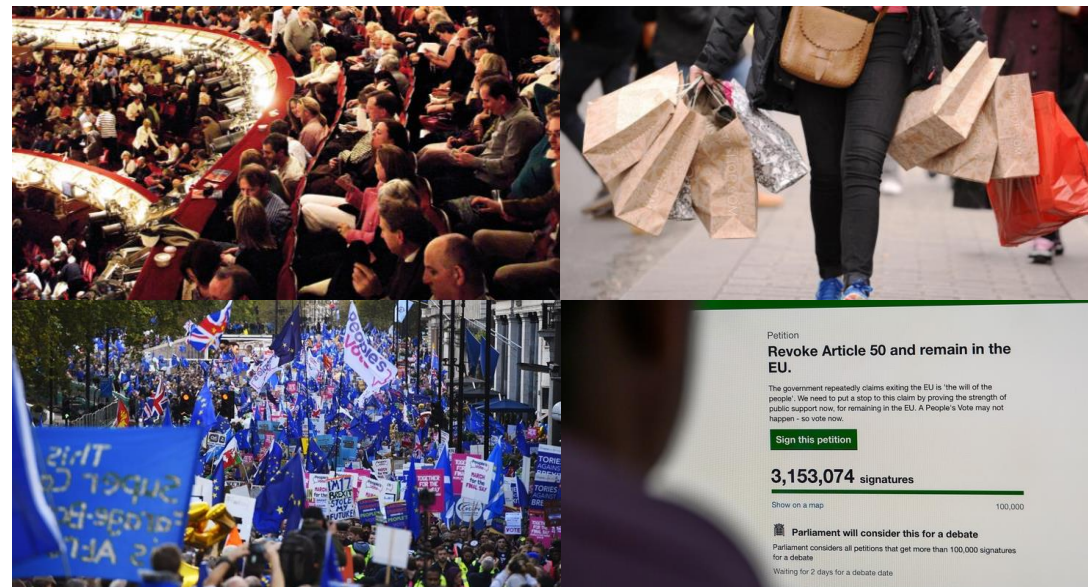


# CAPITAL, PRIVILEGE AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

## Contemporary British Governance Guest Lecture 21.10.2021

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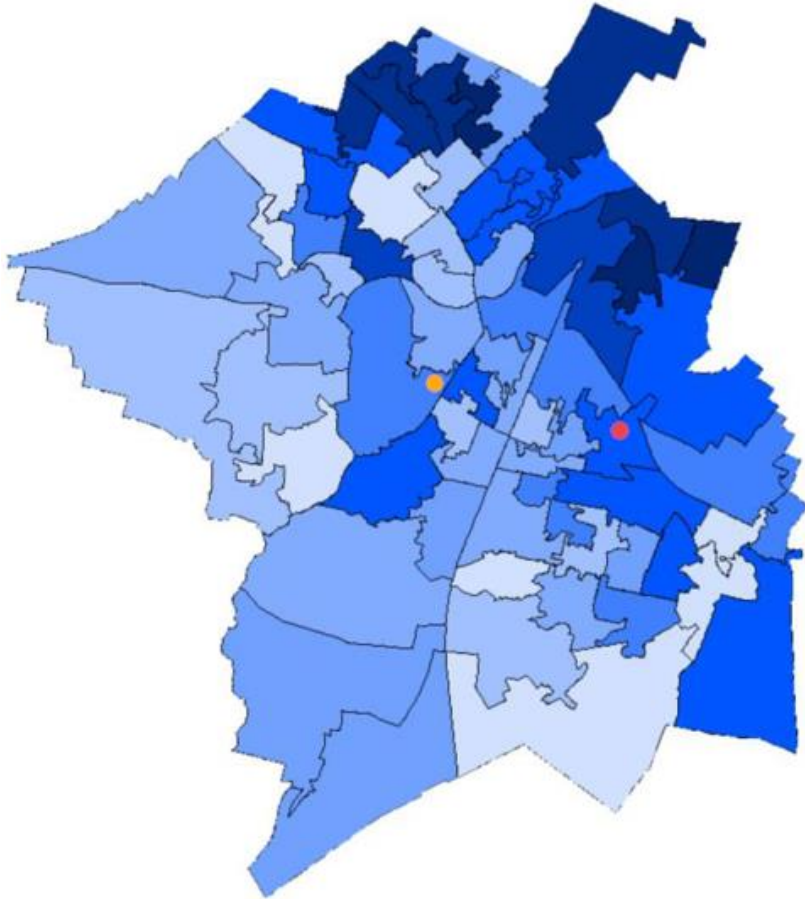


Sources (clockwise from top left): [eno.org](https://www.eno.org), [telegraph.co.uk](https://www.telegraph.co.uk), [rte.ie](https://www.rte.ie), [aljazeera.com](https://www.aljazeera.com).

# Order of play

- Motivation:
  - Background, cultural hierarchies, political participation
- Key literature:
  - Participation, capital, privilege
- Survey data:
  - Details, hypotheses, OLS regressions
- Interview data:
  - Details, initial analysis
- Discussion and conclusion

# Motivation: Background



Source: [cambridgeshireinsight.org.uk](http://cambridgeshireinsight.org.uk)





# Motivation: Cultural hierarchies



86 Metascore  
From metacritic.com

Source: [slidesharecdn.com](https://www.slidesharecdn.com)



56 Metascore  
From metacritic.com

Source: [pastposters.com](https://www.pastposters.com)



# Motivation: Political participation



Source: [bbc.co.uk](http://bbc.co.uk)



Source: [dailymail.co.uk](http://dailymail.co.uk)

# Motivation: Research questions

- If people are good at spotting the social hierarchies that cultural capital helps sustain, could it be a resource enabling, or barrier to, participation in arenas such as politics?
  - Specifically: is cultural capital related to non-electoral political participation in Britain?
- How do people see the divide between those involved in politics and those who aren't?
  - Is privilege relevant to this divide?

# Key literature: What political participation is

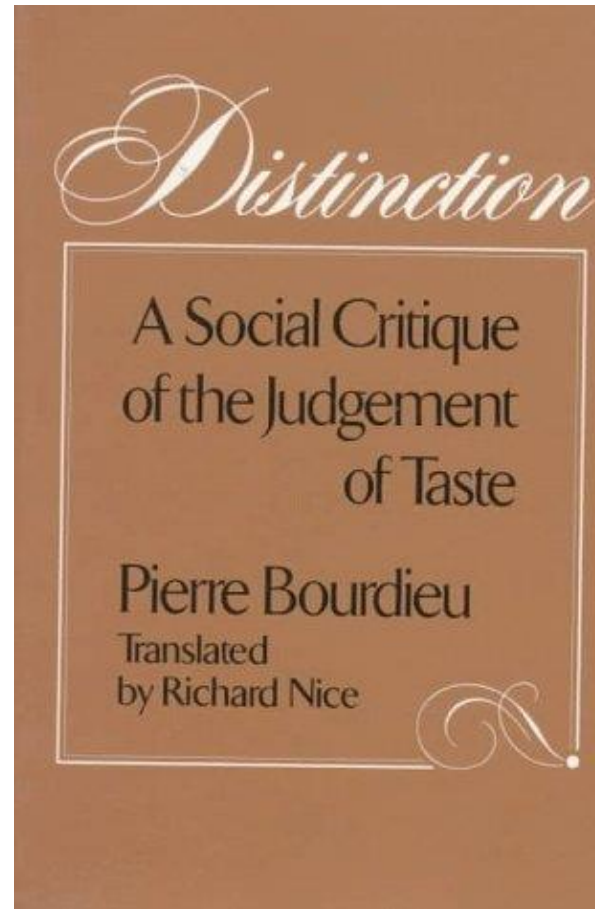
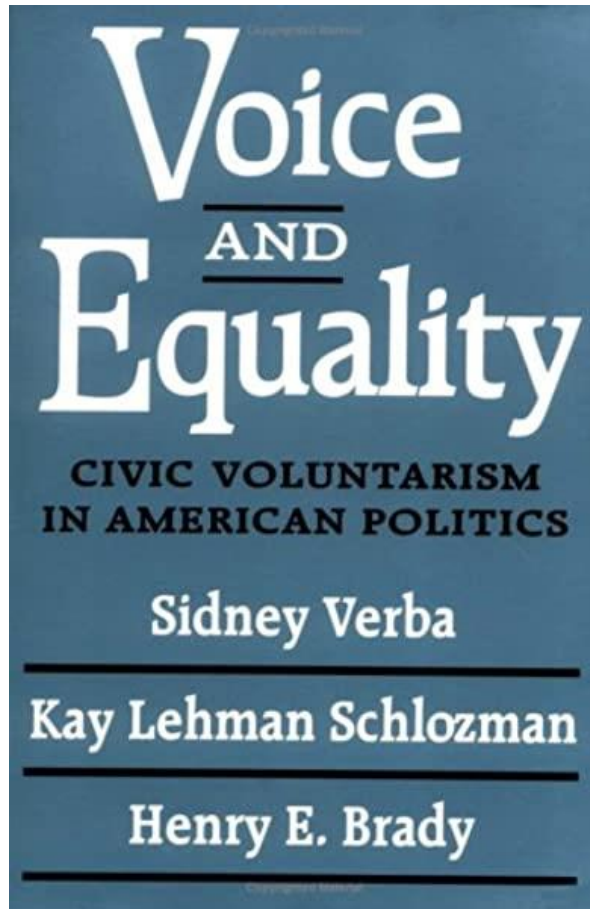
- Typologies:
  - Organised and 'not as well' organised (Kaufman and Pichler 2010)
  - Levels of influence, initiative, conflict, and scope of outcome (Leighley 1995)
  - Conventional and unconventional (Spannring et al. 2008; Milbrath & Goel 1977)
  - Individual, contacting and collective (Goerres 2009; Pattie, Seyd and Whiteley 2004)
- Latter typology adopted within a broad definition of political participation as 'any attempt by an individual, in interaction with an institution or organisation, to change or conserve an element of society at some level.'

