Supplementary material for: 'Misconduct by voters' own representatives does not affect voters' generalized political trust'

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Appendix A: The UK parliamentary expenses scandal

In this appendix we provide a brief overview of the expenses scandal and explain both our choice of dataset and why we expect spillovers in this case. Our dataset on MP expenses is based on the Graffin et al. (2013) data due to its large sample size compared to other similar datasets. Graffin et al. (ibid.) cover 644 MPs; Vivyan, Wagner, and Tarlov (2012) cover 587; Eggers and Fisher (2011) cover 467; and Larcinese and Sircar (2017) cover 359.

The expenses scandal broke with the 8th May 2009 publication in The Daily Telegraph of leaked documents demonstrating the systematic abuse of expense allowances by MPs. British parliamentarians may claim reimbursement for reasonable expenses; such as the upkeep of a second home in London for non-central London MPs. It turned out that many MPs had interpreted 'reasonable expenses' in an unreasonable way. While aggregated data had been released in 2004, the 2009 leak included every itemized claim between 2005 and 2009 (Besley and Larcinese 2011). Although many MPs had not abused the system, over half had done so and some heavily implicated MPs resigned or were de-selected before the 2010 election. Some of the abuses were frivolous (including the infamous £1,645 duck house); others were deceptive (for example, 'flipping' second home claims between London and constituency homes); and a small minority involved criminal offences (claiming for a mortgage which had already been paid). A government commissioned report, the Legg repayments report, itemized the claims which parliamentarians were instructed to repay. In the end, 392 of 646 MPs were instructed to make repayments, the total value of which came to £1.1 million (Curtis and Laville 2010).

Several aspects of this scandal render it a strong test in which we should expect spillover. First, the scandal was nonpartisan. Unusually, and unlike the 'sleaze' scandals afflicting the Conservative Party in late 1990s, the expenses scandal implicated a large number of MPs from all parties. Indeed, Allen and Birch (2014) found that voters perceived the scandal to have implicated all parties equally, and Heerde-Hudson (2011) found that MPs from all parties abused the expenses system to a similar extent. Voters thus knew that the scandal had happened, but also thought that it was not partisan. This was also reflected in media coverage which was intense, but rarely framed the scandal in a partisan context (Larcinese and Sircar 2014).

Second, the response from parliamentarians was defensive and roundly criticized in the media. For example, Sir Anthony Steen, when asked about his gardening expenses, accused constituents of 'jealousy' (Watt 2009). Maier (2011) differentiates between functional and dysfunctional responses to scandal. In the former, those implicated explain their actions and are held accountable through deselection or electoral defeats. If this is perceived by voters, this generates a positive spillover effect: voters perceive the system to be functioning. By contrast, denial and limited electoral accountability provides a cognitive shortcut between representative misconduct and wider institutional malpractice. The response to the expenses scandal was largely dysfunctional.

Third, financial scandals are perceived more negatively than those concerning private life (Sarmiento-

Mirwaldt, Allen, and Birch 2014), especially if involving abuses of dpower (Doherty, Dowling, and Miller 2014) and in times of economic hardship (Carlin, Love, and Martínez-Gallardo 2015). Given the expenses scandal was obviously financial in nature and immediately followed the 2008 economic crisis, we should expect large scandal effects.

The nature of the scandal also means that we are able to overcome common problems in the empirical literature by using a non-experimental, multi-politician scandal in which both scandal implication and spillover can be precisely measured. First, the type and timing of this multi-politician scandal is held constant across the country: only the degree of scandal implication varies by constituency. MPs' abuses of the expenses system were also uncorrelated with their political or sociodemographic background (Heerde-Hudson 2011). We can therefore use this quasi-experimental variation in scandal intensity to measure precisely its impact on political trust, using a real scandal instead of an artificial experimental context. Second, the Legg repayments Report provides data on expenses claims, giving objective measures of implication which can be compared to media and public perceptions. Only the US House banking scandal has similar properties (Dimock and Jacobson 1995). This avoids relying on constituents' perceptions or news consumption to operationalise MPs' scandal implication and allows us to track media and public perceptions over time.

Given this, there is surprisingly little research that examines the effect of the expenses scandal on diffuse political trust. While there appeared to be a short-term drop in aggregate political trust at the time, this was in a context of low and declining trust and the national average rapidly reverted to its long-run trend (Heath 2011; Heerde-Hudson 2011; Curtice and Park 2010). On one hand, the immediate impact of the scandal on the 2010 general election also appears limited and moderated by voters' partisan biases (Pattie and Johnston 2012; Vivyan, Wagner, and Tarlov 2012; Vivyan, Wagner, and Tarlov 2014). On the other hand, some have argued that that the scandal's long-run attitudinal impact was substantial, redefining cultural reference points and bolstering 'anti-politics' (Flinders and Anderson 2022). Nonetheless there is little work that directly examines how voters assimilated specific judgments about their own MP into more diffuse support. And this evidence is itself not always comprehensive. While Larcinese and Sircar (2017) demonstrate a correlation between voters' perceptions of their own MP's specific corruption and the belief that 'most MPs are corrupt', this seems likely to be endogenous to constituents' underlying prior diffuse support. Equally, Allen and Birch (2014) argue that constituents of scandal-implicated MPs exhibited less favourable beliefs about standards in public life, but their study does not directly measure spillovers onto trust in politicians, institutions or democracy.

Appendix B: Variables for main analysis.

In this appendix we describe the variables we use in our main analyses in more detail.

Dependent variables

Our dependent variable for Hypothesis 1 is constituents' scandal attributions. Constituents were asked whether their MP had claimed expenses 'to which they were not entitled'. If they responded positively, they were asked to quantify the inappropriate claims on a 0-10 scale.

Our dependent variable for Hypothesis 2 is constituents' approval of their MP. Here we use a measure of MP approval on a five point scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree. Respondents were asked: 'please tell me how far you agree or disagree with the following statement: my member of parliament tries hard to look after the interests of people who live in my constituency'. While constituents' approval of their local MP is of course an imperfect proxy for their specific trust in their local MP, we believe that the proxy is reasonable in this case because voter approval tends to be very highly correlated with specific political trust. Using the 2014 to 2023 British Election Study panel data, which includes both our approval variable and a direct measure: 'How much trust do you have in the MP in your local constituency?' on a 1 to 7 scale, we found that the correlation between these two measures is 0.78.

Our dependent variable for Hypothesis 3 is constituents' diffuse political trust. We measure this in three different ways and also directly measure constituents' perceptions of scandal spillover to test the spillover mechanism.

First, we look at voters' trust in politicians as a group. We use a standard 0-10 scale which asks: 'how much do you trust British politicians generally?'. Second, we look at voters' trust in institutions, namely the UK parliament. Again, this is measured using a 0-10 scale which asks: 'how much do you trust the parliament at Westminster?'. Third, we look at voters' satisfaction with democracy to test the depth of spillover effects: spillovers onto satisfaction with democracy are closely associated with normative concerns about declining diffuse support. Satisfaction with democracy is measured using a four-point ordinal scale which asks: 'on the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, a little dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with the way that democracy works in this country?' Finally, we directly measure spillover by using a question which asks respondents whether 'the reports on MPs' expense claims prove that most MPs are corrupt' with response options on a five point scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree.

For all of our dependent variables, we re-coded them onto 0-1 scales for ease of interpretation.

Independent variables

Our independent variables measure each MP's implication in the expenses scandal. We differentiate between financial and media implication for reasons discussed in the main text. We standardized all of our independent variables in terms of standard deviation changes.

In terms of financial implication, we use three measures: Legg repayments Report repayments; second

home claims; other expense claims. The first measures illegitimate claims using the repayments demanded by the Legg repayments Report. Vivyan, Wagner, and Tarlov (2012) define an MP as implicated if asked to pay back any expenses, but we follow Graffin et al. (2013) and Eggers and Fisher (2011) and use the total each MP was asked to repay. Second, we measure second home claims. Most substantial claims related to this (rather than travel expenses, for example) and the practice of 'flipping' second home claims were a key source of public anger. Finally, there are the residual claims made in the previous two parliamentary sittings. Eggers and Fisher (ibid.) argue that voters may have been angered by the sheer cost of the system and so using these three measures allows us to compare illegitimate, technically legitimate, and legitimate claims. Following Graffin et al. (2013), we use the natural logarithm of the financial implication measures to account for their left-skewed distributions.

We measure media implication using the formula for coverage intensity developed by Eggers (2014). This counts the number of articles mentioning the MP, their constituency, and 'expenses' between May 1 2009 and May 5 2010 (the day before the general election). We use LexisNexis to collate articles and, unlike Larcinese and Sircar (2017), do not restrict our analysis to national news since local news may be significant for constituency-level attitudes. We then normalise the measure by the count of articles mentioning the MP and their constituency to adjust for prior coverage. Including the constituency limits the coding of articles in which an MP only comments on the scandal as implicating them. The 10 in the denominator ensures the variable is always defined, and that MPs with limited coverage are not given inflated scores:

$$Media \ Score = \frac{Articles \ Mentioning \ MP \ Name, \ Constituency, \ and \ `Expenses'}{Articles \ Mentioning \ MP \ Name \ and \ Constituency + 10}$$

Using coverage intensity in this manner avoids the problem that more prominent MPs get more media coverage, limits the implication of MPs who are merely commenting on the scandal and provides a more nuanced measure than simply counting those who were mentioned in The Daily Telegraph (Vivyan, Wagner, and Tarlov 2012) or were on The Daily Telegraph's list of 'most notorious claims' (Pattie and Johnston 2012).

