

TEMPLE UNIVERSITY

The Politics of Scandal
Political Science 4896
Gladfelter 441
T & R: 12:30 pm – 1:50 pm
SPRING 2017

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Office Hours: Tuesday, 2p-3p, or by appointment.

Course Description

There is something unsettling about political scandals, whether they occur in the form of sexual impropriety (e.g. Thomas, Lewinsky, Spitzer, Craig, Foley, Weiner), official misconduct (e.g. House Banking Scandal, Keating Five), or abuses of power (e.g. Bridgegate, Watergate). This course examines how and when corruption and scandal matter in the context of American politics. It asks, for example, what impact scandals have on vote choice, citizen trust, candidate image, and media coverage?

Primary Questions by Paul E. Johnson

1. Who did what?
 - a. Who: was misbehavior by top/mid/low level executive, or top/low legislator, or judge, or ...
 - b. What: Was it illegal? Who was harmed? What did it cost?
2. List everybody involved, check his or her incentives and opportunities.
 - a. What were they trying to get?
 - b. How did they do this? What powers, loopholes, institutions can be blame?
 - c. What institutional rules & supervision did they have to avoid?
3. How was the “wrong” discovered? (This may be useful information for “fixing” things.) Why didn't they find/fix “it” sooner? Why didn't the “victims” complain? Did monitoring mechanisms malfunction?
4. What happened after the wrong was discovered? Who cared? Were people punished? Were there reforms? Did they have side-effects?

Readings

There is no required text for this course. All readings will be posted to Blackboard and are available through the Temple University library.

Course Requirements

1. **Preparation Assessment (10%):** This course will be conducted in a hybrid lecture-seminar format. This means that I will lecture, at least once a week, on issues related to public opinion and survey methodology. This will be followed by an in-class discussion of a set of readings devoted to a particular topic or a related set of topics. Each student will sign in to class at the start of every session under one of the following three statements, affirming that the statement characterizes their preparedness level for that session:
 - a. "I have completed all assigned readings for this week and am prepared to discuss them." (*100% of the possible participation/preparation points for that session*).
 - b. "I have completed at least one but not all assigned materials for this week and am prepared to discuss it/them." (*60% of the possible participation/preparation points for that session*).
 - c. "I have not completed any of the assigned readings for this week." (*30% of the possible participation/preparation points for that session*).

During each session, I will randomly select a total of 3 students from groups A and B. Each selected student will have the option of providing any one of the following (student may be asked clarifying follow-up questions):

- A question about the material that demonstrates an earnest attempt to understand it.
- An explanation of the argument or concept.
- An analysis of the evidence used in the material.
- A relevant real world example of the phenomena/theory/concept covered in the material.

If you fail to provide any one of these to my satisfaction, you will:

- receive zero *participation/preparation* points for that session, and
 - automatically be required to provide one of the above responses for each of the subsequent two weeks (i.e. an automatic need to verify).
1. **Case Briefs (30%):** This assignment requires you and a partner to prepare 8 briefing memos (four each) on a designated ethics case. For example, you will be

prompted to analyze and offer an opinion on a question of bribery, conflict of interest, and fraud. The memo should be brief – i.e., no more than 3 pages, single spaced. This assignment is described on Blackboard. **Please be sure to include your name on each page and to staple or fastened with a paperclip.**

2. **Exams (30 %):** There will be two exams – a midterm and a final. Each will be a combination of identification, short answer and essay questions. The exams are designed to test your familiarity with the lecture material, reading assignments, and your independent ability to apply what you have learned. The exams are worth 15 % each.
3. **Diagnosing Corruption (30%):** Over the course of the semester, you will be working to collect data and diagnose corruption in an American city. The methodological approach will be quantitative and qualitative, and it will require you to examine existing ethics laws, newspaper archives, and legal documents. The final project will consist of a briefing memo of 10 pages and a research presentation. Please use APSA style to cite references.

[**Note:** If you have difficulties using the library's resources, or with your library research, contact the **Political Science Librarian**, Rick Lezenby, by email (rlfile@temple.edu) or in his office (Room 315, 3rd floor, west side of Paley Library.)