# Key literature: Explaining political participation

- The *Rational choice approach* has addressed voting and other political behaviour, and the bounded and expressive nature of behaviour ([refs](#))
- The *Psychological approach* has addressed imperfect decision making, emotion, accessibility of information, values and beliefs, personality traits, and the importance of group identity ([refs](#))
- The *Sociological approach* has addressed, amongst other things, the roles of class, ethnicity, and gender ([refs](#))
- These approaches are not mutually exclusive:
  - ‘funnel of causality’ (Campbell et al. 1964, 24-25)



# Key literature: Resources, capital and privilege



## Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics

Kimberle Crenshaw†

One of the very few Black women's studies books is entitled *All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, But Some of Us are Brave*.<sup>1</sup> I have chosen this title as a point of departure in my efforts to develop a Black feminist criticism<sup>2</sup> because it sets forth a problematic consequence of the tendency to treat race and gender as mutually exclusive categories of experience and analysis.<sup>3</sup> In this talk, I want to examine how this tendency is perpetuated by a single-axis framework that is dominant in antidiscrimination law and that is also reflected in feminist theory and antiracist politics.

I will center Black women in this analysis in order to contrast the multidimensionality of Black women's experience with the single-axis analysis that distorts these experiences. Not only will this juxtaposition reveal how Black women are theoretically erased, it will also illustrate how this framework imports its own theoretical limitations that undermine efforts to broaden feminist and an-

† Acting Professor of Law, University of California, Los Angeles Law School.

<sup>1</sup> Gloria T. Hull, et al, eds (The Feminist Press, 1982).

<sup>2</sup> For other work setting forth a Black feminist perspective on law, see Judy Scales-Trent, *Black Women and the Constitution: Finding Our Place, Asserting Our Rights* (Voices of Experience: New Responses to Gender Discourse), 24 Harv CR-CL L Rev 9 (1989); Regina Austin, *Sapphire-Bound!*, forthcoming in Wise Women's L J (1989); Angela Harris, *Race and Essentialism in Feminist Legal Theory* (unpublished manuscript on file with author); and Paulette M. Caldwell, *A Hair Piece* (unpublished manuscript on file with author).

<sup>3</sup> The most common linguistic manifestation of this analytical dilemma is represented in the conventional usage of the term "Blacks and women." Although it may be true that some people mean to include Black women in either "Blacks" or "women," the context in which the term is used actually suggests that often Black women are not considered. See, for example, Elizabeth Spelman, *The Inessential Woman* 114-15 (Beacon Press, 1988) (discussing an article on Blacks and women in the military where "the racial identity of those identified as 'women' does not become explicit until reference is made to Black women, at which point it also becomes clear that the category of women excludes Black women"). It seems that if Black women were explicitly included, the preferred term would be either "Blacks and white women" or "Black men and all women."

# Key literature: Capital and participation

- Capital may be economic, social, or cultural (Bourdieu 1986), and the different types are exchangeable in a 'market'
- Groups compete to define the value ('legitimacy') of, especially, cultural capital in society (Bourdieu 1984)
- All three forms are related to political participation:
  - Economic (Lewis-Beck, Nadeau & Foucault 2011; Solt 2008)
  - Social (Bennett and Parameshwaran 2003; Cook 2005; Clifford 2011; Hodgkin 2008; Lindsey and Bulloch 2013; Lowndes 2004; McCulloch, Mohan and Smith 2013; Power and Willmot 2007)
  - Cultural (Harrits 2013; Harrits et al. 2013; Laurison 2015a; Laurison 2015b)

# Survey data: Details

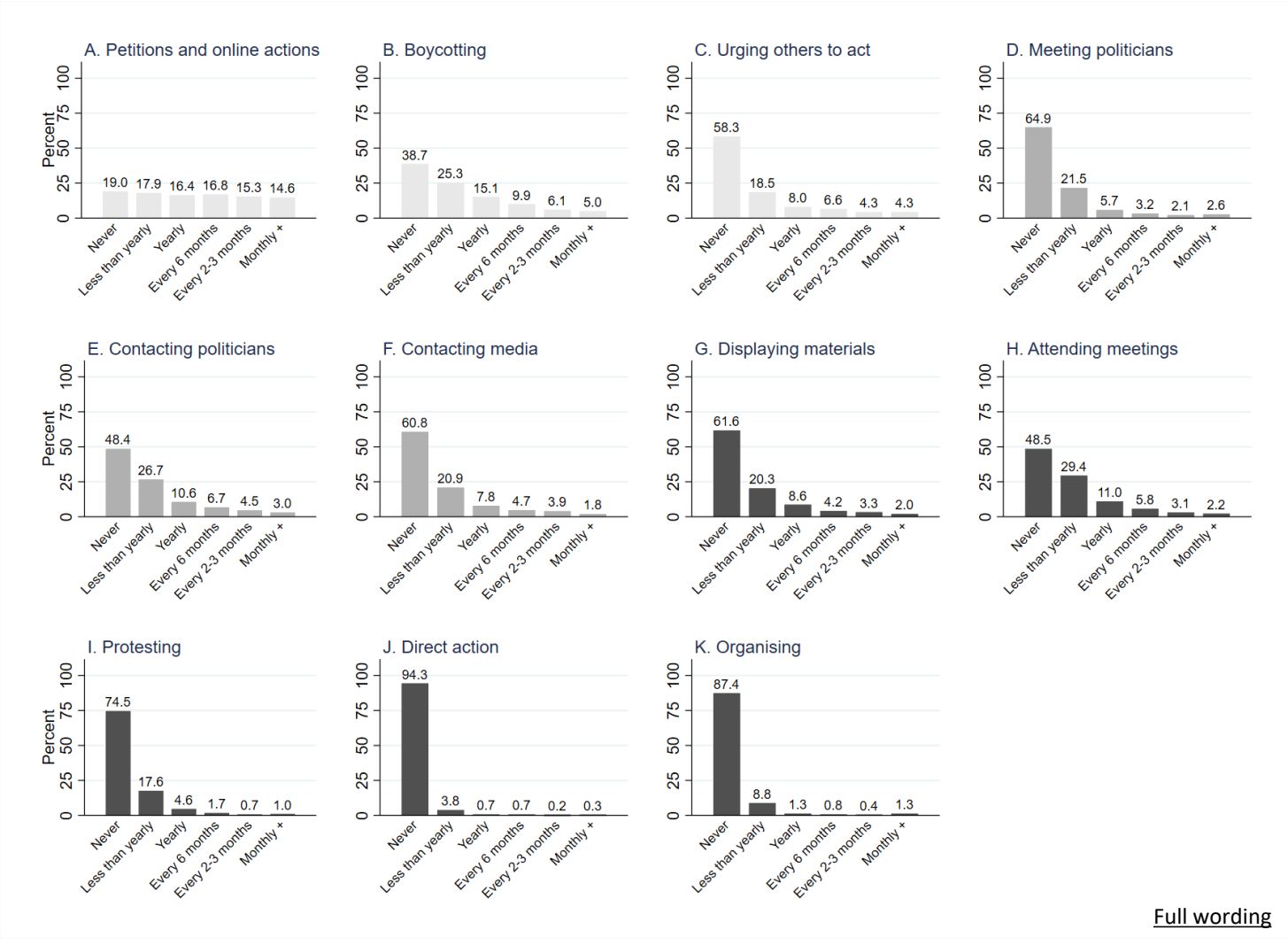
- Two wave survey to a sample from the YouGov online panel:
  - First wave (17.03.2014 - 01.04.2014) on political activity, group involvement, cultural capital, and social capital
  - Second wave (08.04.2014 - 17.04.2014) on political opinions, perceptions of privilege, and background
- 1,405 respondents included in final data (73.8% of starters).
- First survey that covers all three forms of capital in detail as well as a range of measures of political participation
- Controls: parental occupation, ethnicity, gender, age, education, social grade, region of residence, children in household, spare time, civic skills, political disposition, political knowledge, political recruitment, left-right ideology, liberty-authority ideology, past vote

