**CSPL – Demographic and Political Breakdown of Attitudes**

The attached Excel file shows the % believing standards are high (very high or quite high) or agreeing with the statements (agree strongly or tend to agree) by demographics. Red text shows the chi-squared test is significant (significant difference between groups in that category – for example, between generations). Variables with an asterisk are statistically significant at the p<0.05 level in logistic regressions, controlling for all demographic variables. Subsequent analysis combined these variables in regression models to assess to what extent the effects of each individual variable hold, whilst controlling for the effects of other variables. This shows how independent an impact the different variables have on the overall results (for example, allowing us to see, where there are both education and gender effects, how far one is merely a proxy for the other).

**OVERALL FINDINGS:**

* Gender is a strong predictor of more negative attitudes to whether current standards are high (although gender does NOT have an impact on people’s assessments of how important of standards are to them, or how important they are for ensuring effective government, for holding government to account, for making democracy work, or for stopping people using power for their own good). Women are more likely to think ethical standards are important for ensuring that government honours its promises.
* Older generations tend to hold more negative attitudes.
* Social class is typically not significant nor is Brexit vote (although the latter is significant for agreeing ethical standards are important – where ‘Remainers’ see standards as more important).
* Labour voters tend to be less likely to view assess existing standards positively than Conservative voters.
* Higher education typically corresponds with more negative attitudes to current standards, and generally seeing standards as more important.

**Notes on variables:**

* Generations: millennial = under 40, gen x = 55, boomer = 56+
* Education: degree includes current students

**SUMMARIES OF SIGNIFICANT VARIABLES FROM LOGISTIC REGRESSIONS:**

***CSPL1 – rating the standards of conduct of ministers: probability of saying very high or high***

* Women are less likely.
* Older generations are less likely.
* Those with higher education are less likely (and those with no formal education have significantly higher likelihood of saying higher standards).

***CSPL2 – standards of conduct of MPs: probability of saying very high or high***

* Women are less likely to say MPs’ standards are high.
* Older generations are less likely.
* Labour voters are less likely than Conservative voters.

***CSPL3 – standards of conduct of public services: probability of saying very high or high***

* Women are less likely to say these are high.
* Older generations are less likely (Gen X compared to millennials and baby boomers)
* Those who voted remain are significantly more positive about high standards in public services.

***CSPL4 – standards of conduct compared to 5 years ago: probability of saying much higher or a little higher***

* Women are less likely.
* Older generations less likely to believe standards are higher.
* Those with higher education less likely.

***CSPL5 – standards of conduct compared with other major countries: probability of saying standards in UK higher or a little higher***

* Women are less likely to see an improvement.
* Older generations are less likely.
* Labour voters are less likely than Conservative voters.

***CSPL6 = asks a range of questions about people’s assessment of whether MPs and ministers are open and transparent, tell the truth, act in the public interest, take responsibility for their actions and mistakes, act with integrity, and whether there are consequences for acting badly in politics.*** Statements with more positive attitudes towards MP/Ministerial conduct were grouped together (those who agree strongly or tend to agree).

* Overall – women tend to be less likely to agree with positive evaluative statements.
* Older generations are also less likely.
* CSPL6\_5 (opposite attitudes – too easily influenced by rich and powerful):
	+ Not found to be significant for this.
	+ When doing % disagreeing or strongly disagreeing – same.
* Education significant for some of the sub-variables in this grouping – those with more education are less likely to agree that MPs and Ministers act in the public interest, act with integrity – and are much more likely to think they are too influenced by the rich and powerful.
* Social class is only significant for “most MPs and ministers act with integrity” – lower social grade individuals are more likely to agree that they do.
* For some variables under this grouping – Labour voters are less likely to agree compared to Conservative (also other voters).

***CSPL7 = similarly includes a range of questions which cover attitudes towards ethics/processes, with statements concerning movement between public and private roles, parliamentary conduct and regulation. Logistic regressions looked at the probability of strongly agreeing or agreeing with statements.***

* For these there is a less clear pattern on gender – sometimes significant (less confident in their own judgment, but more likely to express concern about whether there are appropriate rules and whether these are easy to understand).
* Generation is typically significant – older generations are less likely to agree.
* Labour voters usually less likely to agree than Conservative.
* Education sometimes significant – more educated = less likely to agree

***CSPL9 = asks a range of questions regarding whether ethical standards are important. Logistic regressions looked at the probability of saying strongly agreeing or agreeing with statements which suggest ethical standards are important.***

* Across questions, gender is not significant.
* Older generations (specifically baby boomers) are significantly more likely to believe ethical standards are important compared to millennials.
* Remainers are more likely to agree ethical standards are important.
* Labour/other voters are less likely than Conservative voters to emphasize the importance of standards.

***CSPL8 = asks a range of questions regarding awareness of codes, with logistic regressions looking at the probability of saying yes (aware).***

* Overall, women are less likely to say yes.
* Remain voters are also more likely to say yes.

There are a range of other questions asked in the study that are not ones that the Committee asked for but were there as controls.