Controversial Subject Matter. “Empiricism addresses what is, what might be in the future, and why.” In studying politics scientifically, our goal is to think about empirical issues in a way that is objective and “value free.” Still, we will encounter subject matter, such as race or class-based politics, which has the tendency to evoke strong reactions. This is par for the course in discussing anything political, and I am fully committed to offering a safe and respectful space in which to explore any issues that should emerge. That means that your comments should be respectful, empirically informed, and offered in the spirit of scientific inquiry.

Assignments. I do not accept late or emailed assignments. You are expected to submit a hardcopy (or an electronic copy on Blackboard, if otherwise noted) of your assignment on the day it is due. In the event that you are unable to meet a deadline or make an exam, you should speak with me in **ADVANCE** regarding the possibility of an accommodation. **Please be proactive and exercise professional courtesy.**

Disability Statement: This course is open to all students who meet the **academic requirements for participation.** Any student who has a need for accommodation based on the impact of a disability should contact the instructor privately to discuss the specific situation as soon as possible. Contact Disability Resources and Services at 215-204-1280 in 100 Ritter Annex to coordinate reasonable accommodations for students with documented disabilities.

Statement on Academic Freedom: Freedom to teach and freedom to learn are inseparable facets of academic freedom. The University has adopted a policy on Student and Faculty Academic Rights and Responsibilities (Policy # 03.70.02) which can be accessed through the following link: http://policies.temple.edu/getdoc.asp?policy_no=03.70.02.

Mental and Physical Health

A recent American College Health Survey found stress, sleep problems, anxiety, depression, interpersonal concerns, and alcohol use among the top ten health impediments to academic performance. Students experiencing personal problems or situational crises during the semester are encouraged to contact the Tuttleman Counseling Services (215-204-7276) for assistance, support and advocacy. This service is free and confidential. Moreover, if at any time during the semester issues come up that are affecting your classwork and class participation, please come talk to me ASAP so we can make the appropriate arrangements. It will be a lot easier for me and for you if we deal with the situation in a timely manner

READING AGENDA

The assigned readings for each week are listed just below the bolded date and topic. The readings here often feature dense arguments and complicated research designs. I do not expect you to understand the technical details of statistical tests and the like, but I would like you to understand the arguments, basic research approach (i.e., the data they collected). To help structure your approach to the assigned texts, consider the following questions:

1. What's the research question and why is it important?
2. What's the theoretical argument and does it help us understand the question better than before?
3. What evidence do the authors offer to support their theoretical claims and is that evidence credible?
4. What are the strengths and weaknesses of the study?

These dates are subject to change. It is your responsibility to keep track of these dates and any changes made to them.

Jan 17-19 Introduction

Harvey G. Kebschull, "Political Corruption: Making It the 'Significant Other' in Political Studies," *PS: Political Science & Politics* 25, no. 4 (December 1992): 705-9, doi:10.2307/419676.

John R. Zaller, "Monica Lewinsky's Contribution to Political Science," *PS: Political Science & Politics* 31, no. 02 (June 1998): 182-89, doi:10.2307/420248.

Jan 24-26 Definitions, Laws, and Measurement, Pt. 1

John Gardiner. "Defining Corruption." In Arnold J. Heidenheimer and Michael Johnston, *Political Corruption: Concepts and Contexts* (Transaction Publishers, 2002).

James Q. Wilson. "Corruption is Not Always Scandalous." In John G. Gardiner and David J. Olson, *Theft of the City: Readings on Corruption in Urban America* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1974).

Arnold J. Heidenheimer. "Perspectives on the Perception of Corruption." In Arnold J. Heidenheimer and Michael Johnston, *Political Corruption: Concepts and Contexts* (Transaction Publishers, 2002).

Jan 31-Feb 2 Definitions, Laws, and Measurement, Pt. 2

John G. Peters and Susan Welch. "Gradients of Corruption in Perceptions of American Public Life." In Arnold J. Heidenheimer and Michael Johnston, *Political Corruption: Concepts and Contexts* (Transaction Publishers, 2002).

Michael J. Johnston. "Right & Wrong in American Politics: Popular Conceptions of Corruption." In Arnold J. Heidenheimer and Michael Johnston, *Political Corruption: Concepts and Contexts* (Transaction Publishers, 2002).

David P. Redlawsk and James A. McCann, "Popular Interpretations of 'Corruption' and Their Partisan Consequences," *Political Behavior* 27, no. 3 (September 1, 2005): 261-83, doi:10.1007/s11109-005-4469-3.