# Survey data: Hypotheses

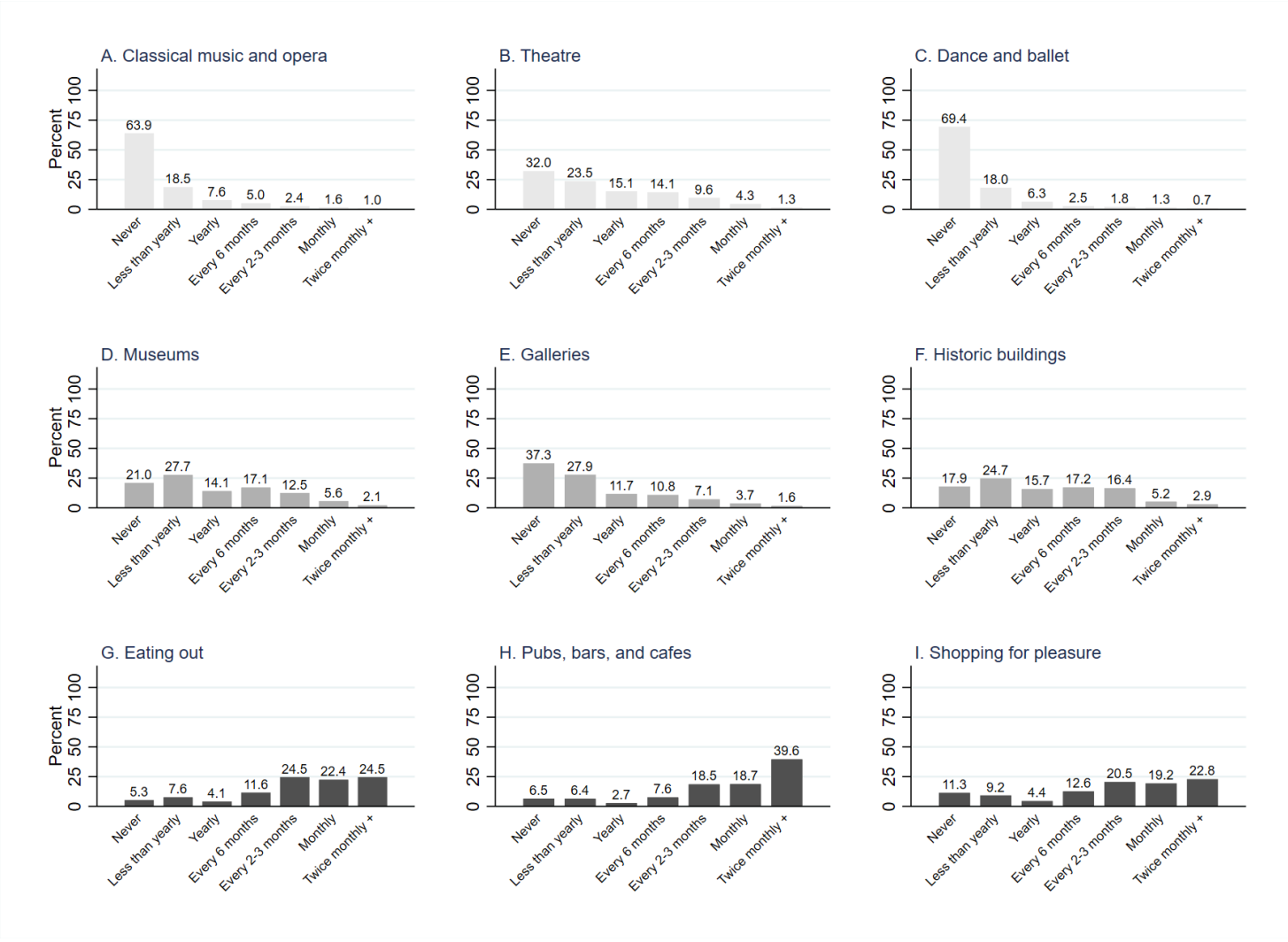
- *Hypothesis 1:* Cultural capital is positively related to all three forms of political participation
- *Hypothesis 2:* Legitimate cultural capital is more strongly related than popular cultural capital to all three forms of political participation



