

Supplementary Materials for "Political Scandals and Vertical Contagion in Multilevel Systems"

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January 16, 2025

1 Trust in levels of government over time

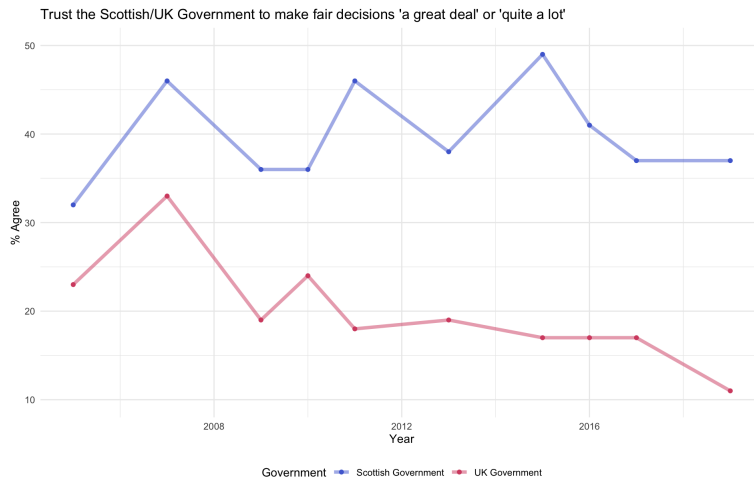


Figure 1: Source: Scottish Social Attitudes Survey

2 Distribution of Outcome Variable

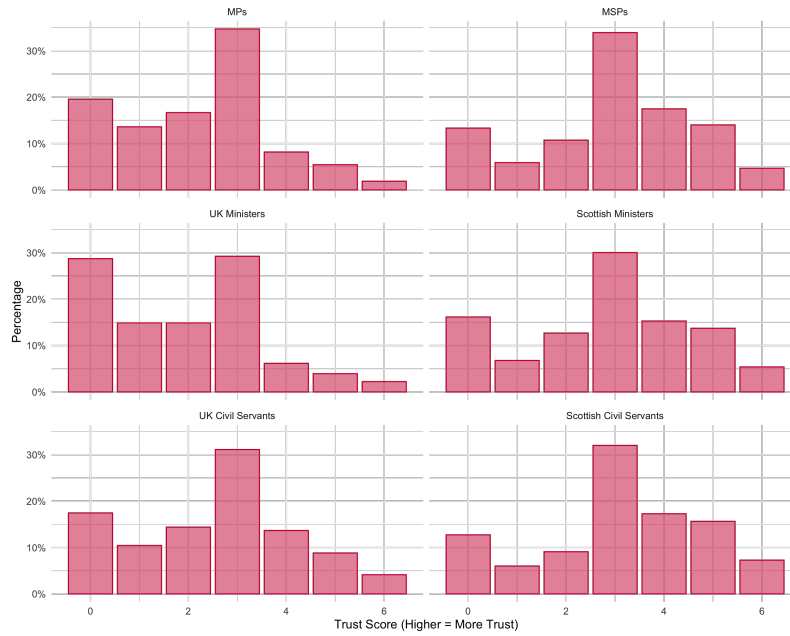


Figure 2: **Study 1:** Distribution of outcome variable in control group

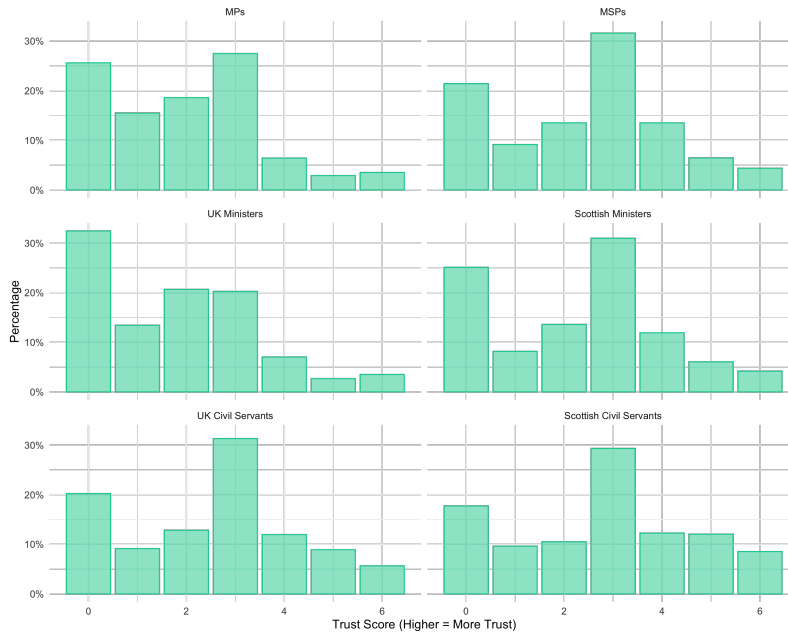


Figure 3: **Study 2:** Distribution of outcome variable in control group

3 Tables for main analysis

Table 1: Treatment Effects on Trust in Political Actors

Outcome	Mean Difference	Control Mean	Treatment Mean	p-value		N
MPs	-0.164	2.221	2.057	0.074	.	1186
MSPs	0.197	2.971	3.168	0.042	*	1174
UK Ministers	-0.262	1.899	1.637	0.005	**	1185
Scottish Ministers	0.237	2.842	3.079	0.021	*	1169
UK Civil Servants	-0.288	2.561	2.273	0.005	**	1134
Scottish Civil Servants	-0.065	3.111	3.046	0.528		1111

Table 2: Treatment Effects on Trust in Political Actors - Study 2

Outcome	Mean Difference	Control Mean	Treatment Mean	p-value		N
MPs	0.018	1.963	1.980	0.862		992
MSPs	-0.116	2.435	2.319	0.296		992
UK Ministers	0.049	1.781	1.830	0.634		996
Scottish Ministers	-0.138	2.314	2.176	0.220		989
UK Civil Servants	-0.174	2.550	2.376	0.125		949
Scottish Civil Servants	-0.281	2.790	2.509	0.020	*	946

4 Tables for Interaction with Independence Preference (Study 1)

	All	Interaction	Independence	Union
Treatment	-0.164* (0.092)	-0.230* (0.130)	-0.178 (0.132)	-0.230* (0.134)
Independence		-0.578*** (0.133)		
Treatment x Indy		0.052 (0.189)		
Constant	2.221*** (0.065)	2.533*** (0.090)	1.955*** (0.095)	2.533*** (0.093)
Observations	1,186	1,050	499	551
R ²	0.003	0.037	0.004	0.005