Control variables

We include controls at the MP and voter levels. At the MP level, we control for factors which might influence an MP's implication or voters' trust in that MP. These are: gender, prior electoral margin (using redistricting-corrected margins from Rallings and Thrasher 2007), distance from constituency office to Westminster (to proxy for expense requirements and for lower trust in peripheries), Central London constituencies (these 25 MPs were not granted second home allowances), resignation, redistricting (the sum of constituents 'leaving' and 'joining' the constituency as a percentage of the 'old' electorate) and proxies for local media density and socioeconomic grievances (population density, proportion of managers and professionals, and unemployment rate). Studies on the expenses scandal (Larcinese and Sircar 2017) find that although the relationship between financial implication and media coverage is not affected by party affiliation, it is affected by gender. To reflect disproportionate media coverage, we also control for prestige using three binary variables to measure whether an MP received a pre-nominal honour, a post-nominal honour, or was a 'frontbench' MP (Graffin et al. 2013).

At the voter level, we control for co-partisanship and knowledge. Co-partisanship is straightforwardly whether the person's own partisanship¹ matches their local MP's party affiliation. General political knowledge is measured using reported political attentiveness and scandal knowledge with whether the respondent reads a newspaper and whether they read *The Daily Telegraph* (in which the scandal was first reported). We also control for voter-level determinants of political trust that are known to be important. These are age (Schoon and Cheng 2011), social class (McKay, Jennings, and Stoker 2021), social trust (Newton and Zmerli 2011), education (Schoon et al. 2010) and perceived economic performance (Choi and Woo 2012). Online Appendix C has a full list of controls with basic descriptive statistics.

 $^{^{1}}$ We measure partisanship using the standard question which asks: 'generally speaking, do you think of yourself as Labour, Conservative, Liberal Democrat, or what?'

Appendix C: Descriptive Statistics

In this appendix, we report basic descriptive statistics for all variables, after standardization if applicable, used in the main analyses. We also report correlations among the main independent variables and with some other measures of expenses scandal implication used in related work. All tables were created with the stargazer R package (Hlavac 2022).

Our final dataset covers 16,429 people living in 608 constituencies. We have excluded Northern Irish MPs, because the British Election Study surveys that we use were not fielded in Northern Ireland. Following Eggers (2014), we have also excluded a small number of constituencies for which boundary changes between the 2005 and 2010 general elections made it difficult to identify the appropriate 2010 constituency for the MP in question. In Appendix F, we present some additional robustness tests which also demonstrate that our results are not affected by boundary changes affecting the remaining constituencies that we use.

<u></u>	N.T.		0, D) (°	D (1/05)	A.C. 11	D (1/75)	
Statistic	Ν	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Pctl(25)	Median	Pctl(75)	Max
Dependent variables								
Inclusion attributions (binary)	15,597	0.248	0.432	0	0	0	0	1
Inclusion attributions (scale)	15,387	0.118	0.255	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	1.000
Specific support	14,056	0.505	0.284	0.000	0.250	0.500	0.750	1.000
Trust in politicians	16,174	0.297	0.227	0.000	0.100	0.300	0.500	1.000
Trust in parliament	15,971	0.333	0.242	0.000	0.100	0.300	0.500	1.000
Satisfaction with democracy	15,634	0.427	0.280	0.000	0.330	0.330	0.660	1.000
Spillover perceptions	15,469	0.600	0.295	0.000	0.250	0.750	0.750	1.000
Independent variables								
Media score (standardized)	16,429	0.000	1.000	-1.633	-0.691	-0.216	0.462	3.659
Legg repayments (standardized)	16,372	0.000	1.000	-1.016	-1.016	0.352	0.916	1.912
Second home claims (standardized)	16,372	0.000	1.000	-2.914	0.270	0.372	0.407	0.442
Other claims (standardized)	16,372	0.000	1.000	-10.485	0.058	0.116	0.156	0.311
MP level controls								
Incumbent stood again	16,429	0.764	0.424	0	1	1	1	1
Inner London MP	16,372	0.049	0.216	0	0	0	0	1
Distance from London	16,372	1.450	1.194	0.000	0.523	1.230	2.020	7.520
Female MP	16,372	0.199	0.399	0	0	0	0	1
Local unemployment rate	16,372	0.051	0.022	0.020	0.034	0.047	0.062	0.183
Local proportion managerial class	16,372	0.270	0.071	0.130	0.217	0.259	0.319	0.504
Local population density	16,372	0.188	0.224	0.001	0.026	0.098	0.295	1.310
Proportionate boundary change	16,372	0.158	0.226	0.000	0.007	0.062	0.196	1.146
Previous election margin	16,372	0.185	0.121	-0.019	0.092	0.174	0.260	0.584
MP prestige	$16,\!372$	0.411	0.649	0	0	0	1	3
Voter level controls								
Co-partisan	16,429	0.332	0.471	0	0	0	1	1
Age	16,386	0.612	0.147	0.010	0.490	0.600	0.730	0.930
Education scale	$16,\!159$	0.540	0.343	0.000	0.300	0.600	0.900	1.000
Political attentiveness	16,227	0.626	0.247	0.000	0.500	0.700	0.800	1.000
Newspaper reader	16,429	0.405	0.491	0	0	0	1	1
Telegraph reader	16,429	0.059	0.236	0	0	0	0	1
Occupation scale	16,220	0.706	0.337	0.000	0.500	0.833	1.000	1.000
Social trust	15,954	0.554	0.228	0.000	0.400	0.600	0.700	1.000
Retrospective economic evaluation	16,020	0.217	0.412	0	0	0	0	1

Table C1: Descriptive statistics for main analysis

	Media Score	Media Score 2009	Legg repayments	Second Home Claims	Other Claims	Subjective (Curtice and Park 2010)	Subjective (Eggers and Fisher 2011)	Raw scandal article count
Media score 2010	1	0.480	0.302	0.173	-0.023	0.283	0.509	0.181
Media score 2009	0.480	1	0.130	0.181	0.026	0.316	0.462	0.246
Legg repayments	0.302	0.130	1	0.127	0.005	0.078	0.371	0.093
Second home claims	0.173	0.181	0.127	1	0.255	0.098	0.126	-0.008
Other claims	-0.023	0.026	0.005	0.255	1	0.023	-0.026	-0.023
Subjective (Curtice and Park)	0.283	0.316	0.078	0.098	0.023	1	0.625	0.138
Subjective (Eggers)	0.509	0.462	0.371	0.126	-0.026	0.625	1	0.180
Raw scandal article count	0.181	0.246	0.093	-0.008	-0.023	0.138	0.180	1

Table C2: Correlations between measures of expenses scandal implication

Appendix D: Tables for main analyses

To account for the left-skewed distribution of scandal attributions, we also used a binary implication measure (models 4-6). In these models, a one standard deviation increase in media implication is associated with an 8 per cent increase in the probability of an average constituent implicating their MP. For Legg repayments and second home claims the effects are 5 per cent and 4 per cent respectively.

Attributions

Table D1: Inclusion Attributions Reflect Financial and Media Implication in 2010

		Inclu	sion Attri	butions (0-1	scale)	
	Mu	ltilevel Lii		```	ltilevel Lo	git
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Media score (sd)	0.067**	0.065**	0.065**	0.434**	0.412**	0.432**
	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.039)	(0.041)	(0.042)
Legg repayments (sd)	0.021**	0.022**	0.021**	0.301**	0.307**	0.310**
	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.041)	(0.040)	(0.042)
Second home claims (sd)	0.004	0.003	0.004	0.256^{**}	0.205**	0.227**
Second nome clamis (su)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.051)	(0.070)	(0.072)
Other claims (ad)	-0.001	-0.002	-0.002	-0.048	-0.035	-0.041
Other claims (sd)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.048)	(0.043)	(0.041)
Controls						
MP-Level	Ν	Υ	Υ	Ν	Υ	Υ
Individual-Level	Ν	Ν	Υ	Ν	Ν	Υ
Constant	0.121**	0.214^{**}	0.194**	-1.330^{**}	-0.529	-0.881^{*}
	(0.004)	(0.041)	(0.042)	(0.039)	(0.373)	(0.404)
Observations	$14,\!526$	$14,\!526$	$14,\!526$	$14,\!526$	$14,\!526$	$14,\!526$
Constituencies	606	606	606	606	606	606
Marginal R-Sq.	0.091	0.095	0.120	0.118	0.124	0.178
Conditional R-Sq.	0.220	0.221	0.245	0.248	0.247	0.301

*p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Coefficients are population average fixed effects. Random effects in the MP-level intercepts only. Robust standard errors in parentheses. All independent variables have been standardized in terms of standard deviation changes, and all dependent variables are on 0-1 scales. Marginal R-squared estimates the proportion of the variation in the dependent variable explained by the fixed effects. Conditional R-squared estimates that explained jointly by the fixed and random effects.