# Survey data: Political acts

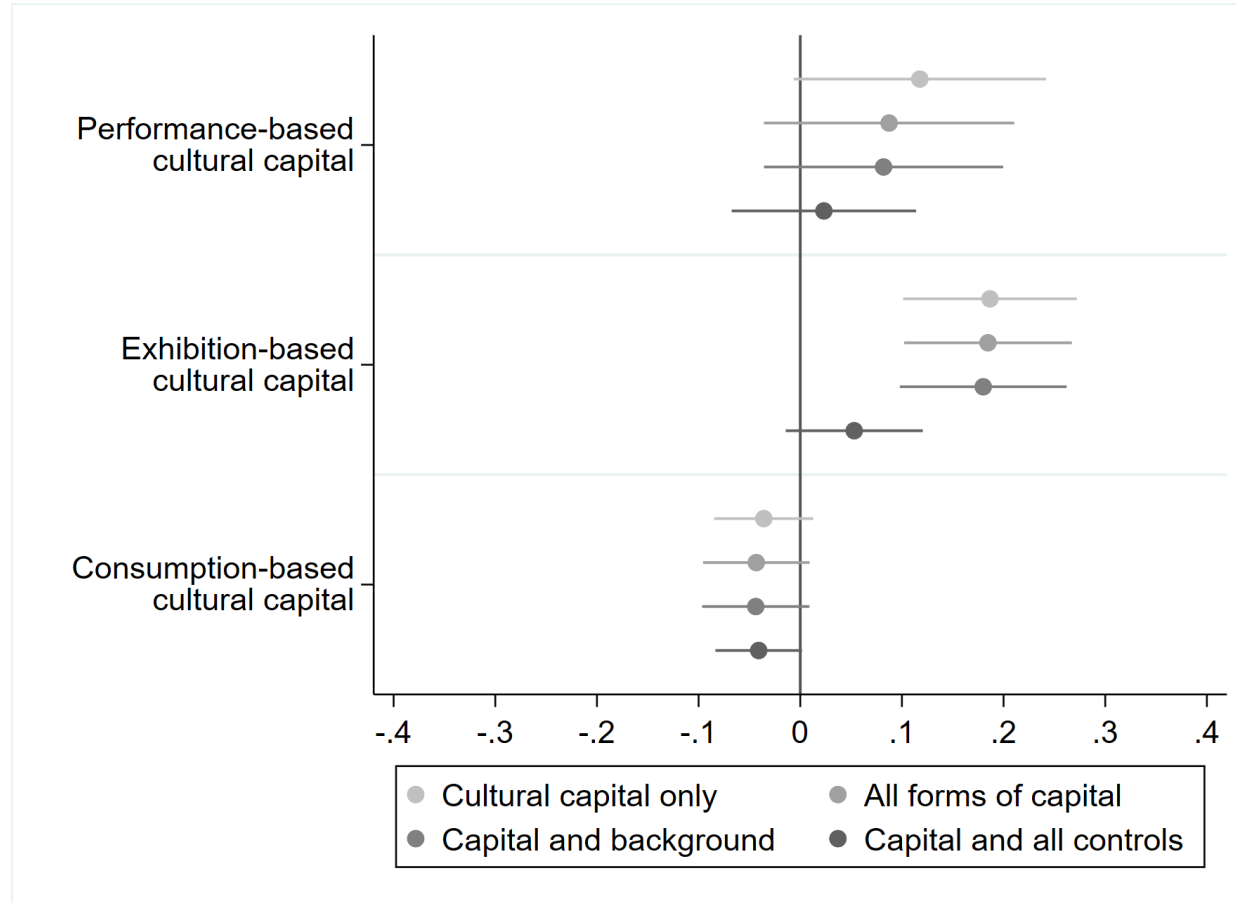


# Survey data: Cultural activities

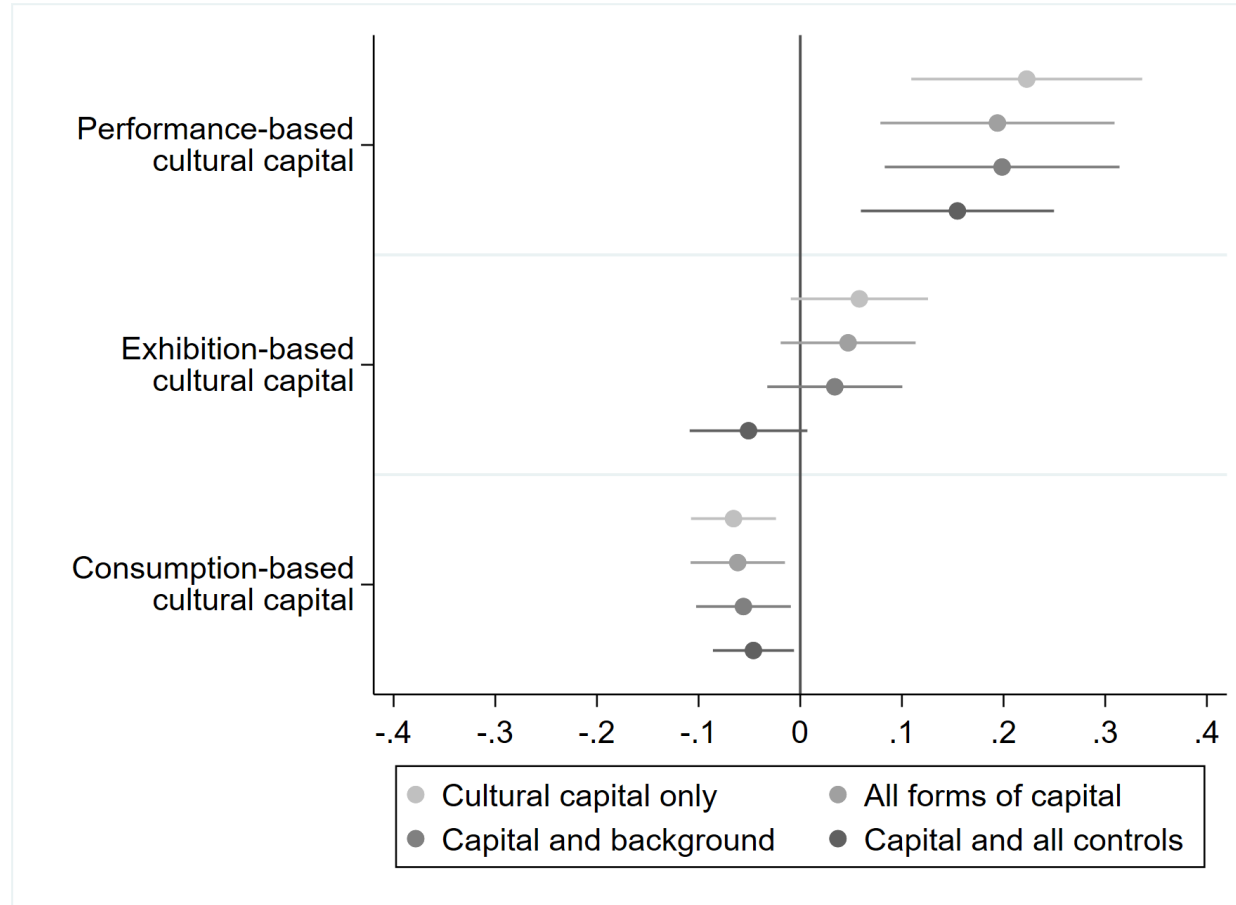


Full wording

# OLS regressions: mean individualised participation

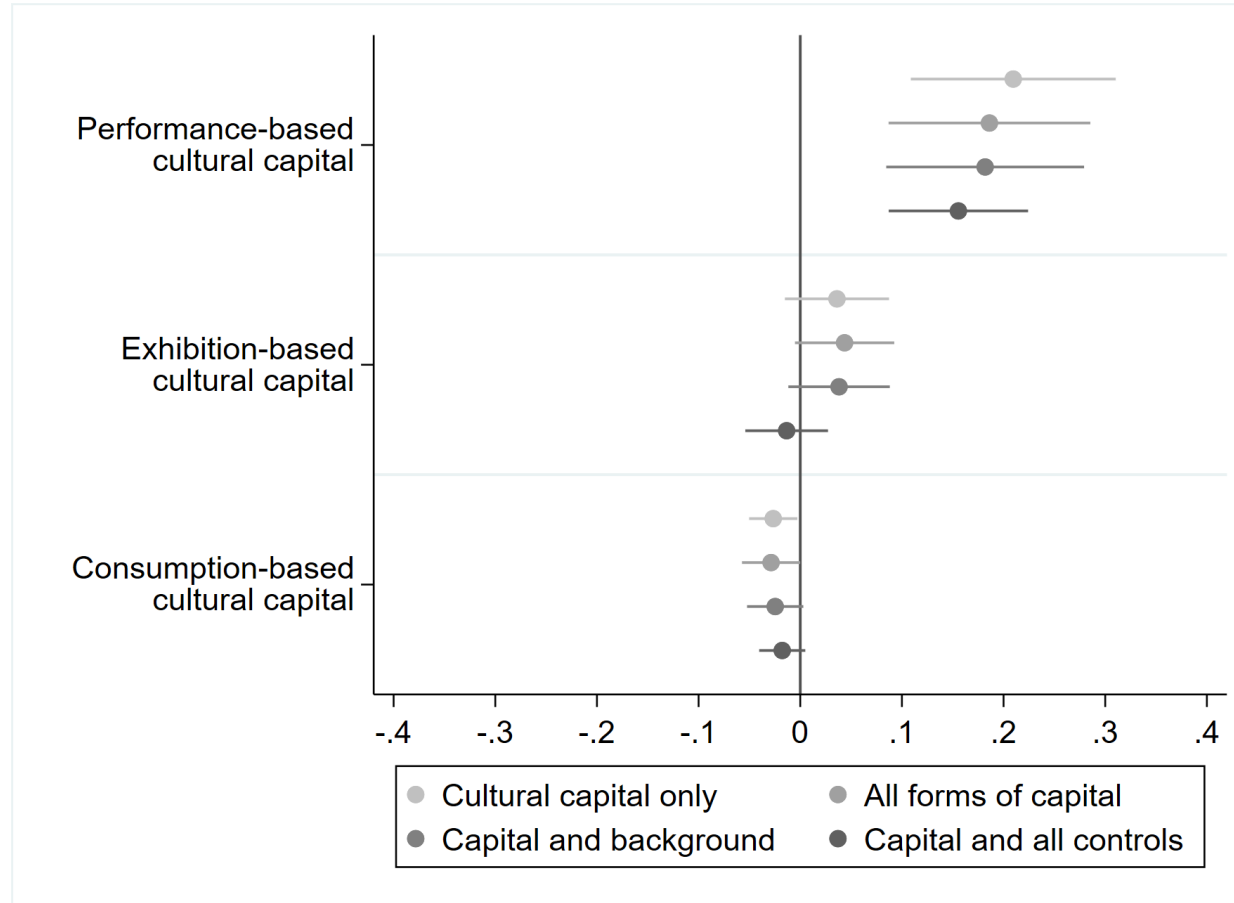


# OLS regressions: mean contacting participation

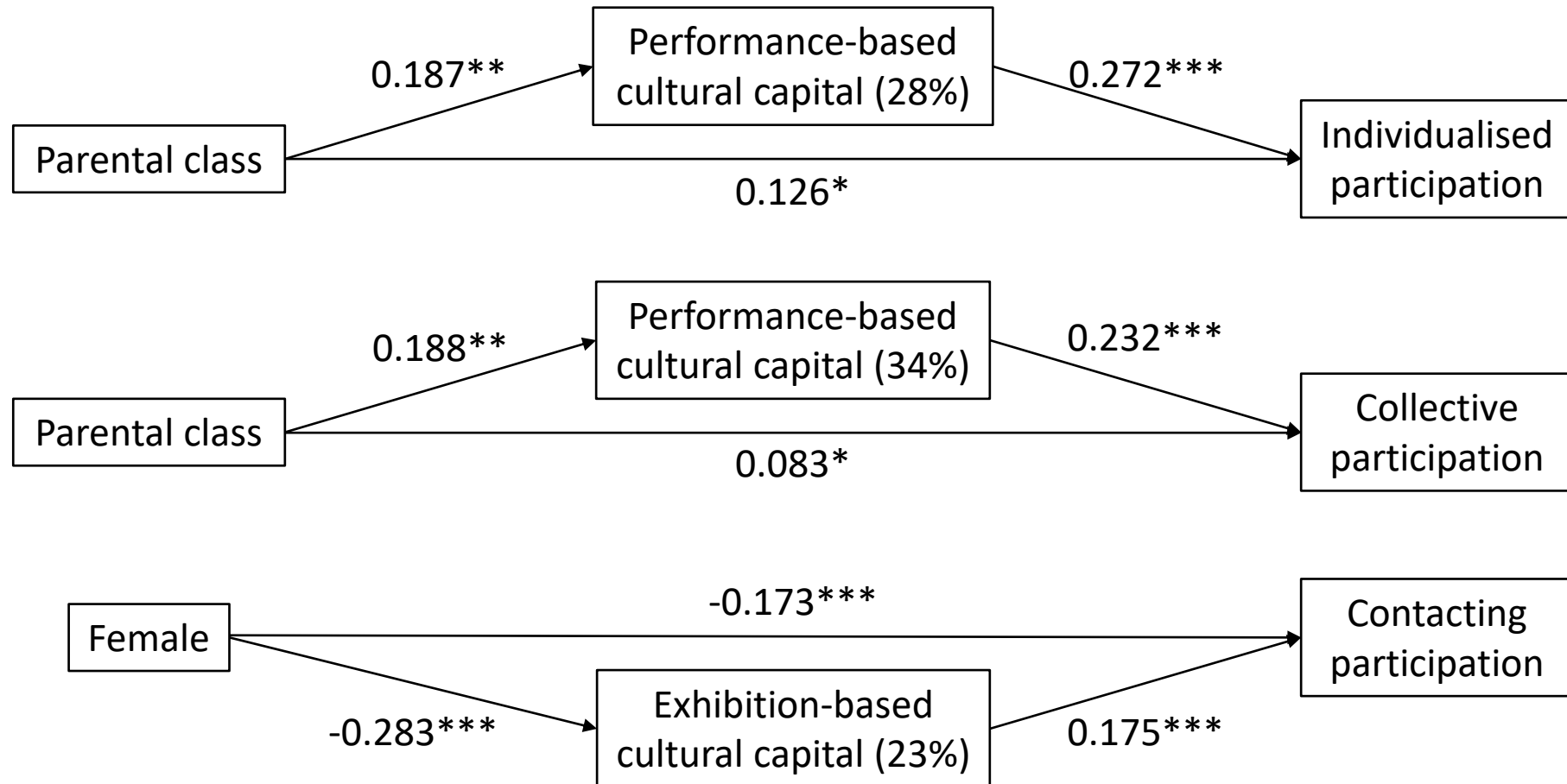




# OLS regressions: mean collective participation



# Appendix E: Parental class and gender mediation models



\* =  $p < 0.1$   
\*\* =  $p < 0.05$   
\*\*\* =  $p < 0.01$

# Interview data: Details

9 Member of the Public Interviews	
Gender	4 women, 5 men
Ethnicity	8 White British, 1 British Asian
Age	4 in 30s, 1 in 40s, 1 in 50s, 2 in 60s, 1 in 70s
Job	1 Air Steward, 1 Customer Adviser, 1 Civil Servant, 1 Data Analyst, 1 Kitchen Installer, 1 Market Trader, 1 Police Call Handler, 1 Retired, 1 Stay-at-Home Parent
Region	2 London, 1 North East, 2 North West, 1 Scotland, 1 South of England, 1 West Midlands, 1 Wales
Average length	60 minutes
Conducted	September 2015 – April 2016

14 Member of Parliament Interviews	
Gender	5 women, 9 men
Ethnicity	13 White British, 1 Ethnic Minority
Age	2 in 30s, 3 in 40s, 4 in 50s, 3 in 60s, 2 in 70s
Party	7 Conservative, 4 Labour, 2 Liberal Democrat, 1 SNP
Constituency region	3 East of England, 3 London, 1 North West, 1 Scotland, 2 West Midlands, 3 Wales, 1 Yorkshire
Year first elected	1 in 1987, 2 in 1992, 2 in 1997, 1 in 2001, 6 in 2010, 2 in 2015
Average length	40 minutes
Conducted	June 2012 – January 2016

# Initial analysis: Share a perception of a divide

- Retiree, West Midlands:
  - 'They're not in contact with the population. That's why they're so out of touch. I think the majority of them out there are just so out of touch, they don't know what people's opinions are.'
- Conservative MP, Wales:
  - 'Well, I think it's this commonly used "out of touch". I think it's got a lot of resonance which is probably why it's been used. I think people think we talk about different things, not the things that they're interested in. Quite often you'll hear, I'm not interested at all in politics, I'm more interested in health or education, you know, that's what you get from people. They think politics is something separate and different.'

The role of the media



# Initial analysis: Mixed on the role of privilege

- Police Call Handler, Wales:
  - ‘In a way, I suppose, the privilege with the power that they wanted. But I don't know if it's quite a privilege or not, because a privilege is something you've earned, and I don't know whether you earn yourself to be in charge of other people or not.’
- Labour MP, London:
  - ‘where privilege comes in is it's a subtle form of inequality and a subtle form of exclusion for people. You have to speak in a certain way, you have to use certain terms. You have to be able to participate at a certain time. You have to be willing to continue to participate on a very basic level.’

# Initial analysis: See that people care about political issues

- Stay-at-Home Parent, North West:
  - ‘But I think the thing that people are most passionate about are the things that affect them on a daily basis. Which is schooling, NHS, benefits money of course, and for some people it's their businesses.’
- SNP MP, Scotland:
  - ‘You would find that they'd be interested in education or health or something else which is politics, they just didn't see it in that way. So, there is a kind of issue about how women see politics and see their role in politics. Lots of the community activists, that are in Glasgow, are women and very, very bold women as well, who will take no nonsense from anybody else. They're great but they don't see themselves as being political in any way.’

