

Index

- Abrahams, David, 58
 accountability, principle of, 19–20
 accountants, 189
 Acton, Lord, 130–1
 adversarial politics, 35, 45
 Advisory Committee on Business
 Appointments, 93, 95, 100, 103
 age effects, 30, 73, 77–9, 86, 117, 157
 aging populations, 6
 alcohol, 7, 68
 ‘anchoring and adjustment’ biases,
 115–16, 129
 anti-politics mood, 2, 4
 appearance, principle of, 18, 20
 Archer, Jeffrey, 111
 ‘arms to Iraq’ affair, 56
 Ashcroft, Lord, 58
 Atkinson, Michael, 47
 attack-dog journalism, 36
 attentiveness to politics, 27, 73, 77–9
 Attlee, Clement, 50, 53
 ‘availability’ bias, 115, 129
- B/CCAP. *See* British Cooperative
 Campaign Analysis Project
 Beer, Samuel, 43–4
 behavioural economics, 29
 Belcher, John, 55
 benefits, claiming of, 74, 168–9
 Birch, Anthony, 161
 Birch, Sarah, 25
 ‘black’ conduct, 86–7
 Blair, Tony, 10, 38, 50, 55, 57–9, 187
 Blunkett, David, 57
Borgen, 203
 Bradford, 11
 bribery, 32, 41, 43, 48, 65, 137, 139
 Bribery Act 2010, 40
 Bristol, 43
- British Broadcasting Corporation
 (BBC), 112
 British Cooperative Campaign Analysis
 Project, xiii, 9, 210
 British Representation Study, 82, 84
 British Social Attitudes survey, 179
 Brown, Gordon, 121, 190
 Burke, Edmund, 44–6
 business, 39
- campaign promises, 13
 Campbell, Angus, 134
 Campbell-Bannerman, Henry, 53
 career politicians, 8, 44, 46, 51
 ‘cash for questions’, 57
 Channel 4, 112, 195
 Channel 5, 112
 Chaytor, David, 60
 Citrin, Jack, 23
 Clapham Common, 57
 Coalition Government (2010), 47, 191,
 200
 codes of conduct, xiv, 5–6, 177
 See also House of Commons, code
 of conduct
 cognitive shortcuts. *See* heuristics
 Colchester, 11
 Collectivist tradition, 43, 45–6
 Commissioner for Ethical Standards in
 Public Life in Scotland, 177
 Committee on Standards in Public
 Life, 40, 43, 47, 49, 58, 64,
 121, 176–7, 181, 185–6, 191,
 196, 206
 Comparative Study of Electoral
 Systems, 32
 competence, 64, 75–7, 80
 conflicts of interest, 6, 41–3, 46, 48, 50,
 55, 62, 65, 90

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-05050-1 - Ethics and Integrity in British Politics: How Citizens Judge their Politicians' Conduct and Why it Matters

Nicholas Allen and Sarah Birch

Index

[More information](#)