Thomas Holbrook and Karen Kaufmann. "Source of Perceptions of Local Political Corruption." Unpublished Manuscript, 2014.

Feb 7-9 Causes and Consequences of Corruption

Lincoln Steffens. "Philadelphia: Corrupt and Contented" In Lincoln Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities* (New York, NY: McClure Company, 1903), pp. 134-162.

George C. S. Benson, "Theories of Corruption." In George C.S. Benson, *Political Corruption in America* (Lexington, Mass: D.C. Heath, 1978).

Campante, Filipe R., and Do. "Isolated Capital Cities, Accountability, and Corruption: Evidence from US States." *The American Economic Review* 104, no. 8 (August 1, 2014): 2456–81. doi:10.1257/aer.104.8.2456.

Meier, Kenneth J., and Thomas M. Holbrook. "'I Seen My Opportunities and I Took 'Em:' Political Corruption in the American States." *The Journal of Politics* 54, no. 1 (February 1, 1992): 135–55. doi:10.2307/2131647.

Nice, David C. "The Policy Consequences of Political Corruption." *Political Behavior* 8, no. 3 (1986): 287–95.

Feb 14-16 Media and Political Scandal

Botero, Sandra, Rodrigo Castro Cornejo, Laura Gamboa, Nara Pavao, and David W. Nickerson. "Says Who? An Experiment on Allegations of Corruption and Credibility of Sources." *Political Research Quarterly* 68, no. 3 (June 25, 2015): 493–504. doi:10.1177/1065912915591607.

Puglisi, Riccardo, and James M. Snyder. "Newspaper Coverage of Political Scandals." *The Journal of Politics* 73, no. 3 (July 1, 2011): 931–50. doi:10.1017/S0022381611000569.

Niven, David. "A Fair Test of Media Bias: Party, Race, and Gender in Coverage of the 1992 House Banking Scandal." *Polity* 36, no. 4 (July 1, 2004): 637–49. doi:10.1086/POLv36n4ms3235406.

Nyhan, Brendan. "Scandal Potential: How Political Context and News Congestion Affect the President's Vulnerability to Media Scandal." *British Journal of Political Science* 45, no. 2 (April 2015): 435–66. doi:10.1017/S0007123413000458.

Feb 21-23 Misconduct, Information Reception, & Candidate Image

Cobb, Michael D., Brendan Nyhan, and Jason Reifler. "Beliefs Don't Always Persevere: How Political Figures Are Punished When Positive Information about Them Is Discredited." *Political Psychology* 34, no. 3 (June 1, 2013): 307–26. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9221.2012.00935.x.

Miller, Beth. "The Effects of Scandalous Information on Recall of Policy-Related Information." *Political Psychology* 31, no. 6 (December 1, 2010): 887–914. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9221.2010.00786.x.

Mitchell, Dona-Gene. "Here Today, Gone Tomorrow? Assessing How Timing and Repetition of Scandal Information Affects Candidate

Evaluations." *Political Psychology* 35, no. 5 (October 1, 2014): 679–701. doi:10.1111/pops.12095.

McDermott, Monika L., Douglas Schwartz, and Sebastian Vallejo. "Talking the Talk but Not Walking the Walk Public Reactions to Hypocrisy in Political Scandal." *American Politics Research* 43, no. 6 (November 1, 2015): 952–74. doi:10.1177/1532673X15577830.

Funk, Carolyn L. "The Impact of Scandal on Candidate Evaluations: An Experimental Test of the Role of Candidate Traits." *Political Behavior* 18, no. 1 (n.d.): 1–24. doi:10.1007/BF01498658.

Owen, Diana. "Popular Politics and the Clinton/Lewinsky Affair: The Implications for Leadership." *Political Psychology* 21, no. 1 (March 1, 2000): 161–77. doi:10.1111/0162-895X.00182.

Feb 28-Mar 2 Financial Scandals

Doherty, David, Conor M. Dowling, and Michael G. Miller. "Are Financial or Moral Scandals Worse? It Depends." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 44, no. 04 (October 2011): 749–57. doi:10.1017/S1049096511001247.

Bowler, Shaun, and Todd Donovan. "Campaign Money, Congress, and Perceptions of Corruption." *American Politics Research* 44, no. 2 (March 1, 2016): 272–95. doi:10.1177/1532673X15594232.