# Discussion and conclusions

- A previously overlooked relationship between (informal) cultural capital, especially in legitimate forms, and a variety of forms of political participation exists in Britain (*H1, H2*)
- Social capital and other elements of the *Civic Voluntarism Model* persist in their relationship with political participation
- There are two plausible causal explanation:
  - *Civic Voluntarism Model*
  - Bourdieusian *habitus*
- Causal mediation analysis supports either of the above

# Discussion and conclusions

- Both the public and MPs see or are aware of a perceived divide between them, but framing in terms of privilege is mixed
- Both the public and MPs think that the public are interested in political issues, if not party politics, and suggest similar ways to bridge the gap
- Politics is intensely personal. Stay-at-Home Parent, North West:
  - ‘But for those couple of years I was going through absolute turmoil. I wrote to my local MP and all I got back in return was the fact that, you know, everybody has been affected by the changes that happened.’



# Thank you

- Any questions?
- Download the working paper:
  - [privilegeandparticipation.org](http://privilegeandparticipation.org)
- Feel free to contact me:
  - [joe.greenwood-hau@strath.ac.uk](mailto:joe.greenwood-hau@strath.ac.uk)
  - [@NiceOneCombo](https://www.instagram.com/NiceOneCombo)

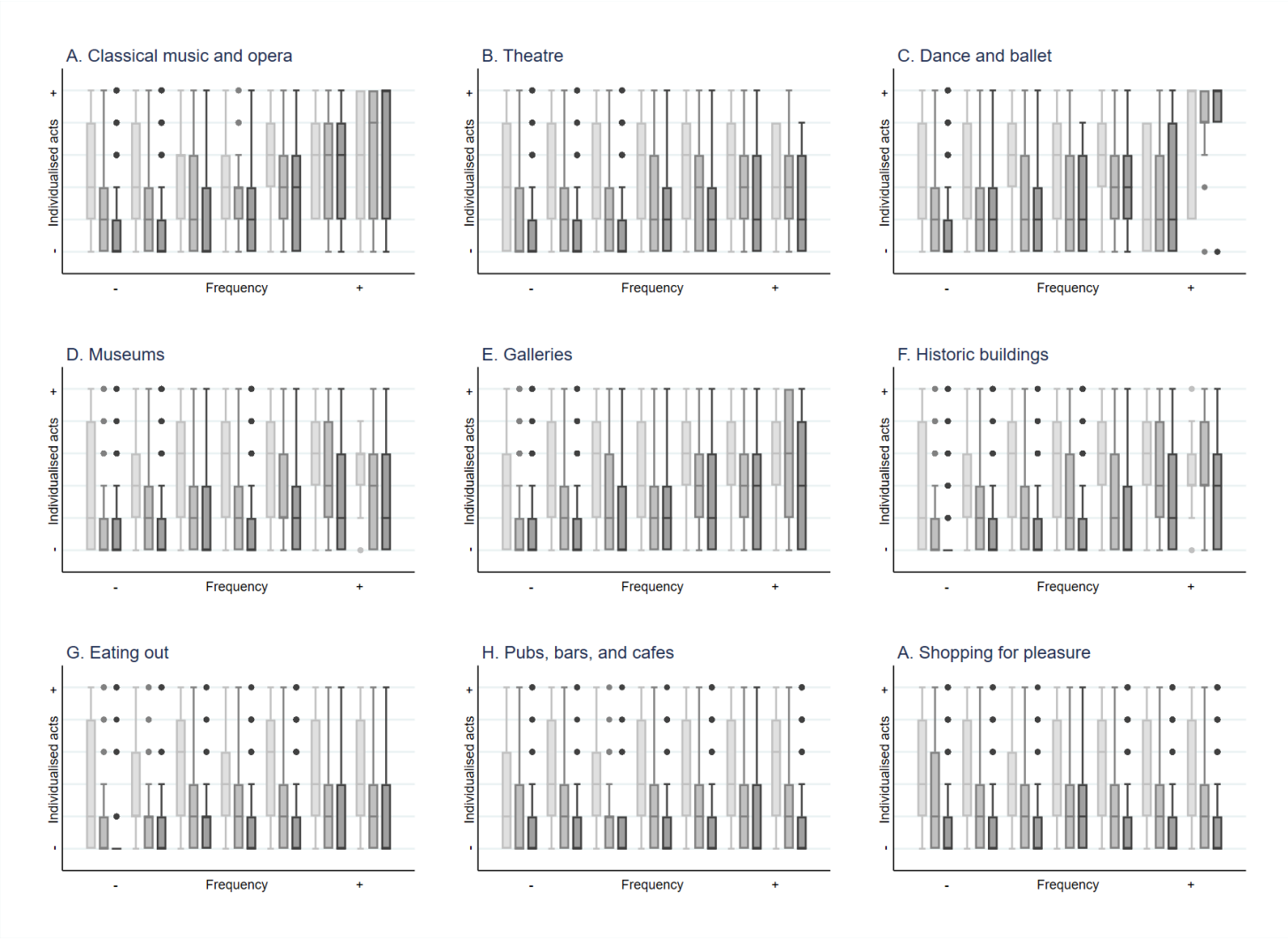
# Appendix A: Literature explaining political participation

- *Rational choice approach* on voting (Aldrich 1993; Blais 2000; Blais, Young and Lapp 2000; Riker and Ordeshook 1968), other political behaviour (Constantini and King 1984; Finkel and Muller 1998; Gurr 1968; Olson 1968; Opp 1988; Opp and Gern 1993; Granovetter 1978; Whiteley et al. 1994) and extensions (Simon 1985; Hamlin and Jennings 2011)
- *Psychological approach* on imperfect decision making (Kahnemann 2011; Marcus, Neuman and McKuen 2000), emotion (Mutz 2007), accessibility of information (Grasso et al. 2017; Tourangeau, Rips and Rasinski 2000; Zaller 1992), values and beliefs (Feldman 1988; Oliver and Wood 2014), personality traits (Gerber et al. 2011) and the importance of group identity (Bryan et al. 1986; Cowley 2014; Goodwin 2010; Sears 1993; Tajfel and Turner 1979; Turner and Reynolds 2012; Uhlman et al. 2012)