Index

233

- at Westminster, 44–5
- Congress, US, 18, 34, 40, 46–7
- Conservative Party, xiii, 38, 56–8, 134, 158, 171, 187
- consistency, 66–7
- constituency service, 46, 96–7
- constitutional change, 52
- Converse, Philip, 76
- Conway, Derek, 184
- corruption, 22, 40, 64, 81, 115
 - See also* misconduct
 - ‘black’, ‘white’ and ‘grey’, 81–2, 84
 - consequences of, 4
 - contested nature of, 98
 - difficulties in measuring, 36
 - in British law, 40
 - corruption perceptions of, 27, 32, 116–17
 - in Britain, 32, 38, 53–4
 - measuring perceived corruptness, 26–7, 82–5, 98
- crime, 34
- ‘critical citizens’, 15
- Daily Express*, 112, 212
- Daily Mail*, 122, 212
- Daily Mirror*, 122
- Daily Mirror/Record*, 212
- Daily Star*, 112, 212
- Daily Telegraph*, xiv, 1, 10, 59, 71, 109, 121–2, 137, 212
- Davies, Ron, 57
- democracy, xiv, 15, 21, 23–5, 27, 39, 43
 - advent in Britain, 44
 - satisfaction with, 4, 143, 146–7
- Denmark, 32, 182
- Devine, Jim, 60
- diffuse support, 143
- ‘dirty hands’, 18, 69, 82
- discursive integrity, xiv, 7, 12, 65–6, 68, 74. *See also* financial honesty; ‘moral minimalism’
- doctors, 2, 68
- Doig, Alan, 40
- double standards, 66, 69, 173
- duck house, 59
- duty to vote, 146, 148
- Easton, David, 23
- Ecclestone, Bernie, 58
- economy, the, 16, 30–1, 34
- education, 15
- education effects, 30, 73, 117
- efficacy, 146, 148
- Eggers, Andrew, 93
- Egham, 11
- Electoral Commission, 48, 177
- electoral misconduct, 25, 47, 53, 56
- elite–citizen differences, xiv, 6–7, 12, 62–3, 80–5, 87
- emotions. *See* ethical judgement
- environmental degradation, 6
- Erskine May*, 48
- ethical conduct, 12
- ethical judgement, xiv, 3, 5–6, 9, 13, 24, 38. *See also* psychological biases
 - acceptability versus corruptness, 98, 107
 - ambiguity of conduct, 86
 - articulation of, 11
 - as distinct from political judgement, 25
 - elite–mass differences, 27
 - objects of, 24, 27
 - psychology of, 28–30
 - role of media, 108–9, 111–14
 - role of norms, 90–2, 99–108, 114
 - variability of, 26
 - willingness to express, 28, 89
- ethical standards, 4, 9, 18
 - See also* political ethics; standards in public life
 - importance of context, 21, 40
 - in Britain, 53–4
- ethics reforms, 1, 26
 - failure of, 5
 - general drivers of, 51–3
- ethics regulation, xiv, 5, 34–6, 39, 177, 183
 - demand for, 51
 - ‘edict’ and ‘etiquette’ models, 47
 - evolving practice in Britain, 46–51
 - failure of, 2, 14
- ethics regulations, 12
- Eurobarometer, 178
- European Convention on Human Rights, 52

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-05050-1 - Ethics and Integrity in British Politics: How Citizens Judge their Politicians' Conduct and Why it Matters

Nicholas Allen and Sarah Birch

Index

[More information](#)

234

Index

- European Union, 52
 expectations. *See* political ethics
 expectations–perceptions gap, 7–8, 12, 39, 186
 expenses. *See* parliamentary expenses and allowances; MPs' expenses scandal (2009)
 experiments, use in political science, 9, 13, 92
- 'FactCheck', 195
 fairness, principle of, 19
 financial honesty, 46, 50, 65
 See also 'moral minimalism'; discursive integrity
Financial Times, 212
 Flinders, Matthew, 186
 'flipping' properties, 60
 focus groups, 9, 11, 65, 118, 192, 203
 foreign policy, 25
 Formula One, 58
 framing effects. *See* media coverage
 France, 32, 182, 205
 Freedom of Information Act 2000, 52, 184
 'Full Fact', 195
- Galloway, George, 184
 Gallup, 178
 gender effects, 30, 73, 77–9, 86, 117, 139
 General Election, 1997, 25, 58
 General Election, 2010, 38, 60, 151
 Germany, 17, 34, 182, 205
 Gettysburg Address, 205
Glasgow Herald, 212
 Global Corruption Barometer, 27
 'golden ageism', 126
 'grey' conduct, 86–7
 Group of States against Corruption (GRECO), 181
Guardian, The, 112, 212
- Hackney, 11
 Hainmueller, Jens, 93
 Hamilton, Neil, 57
 Hampshire, Stuart, 17
 Hanningfield, Lord, 60
 Hansard Society, 206
- Harman, Harriet, 177
 Harvard University, 44
Have I Got News for You, 203
 Hay, Colin, 33
 Heidenheimer, Arnold, 81, 86
 heuristics, 29, 91, 94. *See also* legality norm
 Hibbing, John, 24
 Hirschman, Albert, 155
 Hollande, François, 201
 Honours (Prevention of Abuses) Act 1925, 59
 honours, sale of, 55, 59
House of Cards, 203
 House of Commons, 44–5, 48, 52
 code of conduct, 49–50, 59
 resolution against bribery, 41
 standards of conduct in, 47–50
 House of Commons' Standards Committee, 195
 House of Lords, 50, 52, 58, 109
 Commissioner for Standards, 50, 177
 Hudson, John, 25
 Hume, David, 28
 Hussein, Saddam, 56
 hypothetical scenarios, 26–7, 82–3
- ideology, 5
 Illsely, Eric, 60
 income effects, 30, 73, 77–9, 86
 incumbency effects, 74
 independence, principle of, 18, 43, 45, 48, 65, 90
Independent, The, 112, 122, 212
 Independent Adviser on Ministers' Interests, 50, 177
 Independent Parliamentary Standards Authority, 1, 49, 177, 194
 integrity, 18, 22
 meaning of, xiv, 7
 more valued than competence, 80
 integrity perceptions, 3, 5, 7, 12–13, 16, 24, 115. *See also* politicians, perceptions of
 consequences of, 8–9
 general and specific, 24
 importance of, 4, 25, 52
 individual-level drivers of, 26–32
 long-term changes, 10
 macro-level drivers of, 32–7, 39