Adjusted R ²	0.002	0.034	0.002	0.004

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 3: Trust in MPs

	All	Interaction	Independence	Union
Treatment	0.197** (0.097)	0.047 (0.127)	0.163 (0.119)	0.047 (0.139)
Independence		1.438*** (0.130)		
Treatment x Indy		0.116 (0.184)		
Constant	2.971*** (0.069)	2.339*** (0.089)	3.778*** (0.085)	2.339*** (0.097)
Observations	1,174	1,042	498	544
R ²	0.004	0.204	0.004	0.0002
Adjusted R ²	0.003	0.202	0.002	-0.002

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 4: Trust in MSPs

	All	Interaction	Independence	Union
Treatment	-0.262*** (0.094)	-0.360*** (0.130)	-0.192 (0.126)	-0.360*** (0.139)
Independence		-1.098*** (0.133)		
Treatment x Indy		0.168 (0.189)		
Constant	1.899*** (0.067)	2.435*** (0.091)	1.337*** (0.090)	2.435*** (0.097)
Observations	1,185	1,052	500	552
R ²	0.006	0.108	0.005	0.012
Adjusted R ²	0.006	0.105	0.003	0.010

Note: * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Table 5: Trust in UK Ministers

	All	Interaction	Independence	Union
Treatment	0.237** (0.102)	0.097 (0.133)	0.208 (0.128)	0.097 (0.142)
Independence		1.602*** (0.136)		
Treatment x Indy		0.111 (0.193)		
Constant	2.842*** (0.073)	2.127*** (0.092)	3.729*** (0.092)	2.127*** (0.099)
Observations	1,169	1,040	494	546
R ²	0.005	0.224	0.005	0.001
Adjusted R ²	0.004	0.222	0.003	-0.001

Note: * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Table 6: Trust in Scottish Ministers

	All	Interaction	Independence	Union
Treatment	-0.288*** (0.101)	-0.295** (0.147)	-0.333** (0.154)	-0.295** (0.148)
Independence		-0.357** (0.151)		
Treatment x Indy		-0.038 (0.213)		
Constant	2.561*** (0.072)	2.762*** (0.102)	2.405*** (0.111)	2.762*** (0.103)
Observations	1,134	1,011	481	530
R ²	0.007	0.021	0.010	0.007
Adjusted R ²	0.006	0.018	0.008	0.006