Alford, John, Holly Teeters, Daniel S. Ward, and Rick K. Wilson. "Overdraft: The Political Cost of Congressional Malfeasance." *The Journal of Politics* 56, no. 3 (August 1, 1994): 788–801. doi:10.2307/2132193.

Persily, Nathaniel, and Kelli Lammie. "Perceptions of Corruption and Campaign Finance: When Public Opinion Determines Constitutional Law." *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 153, no. 1 (2004): 119–80. doi:10.2307/4150623.

Mar 7-9 Sex/Personal Scandals

Berinsky, Adam J., Vincent L. Hutchings, Tali Mendelberg, Lee Shaker, and Nicholas A. Valentino. "Sex and Race: Are Black Candidates More Likely to Be Disadvantaged by Sex Scandals?" *Political Behavior* 33, no. 2 (August 17, 2010): 179–202. doi:10.1007/s11109-010-9135-8.

Jirard, Stephanie. "It May Be Wrong, But It Is Not a Crime: The Negligible Legal Consequences for the Amoral Sexual Activity of Men

in Public Office.” In *Sex Scandals in American Politics: A Multidisciplinary Approach to the Construction and Aftermath of Contemporary Sex Scandals*, edited by Alison Dagnes. Continuum International Publishing Group, 2011.

Dagnes, Alison. *Sex Scandals in American Politics: A Multidisciplinary Approach to the Construction and Aftermath of Contemporary Political Sex Scandals*. New York, NY: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2011.

Peterson, David A. M., and Beth Miller Vonnahme. “Aww, Shucky Ducky: Voter Response to Accusations of Herman Cain’s ‘Inappropriate Behavior.’” *PS: Political Science & Politics* 47, no. 02 (April 2014): 372–78. doi:10.1017/S1049096514000237.

Maule, Linda S, and Robert K Goidel. “Adultery, Drugs, and Sex: An Experimental Investigation of Individual Reactions to Unethical Behavior by Public Officials.” *The Social Science Journal* 40, no. 1 (2003): 65–78. doi:10.1016/S0362-3319(02)00259-8.

Mar 14-16 [SPRING BREAK]

Abrams, Dominic, Georgina Randsley de Moura, and Giovanni A. Travaglino. “A Double Standard When Group Members Behave Badly: Transgression Credit to Ingroup Leaders.” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 105, no. 5 (November 2013): 799–815. doi:10.1037/a0033600.

Anduiza, Eva, Aina Gallego, and Jordi Muñoz. “Turning a Blind Eye Experimental Evidence of Partisan Bias in Attitudes Toward Corruption.” *Comparative Political Studies* 46, no. 12 (December 1, 2013): 1664–92. doi:10.1177/0010414013489081.

Otten, Sabine, and Ernestine H. Gordijn. “Was It One of Us? How People Cope with Misconduct by Fellow Ingroup Members.” *Social and Personality Psychology Compass* 8, no. 4 (April 1, 2014): 165–77. doi:10.1111/spc3.12098.

Mar 21-23 Election Fraud

John Landesco. “Election Fraud.” In John G. Gardiner and David J. Olson, *Theft of the City: Readings on Corruption in Urban America* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1974).

Delia Bailey. “Caught in the Act: Recent Federal Election Fraud Cases.” In R. Michael Alvarez, Thad E. Hall, and Susan D. Hyde, *Election Fraud:*

Detecting and Deterring Electoral Manipulation (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2008).

R. Michael Alvarez and Thad E. Hall. "Measuring Perceptions of Election Threats." In R. Michael Alvarez, Thad E. Hall, and Susan D. Hyde, *Election Fraud: Detecting and Deterring Electoral Manipulation* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2008).

Lorraine C. Minnite, *The Myth of Voter Fraud* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010), pp. 37-75.

Mar 28-30 Police Misconduct

Albert J. Reiss, Jr. "Police Violations of the Law." In John G. Gardiner and David J. Olson, *Theft of the City: Readings on Corruption in Urban America* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1974).

"Investigation of the Chicago Police Department." Department of Justice. January 13th, 2017.

Weitzer, Ronald. "Incidents of Police Misconduct and Public Opinion." *Journal of Criminal Justice* 30, no. 5 (September 2002): 397-408. doi:10.1016/S0047-2352(02)00150-2.