Specific Support

			Specific	Support:		
	Multilev	vel Linear (0	-1 scale)	Multil	evel Ordered	l Logit
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Media Score (sd)	-0.020^{**}	-0.018^{**}	-0.018^{**}	-0.133^{**}	-0.112^{**}	-0.132^{*}
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.028)	(0.028)	(0.029)
Legg repayments (sd)	-0.010^{*}	-0.011^{**}	-0.009^{*}	-0.068^{*}	-0.073^{**}	-0.066^{*}
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.028)	(0.027)	(0.028)
Second Home Claims (sd)	-0.005	-0.010	-0.011	0.043	-0.083^{*}	-0.090^{*}
	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.030)	(0.041)	(0.043)
Other Claims (sd)	0.001	0.002	0.002	0.010	0.018	0.014
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.028)
Controls						
MP-Level	Ν	Υ	Υ	Ν	Υ	Υ
Individual-Level	Ν	Ν	Υ	Ν	Ν	Υ
Constant	0.504^{**}	0.488**	0.444**	NA	NA	NA
	(0.004)	(0.037)	(0.038)	NA	NA	NA
Observations	13,308	13,308	13,308	13,308	13,308	13,308
Constituencies	606	606	606	606	606	606
Marginal R-Sq.	0.009	0.023	0.146	0.009	0.024	0.152
Conditional R-Sq.	0.080	0.081	0.205	0.082	0.082	0.212

Table D2: Scandal Implication Influenced Voters' Specific Support in 2010

*p<0.05; **p<0.01

Note: Coefficients are population average fixed effects. Random effects in the MP-level intercepts only. Robust standard errors in parentheses. All independent variables have been standardized in terms of standard deviation changes, and all dependent variables are on 0-1 scales. Marginal R-squared estimates the proportion of the variation in the dependent variable explained by the fixed effects. Conditional R-squared estimates that explained jointly by the fixed and random effects.

Diffuse Trust

						Multile	vel Linear:					
	Trust i	n Politician	s (0-1)	Trust in	Trust in Parliament (0-1) Satisfaction			on with Democracy (0-1)		Spillov	er Perceptio	ons $(0-1)$
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Media score (sd)	$0.004 \\ (0.002)$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.003 \\ (0.002) \end{array}$	$0.003 \\ (0.002)$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.003 \\ (0.002) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.001 \\ (0.002) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.001 \\ (0.002) \end{array}$	-0.001 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.003)	-0.004 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.003)	-0.0005 (0.003)
Legg repayments (sd)	-0.004 (0.002)	-0.004 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.005^{*} (0.002)	-0.005^{*} (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.003)	0.001 (0.002)	0.006^{*} (0.003)	0.006^{*} (0.003)	$0.005 \\ (0.002)$
Second home claims (sd)	-0.011^{**} (0.002)	-0.001 (0.003)	-0.003 (0.003)	-0.012^{**} (0.002)	$0.006 \\ (0.003)$	0.004 (0.003)	-0.005 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.004)	-0.003 (0.004)	0.014^{**} (0.003)	-0.002 (0.004)	-0.001 (0.004)
Other claims (sd)	0.003 (0.002)	0.0004 (0.002)	-0.0001 (0.002)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.002\\ (0.002) \end{array}$	-0.003 (0.002)	-0.003 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.003)	-0.003 (0.003)	-0.003 (0.003)	-0.006^{*} (0.003)	-0.001 (0.003)	-0.00005 (0.002)
Controls												
MP-Level Individual-Level	N N	Y N	Y Y	N N	Y N	Y Y	N N	Y N	Y Y	N N	Y N	Y Y
Constant	0.298^{**} (0.002)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.244^{**} \\ (0.019) \end{array}$	-0.024 (0.020)	0.335^{**} (0.002)	0.243^{**} (0.020)	-0.029 (0.021)	0.428^{**} (0.002)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.337^{**} \\ (0.024) \end{array}$	0.129^{**} (0.026)	0.598^{**} (0.003)	0.742^{**} (0.025)	1.009^{**} (0.025)
Observations Constituencies	15,170 606 0,002	15,170 606 0.005	15,170 606 0.165	15,018 606	15,018 606 0.008	15,018 606 0.158	14,784 606	14,784 606	14,784 606 0.105	14,622 606 0.002	14,622 606 0,011	14,622 606 0.187
Marginal R-Sq. Conditional R-Sq.	$0.003 \\ 0.010$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.005 \\ 0.010 \end{array}$	$0.165 \\ 0.169$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.003 \\ 0.010 \end{array}$	$0.008 \\ 0.011$	$0.158 \\ 0.159$	$0.001 \\ 0.004$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.003 \\ 0.005 \end{array}$	$0.105 \\ 0.108$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.003 \\ 0.013 \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.011 \\ 0.014 \end{array}$	$0.187 \\ 0.187$

Table D3: Scandal Implication did not Influence Voters' Diffuse Support in 2010

Note: *p<0.05; **p<0.01. Coefficients are population average fixed effects. Random effects in the MP-level intercepts only. Robust standard errors in parentheses. All independent variables have been standardized in terms of standard deviation changes, and all dependent variables are on 0-1 scales. Marginal R-squared estimates the proportion of the variation in the dependent variable explained by the fixed effects. Conditional R-squared estimates that explained jointly by the fixed and random effects.

Appendix E: Differences by Co-Partisanship

In this appendix we test whether the effect of MP scandal implication on our dependent variables differed for those who share their party identity with their MP.

Attributions

The below table is a replication of the linear models from Table D1, including interactions between the three significant implication measures and the 'party match' variable. Some of the interactions are significant, suggesting that there is an interaction between partisanship and implication influencing voters' perceptions of their representative's implication. Co-partisanship decreases the media effect on implication by about a quarter and decreases the Legg repayment effect by about half. This is similar to Vivyan, Wagner, and Tarlov (2012, p. 757) who find that the probability of a co-partisan implicating their MP is 20 per cent lower, although this interaction between co-partisanship and MP implication was not statistically significant. Larcinese and Sircar (2017, p. 86) find a significant interaction between Legg repayments and 'partisan match', but this is only when the Legg repayment variable is not included.

	Inc	lusion Attribu	tions
	Ν	Aultilevel Line	ear
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Media score	0.071**	0.068**	0.068^{**}
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Legg repayments	0.026**	0.027**	0.026**
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Second home claims	0.006	0.006	0.008
	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Other claims	-0.001	-0.002	-0.002
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Co-partisan	-0.043^{**}	-0.043^{**}	-0.046^{**}
-	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Media score:Co-partisan	-0.009^{*}	-0.009^{*}	-0.009^{*}
-	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Legg repayments:Co-partisan	-0.015^{**}	-0.015^{**}	-0.015^{**}
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Second home claims:Co-partisan	-0.008	-0.008	-0.008
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Controls			
MP-Level	Ν	Y	Y
Individual-Level	Ν	Ν	Υ
Constant	0.136**	0.226**	0.195^{**}
	(0.004)	(0.041)	(0.042)
Observations	$14,\!526$	$14,\!526$	$14,\!526$
Constituencies	606	606	606
Log Likelihood	506.048	485.735	629.767
Akaike Inf. Crit.	-990.096	-929.470	-1,201.53
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	-906.676	-770.213	-981.608
Note:		*p<0.	05; **p<0.0

Specific Support

The below table is a replication of the linear models from Table D2, including interactions between the three significant measures of implication and the 'party match' variable. Only the Legg repayment: co-partisan interaction is significant.

	S	pecific Support	rt
	Μ	ultilevel Line	ar
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Media score	-0.021^{**} (0.005)	-0.017^{**} (0.005)	-0.017^{**} (0.004)
Legg repayments	-0.013^{**} (0.005)	-0.013^{**} (0.004)	-0.013^{**} (0.004)
Second home claims	-0.004 (0.004)	-0.011 (0.004)	-0.012 (0.004)
Other claims	$0.002 \\ (0.004)$	$0.003 \\ (0.004)$	$0.002 \\ (0.004)$
Co-partisan	0.171^{**} (0.005)	0.173^{**} (0.005)	0.162^{**} (0.005)
Media score:Co-partisan	-0.003 (0.005)	-0.004 (0.005)	-0.003 (0.005)
Legg repayments:Co-partisan	0.013^{*} (0.005)	0.012^{*} (0.005)	0.011^{*} (0.005)
Second home claims:Co-partisan	-0.002 (0.005)	-0.001 (0.005)	$0.002 \\ (0.005)$
Constant	0.443^{**} (0.004)	0.445^{**} (0.037)	0.444^{**} (0.038)
Controls MP-Level Individual-Level	N N	Y N	Y Y
Observations Constituencies Log Likelihood Akaike Inf. Crit. Bayesian Inf. Crit.	$\begin{array}{r} 13,308\\ 606\\ 1,348.453\\ 2,718.906\\ 2,801.363\end{array}$	$13,308 \\ 606 \\ 1,326.096 \\ 2,694.192 \\ 2,851.610$	$13,308 \\ 606 \\ 1,030.262 \\ 2,118.525 \\ 2,335.912$
Bayesian Inf. Crit.		2,851.610	

Table E2: Specific Support and Co-Partisanship

Diffuse Trust

The below table replicates Table D3 for the sub-sample of those who share their party identity with their MP. In the full models, none of the measures of implication are significant at conventional levels. We therefore find no evidence of partial blame shifting onto diffuse political trust.