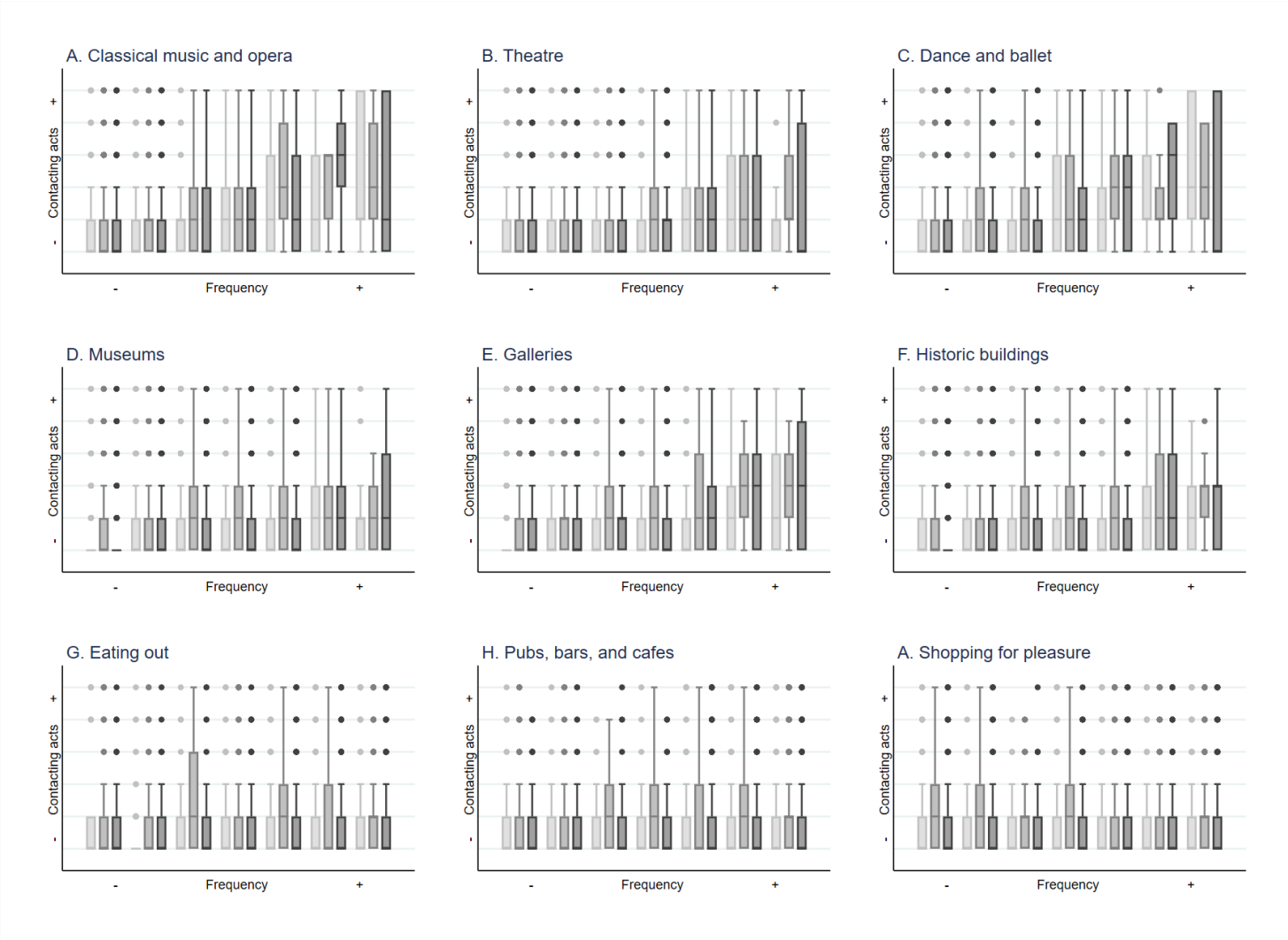
# Appendix A: Literature explaining political participation

- *Sociological approach* on, amongst other things:
  - Class (Achterberg and Houtman 2006; Best 2011; Caínzos and Voces 2010; Dalton 2002; Evans and Tilley 2011; Heath 2013; Heath 2018; Lipset and Rokkan 1967)
  - Ethnicity (Anwar 2001; Ferree 2006; Ford, Janta-Lipinski and Sobolewska 2015; Huber 2012; Leighley and Vedlitz 1999; Skirmuntt 2013; Saggar 2007; Sobolewska and Begum 2020)
  - Gender (Besley et al. 2017; Culhane and Olchawski 2018; Dassonneville and McAllister 2018; Fox and Lawless 2010; Karpowitz, Mendelberg & Shaker 2012; McAllister 2019; Mondak and Anderson 2004; Morehouse, Mendez and Osborn 2010; O'Brien 2015; Tripp and Kang 2008)

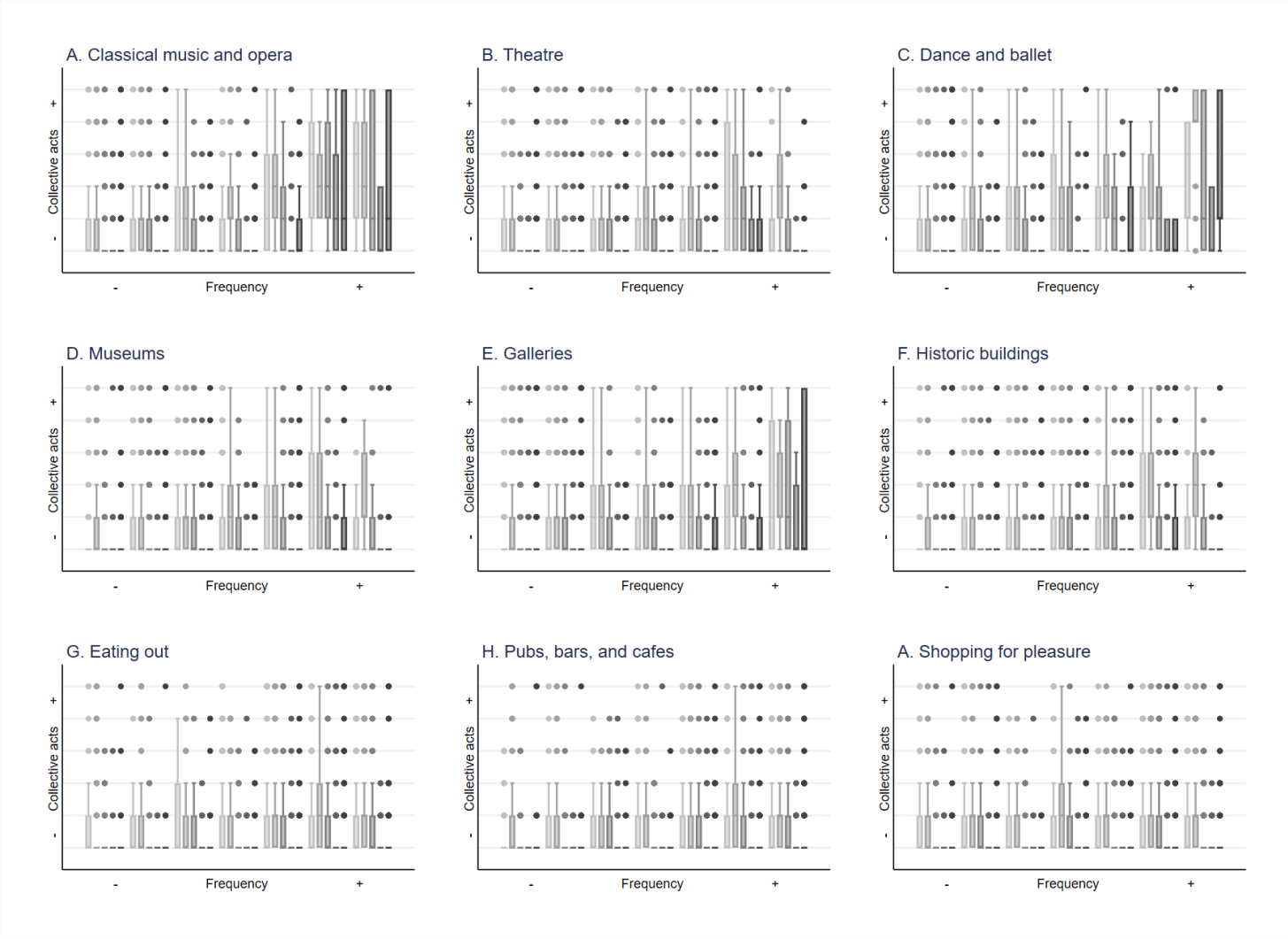
# Appendix B: Individualised participation and cultural capital



# Appendix B: Contacting participation and cultural activities



# Appendix B: Collective participation and cultural activities





# Appendix C: Individualised activities OLS summary

VARIABLES	Cultural capital only	All forms of capital	Capital and background	Capital and all controls
Performance-based cultural capital	0.118* (0.0633)	0.0874 (0.0628)	0.0819 (0.0600)	0.0232 (0.0463)
Exhibition-based cultural capital	0.187*** (0.0435)	0.185*** (0.0421)	0.180*** (0.0418)	0.0531 (0.0344)
Consumption-based cultural capital	-0.0359 (0.0248)	-0.0432 (0.0267)	-0.0438 (0.0269)	-0.0408* (0.0217)
Constant	0.118* (0.0633)	0.0874 (0.0628)	0.0819 (0.0600)	0.0232 (0.0463)
Observations	1,405	1,405	1,405	1,405

OLS regressions with multiple imputation and robust estimation on weighted data.

Unstandardised coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses.