**Q1\_1 / Q1\_2 - perceptions of leaders**

* No gender effect

*Q1\_1 The Prime Minister, Boris Johnson: For each of the following party leaders, do you think they are doing very well in their job, quite well, quite badly or very badly?*

* Probability of saying very well or quite well:
	+ Older are less likely.
	+ Remain voters are less likely.
	+ Labour/LibDem/Other supporters are less likely than Conservative voters.
	+ Higher educated individuals are less likely.

*Q1\_2 The leader of the Labour Party, Keir Starmer: For each of the following party leaders, do you think they are doing very well in their job, quite well, quite badly or very badly?*

* Probability of saying very well or quite well:
	+ Baby boomers are less likely than millennials.
	+ Remain voters are more likely.
	+ Labour and Lib Dem voters are more likely than Conservative.

**Q5**

*Q5 How well or badly do you think democracy is working in Britain today?*

* Probability of saying democracy is working quite well or very well:
	+ Women are less likely to believe democracy is working well.
	+ Older generations are less likely.
	+ Conservative voters are more likely.

**POLL\_ATT**

*Poll\_Att How much attention do you generally pay to politics?*

* Measured on a scale from 1-11 where higher = more attention:
	+ Women report significantly less attention.
	+ Those who voted remain are more likely to say they pay more attention.
	+ LibDem/Other voters pay less attention in comparison to Conservative voters.

Related Literature:

* <https://www.gla.ac.uk/media/Media_731237_smxx.pdf>

Factor variables were created to combine responses for CSPL questions 1-3 (perceptions of whether standards of conduct of MPs/Ministers/public services are high) and CSPL6 (attitudes towards MPs/Ministers) as these were the broad areas which showed association with gender. The following tables show the results of including different variables in regression models for these two factor variables. Key findings are also summarised below:

Table 1:

* Women are significantly LESS likely to believe standards of conduct of MPs/Ministers/public services are high.
* This stays significant even when controlling for democratic satisfaction/political attention.
* Political attention does not affect this, but democratic satisfaction has a positive effect (ie: where high it reduces the chance of negative responses).

Table 2:

* Women significantly less likely to have positive attitudes towards MPs/Ministers.
* This is still significant even when controlling for how much attention the respondent pays to politics (Equation 2) – which has a positive effect on attitudes.
* When controlling for democratic satisfaction – this also has a positive impact, and gender is still significant (Eq. 3).
* When controlling for both of these variables – gender is no longer significant (Eq. 4).
	+ Women are found to have significantly lower attention to politics and lower likelihood of thinking that democracy is working in Britain today (from separate regressions for these variables mentioned above).
	+ This indicates there is some kind of interplay between these – mechanisms of why women have less positive attitudes.
	+ Issue with including these variables is that there is likely multicollinearity between them and other variables.

In my view, perhaps the most significant finding is that the figures suggest (as previous CSPL surveys up to 2012 did NOT) that women's views are more hesitant and more critical of those in power.

That follows recent election data that shows that women were significantly more uncertain about how they would vote (x 25%) until very late in the day.

Overall, there are no differences between men and women in the perceived importance of standards (CSPL9), but women are less likely to agree that standards of conduct are high (CSPL1-3), less likely to say that standards are higher than before (CSPL4), less likely to say UK standards are higher than elsewhere (CSPL5). They also are more likely to have more critical attitudes towards MPs and Ministers (CSPL6), as they are less likely to agree with positive statements.

It is worth noting they are also less likely to say democracy is working well and pay less attention to politics – in some complicated relationship. But there are no differences between genders in attitudes towards Boris Johnson/Keir Starmer.

Table 1: Determinants of Thinking Standards of Conduct are High (CSPL1-3)