- national variations in, 32
- reasonableness of, 26, 53
- IPSA. *See* Independent Parliamentary Standards Authority
- Iraq, invasion of (2003), 10, 25, 58
- Italy, 32, 182
- Japan, 32
- Jennings, Bruce, 7
- Jones, Philip, 25
- journalists, 2, 37, 39, 54–5, 108, 131
 - relations with politicians, 8, 52, 54, 109
- judges, 2, 49, 52, 131
- Kahneman, Daniel, 115
- Kant, Immanuel, 28
- Keeler, Christine, 55
- Kellner, Peter, 188
- Labour Party, 25, 44, 57–9, 134, 158, 171, 187
- law, compliance with, 6, 14
- law-breaking, 171
- legality norm, 90, 92, 97, 99, 104, 106
- legislative ethics, 7, 18–20, 43
- Levy, Lord, 59
- Liberal Democrat Party, 134, 158
- Liberal Party, 55
- Liberal tradition, 43–4, 46
- Lincoln, Abraham, 205
- Lloyd George, David, 59
- lobbyists, 39, 56
- local councillors, 131, 133
- local government, 47, 56
- Lowell, Abbott Lawrence, 44
- lying, 13, 18, 74
- Mackenzie, Calvin, 51
- Macmillan, Harold, 55
- MacShane, Denis, 60
- Mail on Sunday*, 58
- Major, John, 47, 50, 134, 177
- Mancuso, Maureen, 47
- mandate theory, 45
- Mandelson, Peter, 57
- Marconi, 55
- Matrix Churchill, 56
- Maudling, Reginald, 56
- McNulty, Tony, 91
- media, 129, 171
- media consumption, 110–14, 122, 141
- media coverage, 3, 8, 15–16, 20, 25, 27, 34, 36, 38, 52, 54–5, 89
 - criticisms of, 54, 111
 - importance of, 108–9, 111–14
 - perceived fairness of, 109
- 'media effects', 111
- 'media malaise', 8, 111
- 'mega scandal', 37
- Members of Parliament, 2, 34, 41, 43–4, 46, 50–1, 97
 - ethical beliefs of, 82, 84
- Members' Interests Committee, 49
- Miller, Art, 23
- Ministerial Code of Conduct*, 50
- ministers, 2, 44, 50, 131, 165
- misconduct, 22. *See also* corruption
 - consequences of, 4
 - in British politics, 38
 - mediated nature of, 13, 36, 54, 89, 108
 - perceptions of, 13, 25, 27
 - personal experience of, 3, 31, 54
 - prevalence of, 34–5, 53
- Mock the Week*, 203
- 'moment of madness', 57
- moral authority, 6, 13
- 'moral minimalism', 7, 42
- Moran, Margaret, 60
- Morley, Elliot, 60
- Moses, 43
- MPs' expenses scandal (2009), xiii, 1–2, 5, 10, 13, 30, 37–8, 49, 52, 59–60, 62, 70–1, 91, 109, 120–1, 128, 169
- National Assembly for Wales
 - Commissioner for Standards, 177
- neuro-psychology, 28
- Newsnight*, 112, 125
- Nolan Committee. *See* Committee on Standards in Public Life
- Nolan, Lord, 47
- 'normal politics', xiv, 6, 8, 63–4, 66
- normative frames, 90–2, 99–108, 114