Note: * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Table 7: Trust in Civil Servants (Westminster)

	All	Interaction	Independence	Union
Treatment	-0.065 (0.102)	-0.030 (0.142)	-0.185 (0.139)	-0.030 (0.151)
Independence		1.079*** (0.146)		
Treatment x Indy		-0.155 (0.207)		
Constant	3.111*** (0.073)	2.642*** (0.099)	3.721*** (0.099)	2.642*** (0.105)
Observations	1,111	993	470	523
R ²	0.0004	0.088	0.004	0.0001
Adjusted R ²	-0.001	0.085	0.002	-0.002
<i>Note:</i>			*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

Table 8: Trust in Civil Servants (Scotland)

5 Tables for Interaction with Independence Preference (Study 2)

	All	Interaction	Independence	Union
Treatment	0.018 (0.101)	-0.039 (0.149)	0.043 (0.153)	-0.039 (0.150)
Independence		-0.738*** (0.154)		
Treatment x Indy		0.082 (0.215)		
Constant	1.963*** (0.072)	2.361*** (0.109)	1.623*** (0.108)	2.361*** (0.110)
Observations	992	852	408	444
R ²	0.00003	0.048	0.0002	0.0002
Adjusted R ²	-0.001	0.044	-0.002	-0.002
<i>Note:</i>			*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

Table 9: Trust in MPs

	All	Interaction	Independence	Union
Treatment	-0.116 (0.111)	-0.245 (0.156)	0.118 (0.169)	-0.245 (0.149)
Independence		1.089*** (0.162)		
Treatment x Indy		0.363 (0.225)		
Constant	2.435*** (0.079)	1.882*** (0.115)	2.971*** (0.119)	1.882*** (0.110)
Observations	992	852	408	444
R ²	0.001	0.135	0.001	0.006
Adjusted R ²	0.0001	0.132	-0.001	0.004
<i>Note:</i>				*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 10: Trust in MSPs

	All	Interaction	Independence	Union
Treatment	0.049 (0.103)	0.028 (0.151)	0.079 (0.155)	0.028 (0.152)
Independence		-0.893*** (0.156)		
Treatment x Indy		0.051 (0.218)		
Constant	1.781*** (0.074)	2.243*** (0.111)	1.350*** (0.109)	2.243*** (0.112)
Observations	996	855	409	446
R ²	0.0002	0.070	0.001	0.0001
Adjusted R ²	-0.001	0.067	-0.002	-0.002
<i>Note:</i>				*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 11: Trust in UK Ministers

	All	Interaction	Independence	Union
Treatment	-0.138 (0.112)	-0.227 (0.155)	0.040 (0.168)	-0.227 (0.150)
Independence		1.356*** (0.161)		
Treatment x Indy		0.267 (0.224)		
Constant	2.314*** (0.081)	1.659*** (0.114)	3.015*** (0.119)	1.659*** (0.110)
Observations	989	852	406	446
R ²	0.002	0.176	0.0001	0.005
Adjusted R ²	0.001	0.173	-0.002	0.003
<i>Note:</i>				*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 12: Trust in Scottish Ministers

	All	Interaction	Independence	Union
Treatment	-0.174 (0.113)	-0.207 (0.170)	-0.115 (0.186)	-0.207 (0.161)
Independence		-0.173 (0.176)		
Treatment x Indy		0.093 (0.245)		
Constant	2.550*** (0.081)	2.640*** (0.124)	2.467*** (0.131)	2.640*** (0.118)
Observations	949	816	390	426
R ²	0.002	0.003	0.001	0.004
Adjusted R ²	0.001	-0.0002	-0.002	0.002
<i>Note:</i>			*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

Table 13: Trust in Civil Servants (Westminster)

	All	Interaction	Independence	Union
Treatment	-0.281** (0.120)	-0.393** (0.174)	-0.125 (0.185)	-0.393** (0.169)
Independence		0.958*** (0.180)		
Treatment x Indy		0.267 (0.250)		
Constant	2.790*** (0.087)	2.327*** (0.127)	3.284*** (0.131)	2.327*** (0.124)
Observations	946	815	392	423
R ²	0.006	0.094	0.001	0.013
Adjusted R ²	0.005	0.090	-0.001	0.010
<i>Note:</i>			*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