						Multile	evel Linear					
	Trust in Politicians			Tru	ıst in Parlia	nent	Satisfac	tion with De	nocracy	Spil	lover Perceptic	ons
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Media score	$0.003 \\ (0.004)$	$0.003 \\ (0.004)$	$0.004 \\ (0.004)$	-0.001 (0.004)	-0.003 (0.004)	-0.002 (0.004)	-0.002 (0.005)	-0.0003 (0.005)	$0.0004 \\ (0.004)$	-0.005 (0.005)	-0.0003 (0.005)	-0.001 (0.004)
Legg repayments	$0.002 \\ (0.004)$	$0.003 \\ (0.004)$	$0.003 \\ (0.004)$	$0.002 \\ (0.004)$	$0.003 \\ (0.004)$	$0.004 \\ (0.004)$	$0.002 \\ (0.005)$	$0.004 \\ (0.005)$	$0.004 \\ (0.004)$	-0.005 (0.005)	-0.007 (0.005)	-0.006 (0.004)
Second home claims	-0.015^{**} (0.004)	-0.008 (0.006)	-0.005 (0.005)	-0.011^{*} (0.004)	$0.001 \\ (0.006)$	$0.004 \\ (0.006)$	0.0001 (0.005)	$0.005 \\ (0.007)$	$0.006 \\ (0.006)$	0.018^{**} (0.005)	$0.006 \\ (0.007)$	$0.002 \\ (0.006)$
Other claims	$0.005 \\ (0.003)$	$0.002 \\ (0.004)$	-0.0003 (0.003)	$0.004 \\ (0.004)$	-0.0004 (0.004)	-0.003 (0.004)	-0.001 (0.004)	-0.003 (0.004)	-0.004 (0.004)	-0.010^{*} (0.004)	-0.006 (0.004)	-0.003 (0.004)
Controls												
MP-Level Individual-Level	N N	Y N	Y Y	N N	Y N	Y Y	N N	Y N	Y Y	N N	Y N	Y Y
Constant	0.351^{**} (0.004)	0.345^{**} (0.035)	$0.064 \\ (0.036)$	0.389^{**} (0.004)	0.321^{**} (0.038)	$0.051 \\ (0.039)$	0.492^{**} (0.004)	0.429^{**} (0.041)	0.218^{**} (0.045)	0.558^{**} (0.004)	0.625^{**} (0.043)	0.918^{**} (0.044)
Observations	5,163	5,163	5,163	$5,\!130$	$5,\!130$	$5,\!130$	5,075	5,075	5,075	4,996	4,996	4,996
Constituencies	596	596	596	596	596	596	596	596	596	595	595	595
Log Likelihood	292.715	280.716	635.706	21.407	22.144	338.610	-568.933	-549.896	-375.630	-1,000.712	-1,008.770	-561.043
Akaike Inf. Crit.	-571.430	-527.431	$-1,\!221.412$	-28.814	-10.288	-627.220	$1,\!151.867$	$1,\!133.791$	801.260	2,015.423	$2,\!051.539$	$1,\!172.087$
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	-525.585	-416.094	-1,057.680	16.986	100.941	-463.648	$1,\!197.591$	$1,\!244.837$	964.562	2,061.038	2,162.318	$1,\!334.997$

Table E3: Diffuse Trust and Co-Partisanship

Note: *p < 0.05; **p < 0.01. Coefficients are population average fixed effects. Random effects in the MP-level intercepts only. Robust standard errors in parentheses.

All independent variables have been standardized in terms of standard deviation changes, and all dependent variables are on 0-1 scales.

Appendix F: Robustness

In this appendix we demonstrate the robustness of our results in several ways. We demonstrate robustness to:

- Excluding 'don't know' responses when considering scandal attributions.
- Using an ordered logit model for satisfaction with democracy and spillover perceptions.
- Considering different effects for those with high political knowledge.
- Using longitudinal panel data to control for prior attitudes.
- Using longitudinal panel data to rule out that 'scandal fatigue' could be driving our null finding.
- Accounting for constituency boundary changes.
- Re-running all models with each implication measure included separately.

Operationalisation of Implication

The below table is a replication of Table D1 in which we have excluded those who responded 'don't know' when asked whether their MP was implicated in the scandal. While the coefficient estimates vary slightly, the results from Table D1 are robust to this alternative operationalisation of scandal implication.

			Inclusion A	ttributions		
]	Multilevel Logi	t	Μ	lultilevel Linear	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Media score	0.487^{**}	0.454^{**}	0.466**	0.085^{**}	0.080**	0.080**
	(0.047)	(0.049)	(0.050)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Legg repayments	0.381**	0.386**	0.397**	0.032**	0.033**	0.033**
	(0.047)	(0.047)	(0.048)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Second home claims	0.268**	0.303**	0.316**	0.011	0.018	0.016
	(0.055)	(0.078)	(0.080)	(0.006)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Other claims	-0.051	-0.057	-0.067	-0.004	-0.006	-0.006
	(0.046)	(0.049)	(0.050)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Controls						
MP-Level	Ν	Y	Y	Ν	Υ	Y
Individual-Level	Ν	Ν	Υ	Ν	Ν	Υ
Constant	-0.316^{**}	0.251	0.636	0.207**	0.300**	0.324**
	(0.045)	(0.433)	(0.474)	(0.006)	(0.056)	(0.058)
Observations	8,563	8,563	8,246	8,353	8,353	8,057
Constituencies	606	606	606	606	606	606
Log Likelihood	-5,029.716	-5,020.214	$-4,\!673.818$	-1,078.377	-1,093.243	-878.83
Akaike Inf. Crit.	$10,\!071.430$	$10,\!072.430$	$9,\!397.637$	$2,\!170.754$	$2,\!220.487$	$1,\!809.67$
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	$10,\!071.430$	$10,\!072.430$	$9,\!573.074$	2,219.967	2,340.003	1,991.52
Note:					*p<0.0	5; **p<0.0

Table F1:	Operationalisation	of Implication
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Ordered logit replication for Table D3

In this section we replicate the models from Table D3 with satisfaction with democracy and spillover perceptions as the dependent variables using ordered logit specifications. For satisfaction with democracy, none of the four independent variables are statistically significant. For spillover perceptions, the effect of media implication is essentially zero and statistically insignificant. In the full model, Legg repayments are statistically significant but the coefficient is not substantively meaningful. A one standard deviation increase in Legg repayments is associated with a less than 1% increase in the probability of strongly agreeing that: 'the reports on MPs' expense claims prove that most MPs are corrupt'.

		Λ	Multilevel O	rdered Logi	t	
	Satisfact	tion with I	Democracy	Spillo	ver Percep	otions
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Media Score	-0.004	0.000	-0.004	-0.027	-0.004	0.001
	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Legg repayments	-0.007	-0.007	0.008	0.038^{*}	0.036^{*}	0.035^{*}
	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Second Home Claims	-0.033	-0.005	-0.024	0.087**	-0.015	-0.014
	(0.018)	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.019)	(0.025)	(0.025)
Other Claims	-0.013	-0.017	-0.019	-0.036^{*}	-0.006	-0.004
	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.018)	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Controls						
MP-Level	Ν	Υ	Y	Ν	Υ	Υ
Individual-Level	Ν	Ν	Y	Ν	Ν	Υ
Constant	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Observations	14,784	14,784	14,784	14,622	14,622	14,622
Constituencies	606	606	606	606	606	606
Marginal R-Sq.	0.001	0.003	0.114	0.003	0.012	0.199
Conditional R-Sq.	0.004	0.004	0.115	0.013	0.013	0.199

Table F2: Ordered Logit Replications for Table D3

*p<0.05; **p<0.01

Differences by political knowledge

Régner and Floch (2005) find spillovers only among those with high knowledge, while Sikorski, Heiss, and Matthes (2020) argue that spillovers are concentrated among people who are more knowledgeable. We find little evidence of an interaction between political knowledge² and implication affecting diffuse support for politicians, institutions or democracy.

We replicate Table D2 with interactions between the significant independent variables and measures of general political knowledge and scandal knowledge, finding that those who report more political attentiveness and those who read the Telegraph were more responsive to media implication. However, we find no evidence of any spillovers onto diffuse political trust among those with the highest political knowledge. We then replicate Table D3 twice, first for the sub-sample with above mean general political knowledge, and then for the sub-sample of newspaper readers, to test whether spillovers among those with high knowledge are obscured in the main tables. None of the measures of scandal implication reaches significance in the full models, so we reject the hypothesis that spillovers are concentrated among those with high knowledge.

 $^{^{2}}$ Whether this is measured as general political knowledge (proxied by political attentiveness) or knowledge of the scandal (proxied by whether the respondent reads a newspaper and whether they read The Daily Telegraph).

	, ,	Specific Support	t
	Ν	Aultilevel Linea	ır
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Media score	-0.005	-0.001	-0.001
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Legg repayments	-0.008	-0.009	-0.007
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Second home claims	-0.004	-0.010	-0.011
	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Other claims	0.001	0.002	0.002
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Attention	0.090**	0.089**	0.024^{*}
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.0010)
Newspaper	0.004	0.004	-0.009
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Telegraph	0.017	0.014	0.007
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.009)
Media score:Attention	-0.027^{*}	-0.028^{*}	-0.027^{**}
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.010)
Legg repayments:Attention	-0.001	-0.001	-0.0005
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.010)
Media score:Newspaper	0.008	0.006	0.006
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Legg repayments:Newspaper	-0.003	-0.002	-0.003
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Media score:Telegraph	-0.016	-0.016	-0.022^{*}
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Legg repayments:Telegraph	0.005	0.005	-0.002
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Constant	0.442^{**}	0.436^{**}	0.447^{**}
	(0.006)	(0.030)	(0.030)
Observations	$13,\!308$	$13,\!308$	$13,\!308$
Constituencies	606	606	606
Log Likelihood	$-1,\!907.221$	$-1,\!897.567$	-1,036.271
Akaike Inf. Crit.	$3,\!846.442$	$3,\!847.133$	$2,\!136.542$
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	$3,\!966.380$	4,042.032	2,376.418
•			