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-05050-1 - Ethics and Integrity in British Politics: How Citizens Judge their Politicians' Conduct and Why it Matters

Nicholas Allen and Sarah Birch

Index

[More information](#)

236

Index

- Norris, Pippa, 23, 153
 'nudge', 6, 29, 162
 'Nuremberg defence', 91
- O'Neill, Onora, 184
 Office of Government Ethics, US, 40
 Official Secrets Act, 96
 Old Tory tradition, 43
 Old Whig tradition, 43. *See also* Whig tradition
 One Nation Toryism, 91
 online surveys, 11
 outside interests, 44, 46, 50, 56
Oxford English Dictionary, 22
- Parliament, 2, 39, 41, 43
 compared to a private members' club, 44
 exclusive cognizance, 49–50, 52
 Parliamentary Commissioner for Standards, 49, 177
 parliamentary expenses and allowances, 1, 46, 50, 59
 parliamentary sovereignty, 52
 Parliamentary Standards Bill 2009, 177
 participant observation, 9
 partisan dealignment, 46
 partisanship, 9, 31, 35, 73, 77–9, 117, 122, 133–4
 party competition, 34–5
 ethical implications of, 45
 party identification. *See* partisanship
 performance politics, 31, 34, 75, 118
 peripheral processing, 29
 personal morals, 5, 31, 74–5, 77–9, 86
 Peters, John, 22
 Philp, Mark, 17, 20–1, 196
 'policy space', 24
 political class, 8, 16. *See also* career politician
 political conduct, 6–7, 12
 as an object of ethical judgement, 12–13, 22–6
 ends and means, 24, 82
 importance of, 4, 17–18
 importance of its appearance, 16, 18, 20
 objective and subjective, 16
 political culture, 33, 45
 political engagement, 4, 73
 political ethics, 1, 4, 11–12, 17–18, 20
 academic understandings, 26, 65
 as a means of political competition, 25, 35
 British approach towards, 42
 Citizens' broader conception of, xiv, 6–7, 66
 Citizens' expectations, 5, 12, 19, 22–3, 36
 compared with private ethics, xiv, 7
 elite preoccupations, 6, 12, 27, 39, 62, 65, 85
 influenced by Whig ideas, 43
 low salience of, 38
 norms that frame, 90–2
 of corporate actors, 39
 of policy and process, 24–5
 relative importance of, 75–80
 study of, 15, 28, 63–4, 82, 92
 political finance, 34
 political knowledge, 30–1
 political participation, 4, 13
 political parties, 8, 34–5, 39
 funding of, 38, 58, 96
 Political Parties, Elections and Referendums Act 2000, 45, 48
 political scientists, 23, 27–8, 65
 political support, 4, 15, 23, 32–3
 politicians. *See also* moral authority
 ability to 'deliver the goods', 76
 confidence in probity, 53
 criticisms of, 20
 ethical demands on, 18, 21, 31, 89
 higher standards expected of, 68–75
 misunderstood role of, 28
 perceptions of, xiv, 2, 5, 11, 13, 15, 51–2
 preference for honest over hard-working, 75
 private lives of, 7, 67–8
 'politics by other means', 25
 politics, nature of, 15–16, 20, 25
 pornography, 109
 Portugal, 32
 position issues, 34
 Poulson, John, 55
 pressure groups, 39
 Prevention of Corruption Acts 1906 and 1916, 40