Table 14: Trust in Civil Servants (Scotland)

6 Do incumbent partisans react differently?

Of course, it is possible that the findings relate to the partisan composition of the Scottish electorate, Conservatives being well outnumbered by SNP supporters and, partly as a consequence, trust ratings generally being higher for Scottish institutions. How far does this explain the pattern of response to the two treatments? Figure 4 visualises the effects of the treatment in both studies interacted with a respondent's partisanship (binary measure of whether they support scandal subject's party or not). Evidence of partisan motivated reasoning is limited. In Study 1 near identical effects are observed for both Conservative partisans and other respondents when it comes to MPs, MSPs, UK government ministers and Scottish government ministers. Some small differences are observed in the effects on attitudes towards civil servants at both levels, but again these differences are neither substantively nor statistically significant.

Study 2 also sees very little difference between partisans and non-partisans, although differences on attitudes towards MSPs and Scottish government ministers are slightly more pronounced, with SNP partisans less negative about these actors. This is to be expected given their motivation to defend the Scottish level. However, the real test for contagion is with the effect of Campervangate on Westminster actors, and here there is neither any main effect nor any moderating effect of partisanship.

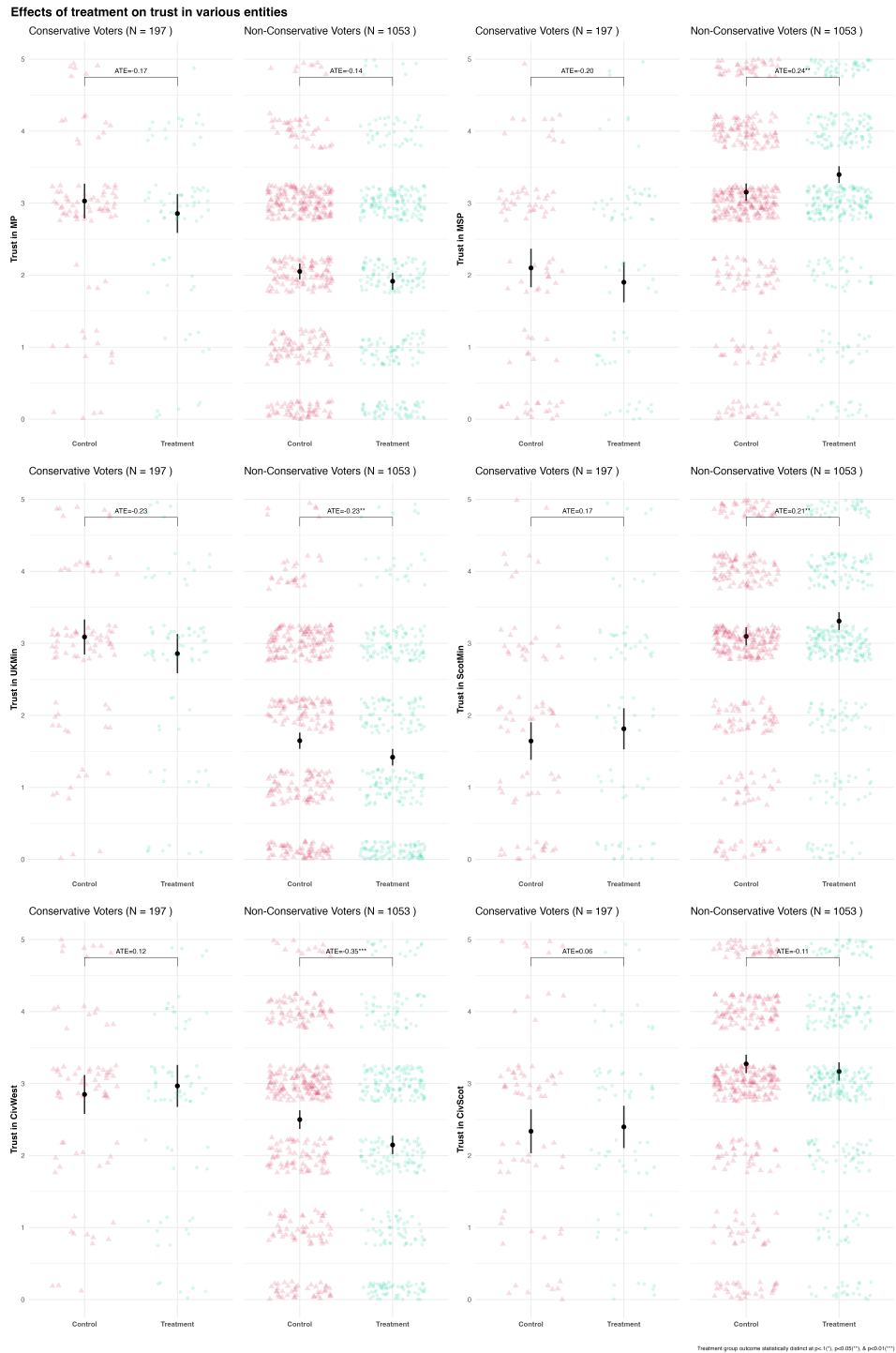


Figure 4: **Study 1:** Effect of treatment on trust in [X] to behave ethically in their job interacted with vote intention for Conservative.



Figure 5: **Study 2:** Effect of treatment on trust in [X] to behave ethically in their job interacted with vote intention for the SNP.

	All	Interaction	Conservative	Non-Conservative
Treatment	-0.164*	-0.136	-0.174	-0.136
	(0.092)	(0.098)	(0.217)	(0.098)
Incumbent Con		0.978***		
		(0.168)		
Treatment x Incumbent Con		-0.038		
		(0.243)		
Constant	2.221***	2.051***	3.029***	2.051***
	(0.065)	(0.070)	(0.148)	(0.070)