Table F4: Political Knowledge and Specific Support

	$(3) \\ 0.002 \\ (0.003) \\ -0.003 \\ (0.003) \\ -0.003$	$\begin{array}{c} & \text{Tru} \\ (4) \\ 0.004 \\ (0.003) \\ -0.005 \\ (0.003) \end{array}$	$ \begin{array}{c} \text{(5)} \\ \hline 0.003 \\ (0.003) \\ -0.005 \\ (0.003) \end{array} $	$ \begin{array}{c} \text{(6)} \\ 0.002 \\ (0.003) \\ -0.002 \end{array} $	Satisfa (7) -0.0001 (0.004) 0.001	(8) (0.002 (0.004)	(9) 0.002 (0.004)	(10) -0.006 (0.004)	$ \begin{array}{c} \text{llover Perception}\\ (11) \\ -0.004 \\ (0.004) \end{array} $	$ \begin{array}{r} $
$\begin{array}{c} 0.002\\ (0.003)\\ -0.006\\ (0.003)\\ -0.002 \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.002\\ (0.003)\\ -0.003\\ (0.003)\\ -0.003\end{array}$	0.004 (0.003) -0.005	$\begin{array}{c} 0.003 \\ (0.003) \\ -0.005 \end{array}$	0.002 (0.003)	-0.0001 (0.004)	0.002 (0.004)	0.002	-0.006	-0.004	-0.002
(0.003) -0.006 (0.003) -0.002	(0.003) -0.003 (0.003) -0.003	(0.003) -0.005	(0.003) -0.005	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.004)				
(0.003) -0.002	(0.003) -0.003			-0.002	0.001					(0.001)
			` '	(0.003)	(0.001)	$0.0001 \\ (0.004)$	$0.003 \\ (0.003)$	0.008^{*} (0.004)	0.008^{*} (0.004)	$0.005 \\ (0.003)$
	(0.004)	-0.014^{**} (0.003)	$0.004 \\ (0.005)$	$0.003 \\ (0.004)$	-0.006 (0.004)	-0.006 (0.005)	-0.007 (0.005)	0.015^{**} (0.004)	-0.002 (0.006)	-0.002 (0.005)
-0.001 (0.003)	-0.002 (0.003)	$0.001 \\ (0.003)$	-0.005 (0.003)	-0.005 (0.003)	-0.007^{*} (0.003)	-0.007 (0.004)	-0.006 (0.003)	-0.007 (0.004)	-0.001 (0.004)	-0.001 (0.004)
Y N	Y Y	N N	Y N	Y Y	N N	Y N	Y Y	N N	Y N	Y Y
$\begin{array}{c} 0.281^{**} \\ (0.027) \end{array}$	0.051 (0.033)	0.356^{**} (0.003)	0.260^{**} (0.028)	0.054 (0.035)	0.418^{**} (0.003)	0.351^{**} (0.033)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.314^{**} \\ (0.042) \end{array}$	0.554^{**} (0.004)	0.688^{**} (0.034)	1.007^{**} (0.042)
8,323 606 213.000	8,323 606 841 393	8,306 606 -341 204	8,306 606 -350,573	8,306 606 299 288	8,265 606 -1,583,024	8,265 606 -1,602,491	8,265 606 -1,133,322	8,184 606 -1 884 759	8,184 606 -1,890,548	8,184 606 -1,240.092
-391.999 -272.544	-1,630.786 -1,448.089	$ \begin{array}{r} 696.407 \\ 745.581 \end{array} $	735.145 854.566	-546.576 -363.933	3,180.048 3,229.187	3,238.982 3,358.318	2,318.643 2,501.158	3,783.518 3,832.588	3,815.097 3,934.266	2,532.185 2,714.443
	(0.027) 8,323 606 213.000 -391.999	$\begin{array}{c} (0.027) & (0.033) \\ \hline \\ 8,323 & 8,323 \\ 606 & 606 \\ 213.000 & 841.393 \\ -391.999 & -1,630.786 \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	$ \begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccc$	$ \begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	$ \begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	$ \begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	$ \begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	$ \begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$

						Multi	level Linear					
	Tr	ust in Politic	ians	Tru	ıst in Parlian	nent	Satisfac	ction with Dem	ocracy	Spil	lover Perceptic	ons
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Media score	$\begin{array}{c} 0.002 \\ (0.003) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.001 \\ (0.003) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.002 \\ (0.003) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.002 \\ (0.003) \end{array}$	-0.0001 (0.004)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.001 \\ (0.003) \end{array}$	-0.002 (0.004)	-0.002 (0.004)	-0.002 (0.004)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.001 \\ (0.004) \end{array}$	$0.006 \\ (0.005)$	0.005 (0.004)
Legg repayments	-0.005 (0.003)	-0.005 (0.003)	-0.004 (0.003)	-0.007 (0.004)	-0.006 (0.004)	-0.005 (0.003)	-0.003 (0.004)	-0.003 (0.004)	-0.001 (0.004)	0.009^{*} (0.005)	$0.007 \\ (0.004)$	0.006 (0.004)
Second home claims	-0.013^{**} (0.003)	-0.001 (0.005)	-0.003 (0.004)	-0.016^{**} (0.004)	$0.003 \\ (0.005)$	$0.001 \\ (0.005)$	-0.008^{*} (0.004)	-0.004 (0.006)	-0.004 (0.006)	0.010^{*} (0.005)	-0.007 (0.007)	-0.004 (0.006)
Other claims	$\begin{array}{c} 0.003 \\ (0.003) \end{array}$	-0.001 (0.003)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.0002\\ (0.003) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.003 \\ (0.003) \end{array}$	-0.003 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.003)	-0.003 (0.004)	-0.004 (0.004)	-0.002 (0.004)	-0.002 (0.004)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.003 \\ (0.004) \end{array}$	$0.002 \\ (0.004$
Controls												
MP-Level Individual-Level	N N	Y N	Y Y	N N	Y N	Y Y	N N	Y N	Y Y	N N	Y N	Y Y
Constant	0.301^{**} (0.003)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.252^{**} \\ (0.029) \end{array}$	$0.002 \\ (0.030)$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.328^{**} \\ (0.003) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.219^{**} \\ (0.031) \end{array}$	-0.053 (0.033)	0.419^{**} (0.004)	0.308^{**} (0.038)	0.130^{**} (0.040)	0.598^{**} (0.004)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.718^{**} \\ (0.040) \end{array}$	1.002^{*} (0.040)
Observations Constituencies Log Likelihood Akaike Inf. Crit.	6,295 606 343.440 -672.880	6,295 606 322.283 -610.567	6,295 606 795.500 -1,541.001	6,272 606 -117.189 248.378	6,272 606 -128.897 291.795	6,272 606 345.806 -641.611	6,194 606 -1,108.659 2,231.318	6,194 606 -1,126.788 2,287.575	6,194 606 -774.060 1,598.120	6,151 606 -1,306.149 2,626.297	6,151 606 -1,309.134 2,652.267	6,151 606 -762.3' 1,574.75

Table F6: Political Knowledge and Diffuse Support

Note:

*p<0.05; **p<0.01

Endogenous controls

In our survey data, the voter-level attitudinal controls are measured in 2010, after the scandal broke. They are endogenous to the scandal, and this could bias the multilevel estimators. The 2005-2010 BES panel contains annual waves between 2005 and 2009 and three 2010 general election waves. Three waves predate the scandal (the 2009 wave is post-scandal). The sample is representative and clustered by constituency. We replicate all our analyses using the 2010 pre-campaign wave, controlling for pre-2009 attitudes. All our results are robust to controlling for pre-2009 attitudes.

The below tables replicate Appendix D using the 2005-2010 BES panel, with attitudinal controls measured prior to the scandal. The dependent variables are recorded in 2010. To ensure convergence with the smaller sample size, we dropped some controls. Specifically, we dropped voter-level attitudinal controls which were measured more than a year prior to the scandal. We also dropped those which are measured after the scandal, because they could be endogenous to the scandal. Due to sample size restricting the convergence of the models, we do not replicate the multilevel ordered logits.

			Inclusion	n Attributions		
	М	ultilevel Line	ar	I	Multilevel Logi	t
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Media score	0.047^{**}	0.045^{**}	0.045^{**}	0.385^{**}	0.373^{**}	0.377^{**}
	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.069)	(0.072)	(0.073)
Legg repayments	0.022**	0.022**	0.022**	0.406**	0.412**	0.414**
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.074)	(0.074)	(0.075)
Second home claims	0.007	0.007	0.008	0.245^{*}	0.160	0.169
	(0.006)	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.108)	(0.137)	(0.139)
Other claims	-0.003	-0.004	-0.004	-0.045	-0.023	-0.027
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.078)	(0.083)	(0.085)
Controls						
MP-Level	Ν	Y	Y	Ν	Y	Y
Individual-Level	Ν	Ν	Υ	Ν	Ν	Υ
Constant	0.097**	0.150**	0.126^{*}	-1.474^{**}	-0.683	-1.101
	(0.005)	(0.050)	(0.054)	(0.071)	(0.684)	(0.764)
Observations	2,432	2,432	2,432	2,432	2,432	2,432
Constituencies	575	575	575	575	575	575
Log Likelihood	419.963	400.628	412.035	-1,160.179	-1,148.563	-1,120.889
Akaike Inf. Crit.	-825.927	-767.257	-784.069	$2,\!332.358$	2,329.125	$2,\!279.777$
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	-785.352	-668.717	-668.140	2,367.137	2,421.869	$2,\!389.910$