Apr 4-6 Political Accounts

Chanley, Virginia, John L. Sullivan, Marti Hope Gonzales, and Margaret Bull Kovera. "Lust and Avarice in Politics Damage Control by Four Politicians Accused of Wrongdoing (or, Politics as Usual)." *American Politics Quarterly* 22, no. 3 (July 1, 1994): 297-333. doi:10.1177/1532673X9402200303.

Riordan, Catherine A., Nancy A. Marlin, and Ronald T. Kelley. "The Effectiveness of Accounts Following Transgressions." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 46, no. 3 (1983): 213-19.

Smith, Elizabeth S., Ashleigh Smith Powers, and Gustavo A. Suarez. "If Bill Clinton Were a Woman: The Effectiveness of Male and Female Politicians' Account Strategies Following Alleged Transgressions." *Political Psychology* 26, no. 1 (February 1, 2005): 115-34. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9221.2005.00411.x.

Basinger, Scott J., and Brandon Rottinghaus. "Stonewalling and Suspicion during Presidential Scandals." *Political Research Quarterly* 65, no. 2 (2012): 290-302.

Apr 11-13 Surviving Scandals

Herrick, Rebekah. "Who Will Survive? An Exploration of Factors Contributing to the Removal of Unethical House Members." *American Politics Quarterly* 28, no. 1 (January 1, 2000): 96–109. doi:10.1177/1532673X00028001006.

Rottinghaus, Brandon. "Surviving Scandal: The Institutional and Political Dynamics of National and State Executive Scandals." *PS, Political Science & Politics; Washington* 47, no. 1 (January 2014): 131–40. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S1049096513001509.

Maier, Jürgen. "The Impact of Political Scandals on Political Support: An Experimental Test of Two Theories." *International Political Science Review* 32, no. 3 (June 1, 2011): 283–302. doi:10.1177/0192512110378056.

Praino, Rodrigo, Daniel Stockemer, and Vincent G. Moscardelli. "The Lingering Effect of Scandals in Congressional Elections: Incumbents, Challengers, and Voters." *Social Science Quarterly* 94, no. 4 (December 1, 2013): 1045–61. doi:10.1111/ssqu.12046.

Rundquist, Barry S., Gerald S. Strom, and John G. Peters. "Corrupt Politicians and Their Electoral Support: Some Experimental Observations," *American Political Science Review* 71, no. 3 (September 1977): 954–63. doi:10.1017/S0003055400265179.

Winters, Matthew S., and Rebecca Weitz-Shapiro. "Lacking Information or Condoning Corruption: When Do Voters Support Corrupt Politicians?" *Comparative Politics* 45, no. 4 (July 1, 2013): 418–36. doi:10.5129/001041513X13815259182857.

Carlin, Ryan E., Gregory J. Love, and Cecilia Martínez-Gallardo. "Cushioning the Fall: Scandals, Economic Conditions, and Executive Approval." *Political Behavior* 37, no. 1 (January 22, 2014): 109–30. doi:10.1007/s11109-014-9267-3.

Basinger, Scott J. "Scandals and Congressional Elections in the Post-Watergate Era." *Political Research Quarterly* 66, no. 2 (June 1, 2013): 385–98. doi:10.1177/1065912912451144.

Apr 18-20 Trust in Government, Support for Institutions, and Social Capital

Bowler, Shaun, and Jeffrey A. Karp. "Politicians, Scandals, and Trust in Government." *Political Behavior* 26, no. 3 (n.d.): 271–87. doi:10.1023/B:POBE.0000043456.87303.3a.

Dancey, Logan. "The Consequences of Political Cynicism: How Cynicism Shapes Citizens' Reactions to Political Scandals." *Political Behavior* 34, no. 3 (May 10, 2011): 411–23. doi:10.1007/s11109-011-9163-z.

Richey, Sean. "The Impact of Corruption on Social Trust." *American Politics Research* 38, no. 4 (July 1, 2010): 676–90. doi:10.1177/1532673X09341531.

Sharp, Elaine B., and Paul E. Johnson. "Accounting for Variation in Distrust of Local Police." *Justice Quarterly* 26, no. 1 (March 1, 2009): 157–82. doi:10.1080/07418820802290496.

Apr 25-27 Presentations

May 4th Final Exam: 10:30am – 12:30pm