Observations	1,186	1,186	192	994
R ²	0.003	0.053	0.003	0.002
Adjusted R ²	0.002	0.050	-0.002	0.001
Note:			*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

Table 15: **Study1:** Trust in MPs

	All	Interaction	Conservative	Non-Conservative
Treatment	0.197**	0.243**	-0.199	0.243**
	(0.097)	(0.102)	(0.233)	(0.101)
Incumbent Con		-1.053***		
		(0.175)		
Treatment x Incumbent Con		-0.442*		
		(0.252)		
Constant	2.971***	3.153***	2.100***	3.153***
	(0.069)	(0.073)	(0.161)	(0.073)
Observations	1,174	1,174	191	983
R ²	0.004	0.085	0.004	0.006
Adjusted R ²	0.003	0.083	-0.001	0.005
Note:			*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

Table 16: **Study 1:** Trust in MSPs

	All	Interaction	Conservative	Non-Conservative
Treatment	-0.262***	-0.230**	-0.231	-0.230**
	(0.094)	(0.098)	(0.219)	(0.098)
Incumbent Con		1.440***		
		(0.167)		
Treatment x Incumbent Con		-0.002		
		(0.242)		
Constant	1.899***	1.648***	3.088***	1.648***
	(0.067)	(0.070)	(0.151)	(0.070)
Observations	1,185	1,185	193	992
R ²	0.006	0.113	0.006	0.006
Adjusted R ²	0.006	0.111	0.001	0.005
Note:			*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01	

Table 17: **Study 1:** Trust in UK Ministers

	All	Interaction	Conservative	Non-Conservative
Treatment	0.237** (0.102)	0.212** (0.107)	0.170 (0.232)	0.212** (0.107)
Incumbent Con		-1.453*** (0.182)		
Treatment x Incumbent Con		-0.042 (0.263)		
Constant	2.842*** (0.073)	3.097*** (0.076)	1.644*** (0.160)	3.097*** (0.077)
Observations	1,169	1,169	192	977
R ²	0.005	0.102	0.003	0.004
Adjusted R ²	0.004	0.099	-0.002	0.003
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01			

Table 18: **Study 1:** Trust in Scottish Ministers

	All	Interaction	Conservative	Non-Conservative
Treatment	-0.288*** (0.101)	-0.352*** (0.110)	0.118 (0.239)	-0.352*** (0.111)
Incumbent Con		0.350* (0.188)		
Treatment x Incumbent Con		0.469* (0.271)		
Constant	2.561*** (0.072)	2.499*** (0.079)	2.848*** (0.164)	2.499*** (0.080)
Observations	1,134	1,134	188	946
R ²	0.007	0.025	0.001	0.011
Adjusted R ²	0.006	0.023	-0.004	0.010
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01			

Table 19: **Study 1:** Trust in Civil Servants (Westminster)