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|   | **CSPL1-3 Factor Score** |
|   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Female | **-0.254\*\*\*** | **-0.239\*\*** | **-0.156\*** | **-0.157\***  |
|  | (-3.37) | (-3.09) | (-2.18) | (-2.16)  |
| Generation: Millennials (ref) |  |  |  |  |
| GenX | **-0.457\*\*\*** | **-0.446\*\*\*** | **-0.359\*\*\*** | **-0.358\*\*\*** |
|  | (-4.37) | (-4.23) | (-3.49) | (-3.46)  |
| Baby Boomers | **-0.388\*\*\*** | **-0.381\*\*\*** | **-0.312\*\*** | **-0.312\*\***  |
|  | (-3.68) | (-3.56) | (-3.04) | (-3.01)  |
| Brexit - Remain | 0.0943 | 0.0804 | 0.141 | 0.141 |
|  | (-1.14) | (-0.98) | (-1.80) | (-1.78) |
| GE2019: Cons (ref) |  |  |  |  |
| Labour | **-0.200\*** | **-0.203\*** | 0.005 | 0.006 |
|  | (-2.13) | (-2.18) | (-0.06) | (-0.07) |
| Liberal Democrat | -0.006 | 0.017 | 0.164 | 0.164 |
|  | (-0.04) | (-0.12) | (-1.28) | (-1.29) |
| Other | **-0.258\*** | **-0.239\*** | -0.028 | -0.029 |
|  | (-2.45) | (-2.20) | (-0.26) | (-0.26)  |
| Social Grade (C2DE) | 0.076 | 0.081 | 0.053 | 0.053 |
|  | (-0.92) | (-0.99) | (-0.68) | (-0.67) |
| Education: None (ref) |  |  |  |  |
| Secondary | **-1.231\*** | **-1.214\*** | **-0.955\*** | **-0.956\***  |
|  | (-2.28) | (-2.20) | (-2.23) | (-2.23)  |
| Degree and above | **-1.172\*** | **-1.177\*** | **-0.930\*** | **-0.929\***  |
|  | (-2.16) | (-2.13) | (-2.16) | (-2.16)  |
| Nation: England (ref) |  |  |  |  |
| Wales | 0.068 | 0.057 | 0.091 | 0.087 |
|  | (-0.46) | (-0.38) | (-0.66) | (-0.62) |
| Scotland | -0.083 | -0.091 | -0.109 | -0.108 |
|  | (-0.60) | (-0.67) | (-0.80) | (-0.79)  |
| Political Attention |  | 0.022 |  | -0.001 |
|  |  | (-1.39) |  | (-0.04)  |
| Democratic Satisfaction |  |  | **0.655\*\*\*** | **0.656\*\*\*** |
|  |  |  | (-9.22) | (-9.02) |
| Constant | 1.627\*\* | 1.457\* | 0.809 | 0.813 |
|   | (-2.95) | (-2.51) | (-1.81) | (-1.74) |
| N | *1297* | *1296* | *1297* | *1296* |
| t statistics in parentheses |  |  |  |  |
| \* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001 |  |  |  |

Table 2: Determinants of (Positive) Attitudes Towards MPs and Ministers (CSPL6)

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
|   | **CSPL6 Factor Score** |
|   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Female | **-0.263\*\*\*** | **-0.216\*\*** | **-0.155\*** | -0.131 |
|  | (-3.54) | (-2.99) | (-2.23) | (-1.91)  |
| Generation: Millennials (ref) |  |  |  |  |
| GenX | **-0.436\*\*\*** | **-0.395\*\*\*** | **-0.328\*\*\*** | **-0.305\*\*\*** |
|  | (-4.40) | (-4.13) | (-3.56) | (-3.37)  |
| Baby Boomers | **-0.371\*\*\*** | **-0.343\*\*\*** | **-0.288\*\*** | **-0.271\*\***  |
|  | (-3.60) | (-3.43) | (-2.98) | (-2.86)  |
| Brexit - Remain | 0.114 | 0.064 | 0.166\* | 0.126 |
|  | -1.29 | -0.74 | -2 | -1.54 |
| GE2019: Cons (ref) |  |  |  |  |
| Labour | **-0.526\*\*\*** | **-0.533\*\*\*** | **-0.299\*\*\*** | **-0.317\*\*\*** |
|  | (-6.26) | (-6.43) | (-3.38) | (-3.61)  |
| Liberal Democrat | **-0.427\*** | **-0.347\*** | -0.239 | -0.196 |
|  | (-2.54) | (-2.15) | (-1.67) | (-1.39)  |
| Other | **-0.375\*\*\*** | **-0.319\*\*\*** | -0.121 | -0.103 |
|  | (-3.85) | (-3.31) | (-1.20) | (-1.02)  |
| Social Grade (C2DE) | 0.133 | 0.145 | 0.108 | 0.116 |
|  | (-1.65) | (-1.87) | (-1.42) | (-1.56) |
| Education: None (ref) |  |  |  |  |
| Secondary | **-1.170\*\*\*** | **-1.117\*\*** | **-0.865\*\*\*** | **-0.851\*\***  |
|  | (-3.33) | (-2.90) | (-3.66) | (-3.20)  |
| Degree and above | **-0.960\*\*** | **-0.976\*** | **-0.693\*\*** | **-0.722\*\***  |
|  | (-2.70) | (-2.50) | (-2.91) | (-2.70)  |
| Nation: England (ref) |  |  |  |  |
| Wales | 0.033 | -0.031 | 0.059 | 0.000 |
|  | -0.2 | (-0.19) | -0.4 | (-0.00)  |
| Scotland | **-0.226\*** | **-0.253\*** | **-0.254\*** | **-0.270\***  |
|  | (-2.06) | (-2.38) | (-2.24) | (-2.48)  |
| Political Attention |  | **0.073\*\*\*** |  | **0.050\*\*\*** |
|  |  | (-6.22) |  | (-4.24) |
| Democratic Satisfaction |  |  | **0.725\*\*\*** | **0.675\*\*\*** |
|  |  |  | (-9.75) | (-8.96) |
| Constant | 1.581\*\*\* | 1.020\* | 0.676\* | 0.357 |
|   | (-4.22) | (-2.46) | (-2.52) | (-1.17) |
| N | *1297* | *1296* | *1297* | *1296* |
| t statistics in parentheses |  |  |  |  |
| \* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01,\*\*\* p<0.001 |  |  |  |