Table F7: Endogenous Controls

	S	pecific Suppor	rt
	M	ultilevel Linea	ar
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Media score	-0.019^{*}	-0.017^{*}	-0.017^{*}
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Legg repayments	-0.012	-0.011	-0.013
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Second home claims	-0.012	-0.008	-0.009
	(0.008)	(0.012)	(0.011)
Other claims	0.015^{*}	0.013	0.013
	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.007)
Controls			
MP-Level	Ν	Y	Y
Individual-Level	Ν	Ν	Υ
Constant	0.509**	0.430**	0.507**
	(0.007)	(0.072)	(0.076)
Observations	2,331	2,331	2,331
Constituencies	567	567	567
Log Likelihood	-385.467	-395.350	-357.745
Akaike Inf. Crit.	784.934	824.700	755.490
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	825.212	922.519	870.571
Note:		*p<0.05	5; **p<0.01

Table F8: Endogenous Controls

						Multile	vel Linear					
	Tru	st in Politici	ians	Trus	st in Parliam	ent	Satisfac	tion with De	nocracy	Spil	lover Percept	ions
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Media score	$0.002 \\ (0.005)$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.0001 \\ (0.005) \end{array}$	-0.001 (0.005)	$0.002 \\ (0.005)$	-0.0004 (0.006)	-0.001 (0.005)	0.0003 (0.006)	-0.0003 (0.006)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.00002 \\ (0.006) \end{array}$	-0.007 (0.006)	-0.003 (0.007)	-0.00 (0.006
Legg repayments	-0.002 (0.005)	-0.002 (0.005)	-0.002 (0.005)	-0.007 (0.005)	-0.006 (0.006)	-0.006 (0.005)	-0.006 (0.006)	-0.006 (0.006)	-0.006 (0.006)	-0.001 (0.007)	-0.002 (0.007)	-0.00 (0.006)
Second home claims	-0.001 (0.005)	0.016^{*} (0.008)	0.019^{**} (0.007)	-0.002 (0.006)	0.018^{*} (0.008)	0.021^{**} (0.008)	-0.008 (0.007)	$0.003 \\ (0.010)$	$0.002 \\ (0.009)$	$0.012 \\ (0.007)$	-0.012 (0.010)	-0.01 (0.009
Other claims	$0.005 \\ (0.005)$	-0.0005 (0.005)	-0.001 (0.005)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.002\\ (0.005) \end{array}$	-0.005 (0.006)	-0.005 (0.005)	$0.004 \\ (0.006)$	$0.002 \\ (0.006)$	0.003 (0.006)	-0.019^{**} (0.006)	-0.011 (0.007)	-0.01 (0.006
Controls												
MP-Level Individual-Level	N N	Y N	Y Y	N N	Y N	Y Y	N N	Y N	Y Y	N N	Y N	Y Y
Constant	0.293^{**} (0.005)	0.249^{**} (0.047)	0.067 (0.052)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.321^{**} \\ (0.005) \end{array}$	0.288^{**} (0.051)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.118^{*} \\ (0.054) \end{array}$	0.402^{**} (0.006)	0.286^{**} (0.058)	0.327^{**} (0.064)	0.626^{**} (0.006)	0.830^{**} (0.061)	1.008^{*} (0.066)
Observations Constituencies	2,506 478	2,506 478	2,506 478	2,506 478 116,072	2,506 478 122,001	2,506 478 25,052	2,506 478	2,506 478 478	2,506 478	2,506 478	2,506 478	2,506 478
Log Likelihood Akaike Inf. Crit. Bayesian Inf. Crit.	$69.426 \\ -124.853 \\ -84.068$	$48.833 \\ -63.666 \\ 35.383$	$205.926 \\ -371.852 \\ -255.323$	-116.972 247.943 288.728	-133.801 301.602 400.651	$27.853 - 15.706 \\100.823$	-455.371 924.742 965.527	-472.046 978.092 1.077.142	-408.231 856.463 972.991	-566.228 1,146.457 1,187.242	-574.908 1,183.816 1,282.865	-467.6 975.39 1,091.9

Note:

p<0.10; *p<0.05; **p<0.01

Scandal fatigue

A concern with 2010 data (regardless of when attitudinal covariates are measured) is the time which has elapsed since the scandal, because voters can exhibit scandal fatigue (Kumlin and Esaiasson 2012). One could argue that the effect of MP implication on vote choice in 2010 was overshadowed by the financial crisis and electoral partisanship (Eggers 2014) and the null finding for diffuse trust is consistent with an immediate effect which dissipated rapidly. Nonetheless, the diffuse trust models are robust to using the 2009 wave of the 2005-2010 panel, controlling for pre-2009 attitudes and adjusting the media score to include only articles published between May and July 2009.

The below table replicates Table D3 using the 2005-2010 BES panel, with attitudinal controls measured prior to the scandal, and the dependent variables measured in 2009. The spillover perceptions dependent variable is excluded due to its only being recorded in 2010. Due to the smaller sample size, we do not replicate the multilevel ordered logits. None of the measures of implication are significant in the full models. The exception is that second home payments are associated with an increase in trust in parliament in the full model. However, the coefficient is very small.

				M	ultilevel Lin	near			
	Tr	ust in Politici	ans	Tru	ıst in Parlia	ment	Satisfac	tion with De	mocracy
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Media score09	-0.0002	0.0005	-0.0003	-0.0001	0.001	0.001	0.001	0.003	0.003
	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Legg repayments	0.001	0.0005	-0.001	-0.001	-0.002	-0.002	-0.001	-0.0002	0.0005
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Second home claims	-0.005	0.012	0.015^{*}	-0.007	0.015	0.017^{*}	-0.006	0.007	0.007
	(0.005)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.006)	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.010)	(0.009)
Other claims	0.009^{*}	0.004	0.003	0.014**	0.007	0.007	0.012^{*}	0.008	0.009
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.006)
Controls									
MP-Level	Ν	Υ	Υ	Ν	Υ	Υ	Ν	Υ	Y
Individual-Level	Ν	Ν	Υ	Ν	Ν	Υ	Ν	Ν	Y
Constant	0.256^{**}	0.194^{**}	-0.021	0.283**	0.199**	-0.018	0.354^{**}	0.281^{**}	0.256^{**}
	(0.004)	(0.045)	(0.048)	(0.005)	(0.049)	(0.052)	(0.006)	(0.059)	(0.065)
Observations	$2,\!466$	$2,\!466$	2,466	2,466	$2,\!466$	$2,\!466$	$2,\!466$	$2,\!466$	$2,\!466$
Constituencies	478	478	478	478	478	478	478	478	478
Log Likelihood	203.830	183.245	327.294	4.658	-10.871	140.819	-466.050	-486.539	-389.849
Akaike Inf. Crit.	-393.659	-332.491	-614.588	4.685	55.741	-241.637	946.099	1,007.078	819.699
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	-352.987	-233.715	-498.381	45.357	154.517	-125.430	986.772	1,105.854	935.906

Table F10: Scandal Fatigue

Constituency boundary changes

If boundary changes to constituencies are uncorrelated with trust or implication, then random error leads to attenuation bias and the true coefficients are underestimated. We took two measures to minimise this. First, we included boundary changes as an MP-level control in all of our models. Second, in the table below, we re-ran the diffuse trust models excluding constituencies in which large changes occurred (as coded over 50 per cent change by Rallings and Thrasher 2007). Our results are robust to boundary changes.

To ensure the non-findings for diffuse trust and spillover perceptions are not affected by attenuation bias due to boundary changes before the 2010 general election, we re-ran the models in Table D3 excluding constituencies in which large boundary changes occurred. We define 'large' boundary changes as those coded an over 50 per cent change by Rallings and Thrasher 2009). Again, none of the implication measures attain significance in the models with full controls.

					Multil	evel Linear					
Tr	ust in Politicia	ns	Tr	ust in Parlia	ment	Satisfa	ction with Den	nocracy	Sp	illover Percepti	ons
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
$0.002 \\ (0.002)$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.002 \\ (0.002) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.002 \\ (0.002) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.001 \\ (0.002) \end{array}$	-0.001 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.003)	-0.004 (0.003)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.001 \\ (0.003) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.001 \\ (0.003) \end{array}$
-0.003 (0.002)	-0.003 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.004 (0.003)	-0.004 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.00002 (0.003)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.00003 \\ (0.003) \end{array}$	$0.002 \\ (0.003)$	0.007^{*} (0.003)	0.006^{*} (0.003)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.005 \ (0.003) \end{array}$
-0.011^{**} (0.002)	-0.002 (0.004)	-0.002 (0.003)	-0.011^{**} (0.003)	$0.007 \\ (0.004)$	$0.006 \\ (0.003)$	-0.006^{*} (0.003)	-0.004 (0.004)	-0.006 (0.004)	0.013^{**} (0.003)	-0.003 (0.005)	-0.003 (0.004)
0.004^{*} (0.002)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.002\\ (0.002) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.001 \\ (0.002) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.003 \\ (0.002) \end{array}$	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.003 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.003)	-0.006^{*} (0.003)	-0.001 (0.003)	-0.0001 (0.003)
N N	Y N	Y Y	N N	Y N	Y Y	N N	Y N	Y Y	N N	Y N	Y Y
0.298^{**} (0.002)	0.236^{**} (0.021)	-0.034 (0.022)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.333^{**} \\ (0.002) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.238^{**} \\ (0.023) \end{array}$	-0.034 (0.023)	0.425^{**} (0.003)	0.339^{**} (0.026)	0.139^{**} (0.028)	0.595^{**} (0.003)	0.750^{**} (0.027)	1.022^{**} (0.028)
12,763 549	12,763 549	12,763 549	12,763 549	12,763 549 25,800	12,763 549	12,763 549	12,763 549	12,763 549	12,763 549 2,584,021	12,763 549 2,568,850	12,763 549
847.188 -1,680.375 -1,628.195	826.187 -1,618.374 -1,491.650	$ \begin{array}{r} 1,944.629 \\ -3,837.259 \\ -3,643.447 \end{array} $	-32.911 79.822 132.002	-35.890 105.781 232.504	1,015.137 -1,978.275 -1,784.463	-1,931.199 3,876.398 3,928.578	-1,946.371 3,926.742 4,053.465	-1,284.455 2,620.910 2,814.722	-2,584.921 5,183.843 5,236.023	-2,568.859 5,171.719 5,298.442	-1,359.755 2,771.515 2,965.327
	(1) 0.002 (0.002) -0.003 (0.002) -0.011^{**} (0.002) 0.004^{*} (0.002) N N 0.298^{**} (0.002) $12,763$ 549 847.188 $-1,680.375$	$\begin{array}{c ccccc} (1) & (2) \\ \hline 0.002 & 0.002 \\ (0.002) & (0.002) \\ \hline -0.003 & -0.003 \\ (0.002) & (0.002) \\ \hline -0.011^{**} & -0.002 \\ (0.002) & (0.004) \\ \hline 0.004^* & 0.002 \\ (0.002) & (0.002) \\ \hline \\ \hline \\ N & Y \\ N & N \\ \hline \\ 0.298^{**} & 0.236^{**} \\ (0.002) & (0.021) \\ \hline \\ 12,763 & 12,763 \\ 549 & 549 \\ 847.188 & 826.187 \\ -1,680.375 & -1,618.374 \\ \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	$\begin{array}{c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c $	$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	$\begin{array}{c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c $	$\begin{array}{c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c $	$ \begin{array}{c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c $	$ \begin{array}{c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c $

