E.		b_k	S.E.	
Party	0.263	0.033	*	-0.028	0.061	
Ideology	0.369	0.042	*	1.165	0.053	*
Southern	0.038	0.035		0.247	0.030	*
Approval	-0.003	0.001	*	-0.107	0.119	
Scandal	-0.101	0.015	*	-0.087	0.036	*
Constant	0.116	0.027	*	0.046	0.038	
N	13293			11614		
-2 Log Likelihood	-675.694		*	-2439.927		

¹ Probit parameter estimates with robust standard errors reported.

* Significant at $p < 0.01$