	All	Interaction	Conservative	Non-Conservative
Treatment	-0.065 (0.102)	-0.106 (0.110)	0.061 (0.255)	-0.106 (0.109)
Incumbent Con		-0.936*** (0.189)		
Treatment x Incumbent Con		0.166 (0.271)		
Constant	3.111*** (0.073)	3.273*** (0.079)	2.337*** (0.177)	3.273*** (0.078)
Observations	1,111	1,111	183	928
R ²	0.0004	0.035	0.0003	0.001
Adjusted R ²	-0.001	0.033	-0.005	-0.0001
Note:	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01			

Table 20: **Study 1:** Trust in Civil Servants (Scotland)

	All	Interaction	SNP	Non-SNP
Treatment	0.018 (0.101)	0.045 (0.115)	-0.141 (0.207)	0.045 (0.115)
Incumbent SNP		-0.233 (0.162)		
Treatment x Incumbent SNP		-0.186 (0.236)		
Constant	1.963*** (0.072)	2.025*** (0.084)	1.792*** (0.140)	2.025*** (0.084)
Observations	992	992	239	753
R ²	0.00003	0.008	0.002	0.0002
Adjusted R ²	-0.001	0.005	-0.002	-0.001
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01			

Table 21: **Study2:** Trust in MPs

	All	Interaction	SNP	Non-SNP
Treatment	-0.116 (0.111)	-0.127 (0.120)	0.237 (0.209)	-0.127 (0.120)
Incumbent SNP		1.228*** (0.167)		
Treatment x Incumbent SNP		0.364 (0.241)		
Constant	2.435*** (0.079)	2.097*** (0.087)	3.326*** (0.141)	2.097*** (0.088)
Observations	992	992	244	748
R ²	0.001	0.123	0.005	0.002
Adjusted R ²	0.0001	0.120	0.001	0.0002
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01			

Table 22: **Study2:** Trust in MSPs

	All	Interaction	SNP	Non-SNP
Treatment	0.049 (0.103)	0.039 (0.118)	-0.028 (0.209)	0.039 (0.118)
Incumbent SNP		-0.464*** (0.165)		
Treatment x Incumbent SNP		-0.067 (0.239)		
Constant	1.781*** (0.074)	1.907*** (0.086)	1.443*** (0.141)	1.907*** (0.086)
Observations	996	996	242	754
R ²	0.0002	0.017	0.0001	0.0001
Adjusted R ²	-0.001	0.014	-0.004	-0.001
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01			

Table 23: **Study2:** Trust in UK Ministers

	All	Interaction	SNP	Non-SNP
Treatment	-0.138 (0.112)	-0.110 (0.119)	0.162 (0.208)	-0.110 (0.120)
Incumbent SNP		1.471*** (0.166)		
Treatment x Incumbent SNP		0.272 (0.241)		
Constant	2.314*** (0.081)	1.908*** (0.087)	3.379*** (0.141)	1.908*** (0.088)
Observations	989	989	243	746
R ²	0.002	0.154	0.003	0.001
Adjusted R ²	0.001	0.152	-0.002	-0.0002

Note: * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Table 24: **Study2:** Trust in Scottish Ministers

	All	Interaction	SNP	Non-SNP
Treatment	-0.174 (0.113)	-0.101 (0.130)	-0.405* (0.232)	-0.101 (0.130)
Incumbent SNP		0.137 (0.183)		
Treatment x Incumbent SNP		-0.304 (0.265)		
Constant	2.550*** (0.081)	2.513*** (0.095)	2.650*** (0.158)	2.513*** (0.095)
Observations	949	949	229	720
R ²	0.002	0.004	0.013	0.001
Adjusted R ²	0.001	0.001	0.009	-0.001

Note: * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Table 25: **Study2:** Trust in Civil Servants (Westminster)

	All	Interaction	SNP	Non-SNP
Treatment	-0.281** (0.120)	-0.211 (0.134)	-0.252 (0.223)	-0.211 (0.136)
Incumbent SNP		1.192*** (0.187)		
Treatment x Incumbent SNP		-0.041 (0.269)		
Constant	2.790*** (0.087)	2.464*** (0.098)	3.656*** (0.152)	2.464*** (0.099)
Observations	946	946	234	712
R ²	0.006	0.080	0.005	0.003
Adjusted R ²	0.005	0.077	0.001	0.002

Note: * p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Table 26: **Study2:** Trust in Civil Servants (Scotland)