Individual implication measures

In this appendix we replicate the analyses in appendix D using each measure of scandal implication separately. Our results do not substantially change.

			Inclusion	Attributions		
	Ν	Aultilevel Lin	ear]	Multilevel Logi	t
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Media score	0.074^{**} (0.004)	0.071^{**} (0.005)	0.071^{**} (0.004)	0.555^{**} (0.041)	0.517^{**} (0.042)	0.540^{**} (0.043)
Controls						
MP-Level	Ν	Υ	Υ	Ν	Υ	Υ
Individual-Level	Ν	Ν	Υ	Ν	Ν	Y
Constant	0.122**	0.211**	0.193**	-1.303^{**}	-0.392	-0.719
	(0.004)	(0.040)	(0.042)	(0.042)	(0.389)	(0.420)
Observations	14,526	14,526	14,526	14,526	14,526	14,526
Constituencies	606	606	606	606	606	606
Log Likelihood	451.295	430.868	625.984	-7,239.189	-7,214.799	-6,943.224
Akaike Inf. Crit.	-894.591	-833.736	-1,205.968	$14,\!484.380$	$14,\!455.600$	$13,\!930.450$
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	-864.256	-727.564	-1,031.543	$14,\!507.130$	$14,\!554.190$	14,097.290
Note:					*p<0.	.05; **p<0.01

Table F12: Inclusion Attributions with Media Only

			Inclusion	Attributions		
	Ν	Aultilevel Lin	ear		Multilevel Logi	t
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Legg repayments	0.039^{**} (0.005)	0.038^{**} (0.005)	0.037^{**} (0.005)	0.481^{**} (0.044)	0.441^{**} (0.043)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.452^{**} \\ (0.045) \end{array}$
Controls						
MP-Level	Ν	Υ	Υ	Ν	Υ	Υ
Individual-Level	Ν	Ν	Υ	Ν	Ν	Υ
Constant	0.121**	0.235**	0.217**	-1.322^{**}	-0.256	-0.576
	(0.005)	(0.046)	(0.047)	(0.044)	(0.408)	(0.441)
Observations	14,526	14,526	14,526	14,526	14,526	14,526
Constituencies	606	606	606	606	606	606
Log Likelihood	361.912	357.266	549.838	$-7,\!266.352$	$-7,\!235.369$	-6,966.165
Akaike Inf. Crit.	-715.825	-686.531	$-1,\!053.675$	$14,\!538.700$	$14,\!496.740$	$13,\!976.330$
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	-685.489	-580.359	-879.249	$14,\!561.450$	$14,\!595.330$	$14,\!143.170$
Note:					*p<0.	.05; **p<0.01

Table F13: Inclusion Attributions with Legg repayments Only

			Inclusion	Attributions		
	Ν	Aultilevel Lin	ear]	Multilevel Logi	t
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Second home claims	0.024^{**} (0.005)	0.026^{**} (0.007)	0.027^{**} (0.007)	0.443^{**} (0.053)	0.395^{**} (0.070)	0.417^{**} (0.071)
Controls						
MP-Level	Ν	Υ	Υ	Ν	Υ	Υ
Individual-Level	Ν	Ν	Υ	Ν	Ν	Υ
Constant	0.121**	0.181**	0.162**	-1.335^{**}	-0.836	-1.186^{*}
	(0.005)	(0.049)	(0.049)	(0.046)	(0.441)	(0.472)
Observations	14,526	14,526	14,526	14,526	14,526	14,526
Constituencies	606	606	606	606	606	606
Log Likelihood	344.076	337.516	531.103	-7,285.106	-7,268.032	-6,997.175
Akaike Inf. Crit.	-680.152	-647.031	-1,016.206	$14,\!576.210$	$14,\!562.060$	14,038.350
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	-649.817	-540.859	-841.781	$14,\!598.960$	$14,\!660.650$	$14,\!205.190$
Note:					*p<0.	.05; **p<0.01

Table F14: Inclusion Attributions with Second Home Claims Only

			Inclusion	Attributions		
	Ν	Aultilevel Lin	ear]	Multilevel Logi	t
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Other claims	$0.005 \\ (0.005)$	0.004 (0.005)	0.004 (0.005)	$0.062 \\ (0.047)$	$0.064 \\ (0.045)$	$0.066 \\ (0.047)$
Controls						
MP-Level	Ν	Υ	Υ	Ν	Υ	Υ
Individual-Level	Ν	Ν	Υ	Ν	Ν	Υ
Constant	0.122**	0.219**	0.202**	-1.308^{**}	-0.414	-0.734
	(0.005)	(0.048)	(0.049)	(0.049)	(0.446)	(0.477)
Observations	14,526	14,526	14,526	14,526	14,526	14,526
Constituencies	606	606	606	606	606	606
Log Likelihood	333.060	330.401	523.325	-7,323.792	$-7,\!284.784$	-7,015.057
Akaike Inf. Crit.	-658.121	-632.802	-1,000.650	$14,\!653.580$	$14,\!595.570$	14,074.110
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	-627.786	-526.630	-826.225	$14,\!676.330$	$14,\!694.160$	$14,\!240.950$
Note:					*p<0	.05; **p<0.01

Table F15: Inclusion Attributions with Other Claims Only

		Specific Support	t						
	Multilevel Linear								
	(1)	(2)	(3)						
Media score	-0.024^{**}	-0.022^{**}	-0.022^{**}						
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)						
Controls									
MP-Level	Ν	Υ	Y						
Individual-Level	Ν	Ν	Υ						
Constant	0.503**	0.477**	0.432**						
	(0.004)	(0.036)	(0.037)						
Observations	13,308	13,308	13,308						
Constituencies	606	606	606						
Log Likelihood	-1,912.902	-1,903.340	-1,011.854						
Akaike Inf. Crit.	$3,\!833.803$	$3,\!834.681$	2,069.707						
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	3,863.788	3,939.626	2,242.118						
Note:		*p<0	.05; **p<0.01						

Table F15: Eroding with Media Only

Note: Coefficients are population average fixed effects. Random effects in the MP-level intercepts only. Robust standard errors in parentheses. All independent variables have been standardized in terms of standard deviation changes, and all dependent variables are on 0-1 scales.

	,	Specific Suppor	t
	Ν	Aultilevel Linea	ar
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Legg repayments	-0.017^{**}	-0.017^{**}	-0.015^{**}
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Controls			
MP-Level	Ν	Υ	Υ
Individual-Level	Ν	Ν	Υ
Constant	0.504**	0.473**	0.428**
	(0.003)	(0.029)	(0.030)
Observations	13,308	13,308	13,308
Constituencies	606	606	606
Log Likelihood	-1,921.961	$-1,\!908.957$	-1,019.509
Akaike Inf. Crit.	$3,\!851.922$	$3,\!85.914$	$2,\!085.018$
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	$3,\!881.906$	$3,\!950.860$	$2,\!257.428$
Note:		*p<0	.05; **p<0.01

Table F16: Eroding with Legg repayments only

Note: Coefficients are population average fixed effects. Random effects in the MP-level intercepts only. Robust standard errors in parentheses. All independent variables have been standardized in terms of standard deviation changes, and all dependent variables are on 0-1 scales.

		Specific Suppor	t						
	Multilevel Linear								
	(1)	(2)	(3)						
Second home claims	-0.013^{**}	-0.017^{**}	-0.018^{**}						
	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.005)						
Controls									
MP-Level	Ν	Y	Y						
Individual-Level	Ν	Ν	Υ						
Constant	0.504**	0.500**	0.455**						
	(0.004)	(0.038)	(0.039)						
Observations	13,308	13,308	13,308						
Constituencies	606	606	606						
Log Likelihood	-1,926.130	-1,912.794	-1,021.586						
Akaike Inf. Crit.	$3,\!860.260$	$3,\!853.588$	2,089.173						
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	$3,\!890.244$	$3,\!958.534$	$2,\!261.584$						
Note:		*p<0	.05; **p<0.01						

Table F17: Eroding with Second Home Claims Only

Note: Coefficients are population average fixed effects. Random effects in the MP-level intercepts only. Robust standard errors in parentheses. All independent variables have been standardized in terms of standard deviation changes, and all dependent variables are on 0-1 scales.