- privacy, 17
 private schools, 66
 'process space', 24
 Profumo, John, 55
 psychological biases, 8, 26, 29–30,
 115, 184
 Public Administration Committee, 181
 Public Bodies Corrupt Practices Act
 1889, 40
 public life, 17, 20, 68.
 See also standards in public life
 distinct from private life, xiv, 7, 40,
 67
 public office. *See* public life
 public-benefit norm, 91–2, 97, 99,
 105, 107
 publicity, principle of, 20
 'purer than pure', 57

 quangos, 47
Questions of Procedure for Ministers,
 50

 Radical tradition, 43
 recall elections, 199–200
 recycling, 6
 regime support. *See* political support
 Register of Members' Interests, 49
 representation, 17, 43–4, 46
 revolving doors, 41
 Riddell, Peter, 175, 191
 role-specific norms, 90, 92, 97, 99, 105,
 107
 Rosenthal, Alan, 20, 68
 Royal Commission on Standards of
 Conduct in Public Life, 40, 56
 rule of law, 91
 'running tally', 29

 satisfaction with democracy, 215
 scandal, 36–7
 driver of ethics reforms, 53
 'scandal fatigue', 37
 'scandal proof', 5
 scandals in British politics, 55–6, 62,
 109. *See also* MPs' expenses
 scandal (2009)
 'loans for peerages' (2006), 38, 58
 'sleaze' (1990s), xiii, 5, 38, 57
 under New Labour, 57–9

Scotsman, The, 212
 Select Committee on Members'
 Interests. *See* Members' Interests
 Committee
 Select Committee on Standards and
 Privileges. *See* Standards and
 Privileges Committee
 self-dealing, 41
 self-regulation at Westminster, 49
 seven deadly sins, 43
 Seven Principles of Public Life, 42–3,
 64, 196
 sex, 7, 55–6, 66–8
 Sky, 112
 'sleaze'. *See* scandals in British politics,
 'sleaze' (1990s)
 Smith, Jacqui, 59
 Smith, Tim, 57
 socialisation, elite, 7, 82, 85
 socioeconomic status, 30, 73, 117
 'sound bite' politics, 8
 'spin', 57, 68, 119, 135.
 See also discursive integrity
Spitting Image, 203
 spouses, employment of, 85
 Standards and Privileges Committee, 49
 Standards for England, 47
 standards in public life, 4, 6, 12–14, 17,
 41, 51, 65. *See also* misconduct;
 political ethics; Seven Principles
 of Public Life
 concerns about, 25
 focus on individual politicians, 39
 importance of codification, 40
 popular understandings of, 68
 terminology of, 40
 straight talking, 8, 13, 68
 Straw, Jack, 45, 177
Sun, The, 112, 122, 212

 tabloids, 113
 taxes, 70
 Taylor, Lord, 60
 teachers, 2
The Politician's Husband, 203
The Politician's Wife, 203
The Thick of It, 203
 Theiss-Morse, Elizabeth, 24
 'They Work for You', 202
 Thompson, Dennis, 18–20, 90

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-05050-1 - Ethics and Integrity in British Politics: How Citizens Judge their Politicians' Conduct and Why it Matters

Nicholas Allen and Sarah Birch

Index

[More information](#)

238

Index

- Times, The*, 212
 'tip of the iceberg', reported misconduct
 being, 129, 215
 trade unions, 39, 44
 transparency, 34, 52, 70, 201
 Transparency International, 27, 181
 trust, xiv, 1, 4, 13, 15, 21
 changes that might boost, 14, 66
 declining levels of, 15, 23
 trustee view of representation, 43
 turnout, 4, 6, 25, 150, 154–5, 157, 216
 Tversky, Amos, 115

 United States, 5, 17, 34–7, 40, 51, 73,
 183, 199, 205
 University of Essex, xiii
 University of Oxford, 9
 University of Stanford, 9

 valence issues, 34
 voluntary work, 6
 voting systems, 117

 Warren, Mark, 20
 Watergate, 37
 Welch, Susan, 22
West Wing, 203
 Westminster City Council, 56
 Whig tradition, 43–5
 Whitelaw, William, 48
 Whiteley, Paul, 118
 Williams, Sandra, 41, 44
 Wilson, Harold, 56
 World Values Survey, 178

Yes, Minister, 203
 YouGov, 10, 178, 210