		Specific Suppor	t
	Ν	/Iultilevel Linea	ar
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Other claims	-0.002	-0.003	-0.003
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Controls			
MP-Level	Ν	Υ	Υ
Individual-Level	Ν	Ν	Υ
Constant	0.503**	0.478**	0.433**
	(0.004)	(0.037)	(0.039)
Observations	13,308	13,308	13,308
Constituencies	606	606	606
Log Likelihood	-1,930.955	-1,918.105	-1,027.228
Akaike Inf. Crit.	$3,\!869.910$	$3,\!864.210$	$2,\!100.456$
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	$3,\!899.894$	$3,\!969.156$	$2,\!272.866$
Note:		*p<0	.05; **p<0.01

Table F18: Eroding with Other Claims Only

Note: Coefficients are population average fixed effects. Random effects in the MP-level intercepts only. Robust standard errors in parentheses. All independent variables have been standardized in terms of standard deviation changes, and all dependent variables are on 0-1 scales.

	Multilevel Linear												
	Ti	rust in Politicia	ns	Trust in Parliament Sa			Satisfa	Satisfaction with Democracy			Spillover Perceptions		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	
Media score	-0.00002 (0.002)	$0.002 \\ (0.002)$	$0.002 \\ (0.002)$	-0.001 (0.002)	0.0002 (0.002)	0.0003 (0.002)	-0.003 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.002)	0.0004 (0.003)	$0.0005 \\ (0.003)$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.001 \\ (0.002) \end{array}$	
Controls													
MP-Level	Ν	Υ	Υ	Ν	Υ	Υ	Ν	Υ	Υ	Ν	Υ	Y	
Individual-Level	Ν	Ν	Υ	Ν	Ν	Υ	Ν	Y	Y	Ν	Υ	Υ	
Constant	0.298**	0.243**	-0.027	0.334^{**}	0.249**	-0.026	0.428**	0.334**	0.123**	0.598**	0.737**	1.007**	
	(0.002)	(0.019)	(0.020)	(0.002)	(0.020)	(0.021)	(0.002)	(0.023)	(0.025)	(0.003)	(0.025)	(0.025)	
Observations	15,170	15,170	15,170	15,018	15,018	15,018	14,784	14,784	14,784	14,622	14,622	14,622	
Constituencies	606	606	606	606	606	606	606	606	606	606	606	606	
Log Likelihood	1,012.548	1,006.164	2,302.135	-1.747	11.011	1,205.261	-2,191.739	-2,206.146	-1,443.858	-2,890.996	-2,856.776	-1,460.13	
Akaike Inf. Crit.	-2,017.095	-1,984.329	$-4,\!558.270$	11.494	5.977	-2,364.522	4,391.479	4,440.292	2,933.716	5,789.991	5,741.551	2,966.275	
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	-1,986.587	-1,877.550	-4,382.847	41.962	112.615	-2,189.330	4,421.884	4,546.710	3,108.545	5,820.353	5,847.815	3,140.851	

Table F19: Spillovers with Media Only

Note:

*p<0.05; **p<0.01

	Multilevel Linear												
	Tr	ust in Politicia	ins	Tru	ıst in Parlia	ament	Satisfac	ction with Den	nocracy	Spillover Perceptions			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	
Legg repayments	-0.007^{**} (0.002)	-0.003 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.008^{**} (0.002)	-0.003 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.003 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)	0.0002 (0.002)	0.009^{**} (0.003)	0.005^{*} (0.003)	0.004 (0.002)	
Controls													
MP-Level	Ν	Υ	Υ	Ν	Υ	Υ	Ν	Υ	Υ	Ν	Υ	Υ	
Individual-Level	Ν	Ν	Υ	Ν	Ν	Υ	Ν	Ν	Υ	Ν	Ν	Υ	
Constant	0.298^{**} (0.002)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.243^{**} \\ (0.019) \end{array}$	-0.027 (0.020)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.334^{**} \\ (0.002) \end{array}$	0.249^{**} (0.020)	-0.026 (0.021)	0.428^{**} (0.002)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.334^{**} \\ (0.023) \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} 0.122^{**} \\ (0.025) \end{array}$	0.598^{**} (0.003)	$\begin{array}{c} 0.738^{**} \\ (0.025) \end{array}$	$\frac{1.008^{**}}{(0.025)}$	
Observations	15,170	15,170	15,170	15,018	15,018	15,018	14,784	14,784	14,784	14,622	14,622	14,622	
Constituencies	606	606	606	606	606	606	606	606	606	606	606	606	
Log Likelihood	1,017.827	1,007.275	$2,\!302.214$	4.004	12.258	1,205.628	$-2,\!191.630$	$-2,\!206.113$	-1,444.052	-2,885.337	-2,854.755	-1,458.38	
Akaike Inf. Crit.	-2,027.654	$-1,\!986.550$	$-4,\!558.428$	-0.008	3.485	-2,365.255	4,391.261	4,440.226	$2,\!934.105$	5,778.675	5,737.510	2,962.764	
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	-1,997.146	-1,879.771	-4,383.006	30.460	110.123	-2,190.064	4,421.666	4,546.644	$3,\!108.935$	$5,\!809.036$	5,843.774	3,137.341	

Table F20: Spillovers with Legg repayments Only

Note:

40

*p<0.05; **p<0.01

	Multilevel Linear												
	Ti	ust in Politicia	ns	Tru	ıst in Parlia	ament	Satisfa	ction with Dem	nocracy	Spillover Perceptions			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	
Second home claims	-0.011^{**} (0.002)	-0.002 (0.003)	-0.003 (0.003)	-0.012^{**} (0.002)	$0.003 \\ (0.003)$	0.001 (0.003)	-0.006^{**} (0.002)	-0.003 (0.003)	-0.005 (0.003)	0.014^{**} (0.003)	-0.001 (0.004)	0.0003 (0.003)	
Controls													
MP-Level	Ν	Y	Y	Ν	Υ	Υ	Ν	Υ	Υ	Ν	Υ	Υ	
Individual-Level	Ν	Ν	Υ	Ν	Ν	Υ	Ν	Ν	Υ	Ν	Ν	Υ	
Constant	0.298**	0.245**	-0.024	0.335**	0.245**	-0.028	0.428**	0.338**	0.129**	0.598**	0.739**	1.007**	
	(0.002)	(0.019)	(0.020)	(0.002)	(0.020)	(0.021)	(0.002)	(0.023)	(0.026)	(0.003)	(0.025)	(0.025)	
Observations	15,170	15,170	15,170	15,018	15,018	15,018	14,784	14,784	14,784	14,622	14,622	14,622	
Constituencies	606	606	606	606	606	606	606	606	606	606	606	606	
Log Likelihood	1,026.181	1,006.301	2,302.423	12.942	11.766	1,205.667	$-2,\!189.092$	$-2,\!205.575$	-1,442.680	$-2,\!879.346$	-2,856.441	-1,459.88	
Akaike Inf. Crit.	-2,044.361	-1,984.603	$-4,\!558.847$	-17.884	4.468	-2,365.333	4,386.184	$4,\!439.149$	2,931.360	5,766.692	5,740.882	2,965.772	
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	-2,013.853	-1,877.823	-4,383.424	12.584	111.106	-2,190.142	4,416.589	4,545.568	3,106.189	5,797.053	5,847.146	3,140.34	

Table F21: Spillovers with Second Home Claims Only

Note:

*p<0.05; **p<0.01

	Multilevel Linear											
	Tr	rust in Politicia	ns	Trust in Parliament Satis			Satisfa	ction with Den	nocracy	Spillover Perceptions		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Other claims	$0.0005 \\ (0.002)$	-0.00004 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.004 (0.002)	-0.003 (0.002)	-0.004 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.003)	-0.002 (0.003)	-0.0002 (0.002)
Controls												
MP-Level	Ν	Y	Υ	Ν	Υ	Υ	Ν	Υ	Υ	Ν	Υ	Υ
Individual-Level	Ν	Ν	Υ	Ν	Ν	Υ	Ν	Ν	Υ	Ν	Ν	Υ
Constant	0.298**	0.243**	-0.026	0.334**	0.250**	-0.025	0.428**	0.337**	0.125**	0.598^{**}	0.739^{**}	1.008**
	(0.002)	(0.019)	(0.020)	(0.002)	(0.020)	(0.021)	(0.002)	(0.023)	(0.025)	(0.003)	(0.025)	(0.025)
Observations	15,170	15,170	15,170	15,018	15,018	15,018	14,784	14,784	14,784	14,622	14,622	14,622
Constituencies	606	606	606	606	606	606	606	606	606	606	606	606
Log Likelihood	1,012.546	1,005.752	$2,\!301.652$	-1.803	11.189	1,205.938	$-2,\!191.142$	-2,205.318	-1,442.851	$-2,\!890.711$	-2,856.636	-1,460.234
Akaike Inf. Crit.	-2,017.092	-1,983.504	$-4,\!557.304$	11.606	5.622	-2,365.876	4,390.285	$4,\!438.636$	2,931.703	5,789.423	5,741.271	2,966.468
Bayesian Inf. Crit.	-1,986.584	-1,876.725	-4,381.881	42.074	112.260	-2,190.685	4,420.690	4,545.054	3,106.533	5,819.784	5,847.535	3,141.045

Table F22:	Spillovers	with	Other	Claims	Only
10010 1 22.	Spinovers	** 1011	Ounor	Clamb	Omy

Note:

*p<0.05; **p<0.01

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