Statistical significance: \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

[Full results](#)

# Appendix C: Contacting activities OLS summary

VARIABLES	Cultural capital only	All forms of capital	Capital and background	Capital and all controls
Performance-based cultural capital	0.223*** (0.0579)	0.194*** (0.0587)	0.199*** (0.0589)	0.155*** (0.0484)
Exhibition-based cultural capital	0.0581* (0.0344)	0.0471 (0.0338)	0.0340 (0.0339)	-0.0509* (0.0295)
Consumption-based cultural capital	-0.0657*** (0.0213)	-0.0615*** (0.0237)	-0.0559** (0.0238)	-0.0461** (0.0203)
Constant	0.223*** (0.0579)	0.194*** (0.0587)	0.199*** (0.0589)	0.155*** (0.0484)
Observations	1,405	1,405	1,405	1,405

OLS regressions with multiple imputation and robust estimation on weighted data.

Unstandardised coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses.

Statistical significance: \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

Full results

# Appendix C: Collective activities OLS summary

VARIABLES	Cultural capital only	All forms of capital	Capital and background	Capital and all controls
Performance-based cultural capital	0.210*** (0.0514)	0.186*** (0.0506)	0.182*** (0.0496)	0.156*** (0.0350)
Exhibition-based cultural capital	0.0361 (0.0261)	0.0436* (0.0249)	0.0382 (0.0254)	-0.0134 (0.0207)
Consumption-based cultural capital	-0.0266** (0.0121)	-0.0287** (0.0146)	-0.0246* (0.0141)	-0.0177 (0.0116)
Constant	0.210*** (0.0514)	0.186*** (0.0506)	0.182*** (0.0496)	0.156*** (0.0350)
Observations	1,405	1,405	1,405	1,405

OLS regressions with multiple imputation and robust estimation on weighted data.

Unstandardised coefficients with robust standard errors in parentheses.

Statistical significance: \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

[Full results](#)

# Appendix D: Full OLS models (individualised acts)

VARIABLES	(1) Cultural capital	(2) All forms of capital	(3) Capital and background	(4) Capital and all controls	(5) Background only
Performance-based cultural capital	0.118* (0.0633)	0.0874 (0.0628)	0.0819 (0.0600)	0.0232 (0.0463)	
Exhibition-based cultural capital	0.187*** (0.0435)	0.185*** (0.0421)	0.180*** (0.0418)	0.0531 (0.0344)	
Consumption-based cultural capital	-0.0359 (0.0248)	-0.0432 (0.0267)	-0.0438 (0.0269)	-0.0408* (0.0217)	
Know managers and professionals count: 0	Reference category				
Know managers and professionals count: 1		0.130 (0.0905)	0.138 (0.0908)	0.0971 (0.0723)	
Know managers and professionals count: 2		0.151 (0.104)	0.156 (0.108)	0.0252 (0.0863)	
Know managers and professionals count: 3		0.281** (0.133)	0.298** (0.135)	0.0930 (0.110)	
Know semi-routine employees count: 0	Reference category				
Know semi-routine employees count: 1		0.0520 (0.101)	0.0596 (0.100)	0.0228 (0.0795)	
Know semi-routine employees count: 2		0.140 (0.110)	0.147 (0.109)	0.208** (0.0906)	
Know semi-routine employees count: 3		0.0216 (0.123)	0.0114 (0.122)	-0.0147 (0.108)	

# Appendix D: Full OLS models (individualised acts)

Know routine employees count: 0	Reference category				
Know routine employees count: 1		0.112	0.100	0.000502	
		(0.0963)	(0.0938)	(0.0771)	
Know routine employees count: 2		0.0447	0.0515	-0.0554	
		(0.104)	(0.106)	(0.0815)	
Know routine employees count: 3		0.108	0.119	0.0664	
		(0.141)	(0.139)	(0.121)	
Size and activity of social network		0.0897**	0.0837**	-0.0268	
		(0.0434)	(0.0419)	(0.0329)	
% of acquaintances in the same sex		-0.00243	-0.00252	-0.00159	
		(0.00198)	(0.00197)	(0.00156)	
% of acquaintances in the same ethnic group		-0.000600	-0.000530	-0.000111	
		(0.00182)	(0.00192)	(0.00146)	
% of acquaintances with the same religion		-0.00228	-0.00258*	-0.00129	
		(0.00145)	(0.00148)	(0.00114)	
Household income		-0.00749	-0.0188	-0.00913	
		(0.0152)	(0.0169)	(0.0175)	
Property types owned: 0	Reference category				
Property types owned: 1		0.0703	0.172*	0.0995	
		(0.0840)	(0.0969)	(0.0756)	
Property types owned: 2+		0.242	0.395*	0.212	
		(0.196)	(0.208)	(0.174)	

# Appendix D: Full OLS models (individualised acts)

Debts:	Reference category				
None or no difficulties					
Debts:		0.0677	0.0495	-0.00448	
Occasional struggles		(0.0840)	(0.0814)	(0.0642)	
Debts:		0.312***	0.308***	0.0767	
Constant struggle		(0.110)	(0.112)	(0.0941)	
Debts:		0.330*	0.279	-0.0110	
Falling or fallen behind		(0.197)	(0.196)	(0.140)	
Parental NS-SEC:	Reference category				
Routine					
Parental NS-SEC:			0.265	0.136	0.268
Semi-routine			(0.177)	(0.154)	(0.170)
Parental NS-SEC:			0.163	0.105	0.252
Low. super. or tech.			(0.162)	(0.137)	(0.166)
Parental NS-SEC:			0.236	0.0451	0.260
Small employer			(0.166)	(0.153)	(0.166)
Parental NS-SEC:			0.383**	0.191	0.491***
Intermediate			(0.155)	(0.146)	(0.166)
Parental NS-SEC:			0.313**	0.121	0.384**
Low. management			(0.144)	(0.132)	(0.149)
Parental NS-SEC:			0.431**	0.261	0.539**
High. professions			(0.198)	(0.180)	(0.214)
Parental NS-SEC:			0.164	0.0462	0.229
Large employer			(0.232)	(0.181)	(0.237)



# Appendix D: Full OLS models (individualised acts)

Ethnicity:	Reference category				
White British					
Ethnicity: Non-White British			-0.102 (0.150)	-0.245* (0.146)	-0.0390 (0.163)
Gender: Male	Reference category				
Gender: Female			0.00358 (0.0749)	0.0462 (0.0599)	-0.0345 (0.0759)
Age			-0.00649** (0.00294)	-0.00423* (0.00257)	-0.00184 (0.00289)
Education Level:	Reference category				
No formal qual.					
Education level: Below GCSE				0.0746 (0.120)	0.149 (0.168)
Education level: GCSE				0.166 (0.116)	0.253 (0.164)
Education level: A Level				0.234* (0.129)	0.337* (0.177)
Education level: Non-degree prof.				0.254* (0.140)	0.515*** (0.188)
Education level: Degree				0.0634 (0.131)	0.513*** (0.167)
Education level: Higher degree				-0.0155 (0.162)	0.606*** (0.198)
Education level: Other quals.				0.117 (0.126)	0.446*** (0.167)

# Appendix D: Full OLS models (individualised acts)

Social grade: A	Reference category				
Social grade: B				0.0451	
				(0.122)	
Social grade: C1				0.0992	
				(0.111)	
Social grade: C2				0.138	
				(0.107)	
Social grade: D				0.114	
				(0.124)	
Social grade: E				0.0319	
				(0.142)	
Region:	Reference category				
North East					
Region:				-0.141	
North West				(0.149)	
Region:				-0.135	
Yorkshire & Humber				(0.161)	
Region:				-0.274*	
East Midlands				(0.165)	
Region:				-0.346**	
West Midlands				(0.164)	
Region:				-0.278*	
East of England				(0.147)	
Region:				-0.150	
London				(0.163)	
Region:				-0.386***	
South East				(0.147)	
Region:				-0.175	
South West				(0.159)	

# Appendix D: Full OLS models (individualised acts)

Region:				-0.0813	
Wales				(0.177)	
Region:				-0.330**	
Scotland				(0.153)	
Children in Household: 0	Reference category				
Children in Household: 1				-0.127	
				(0.0948)	
Children in Household: 2				0.0604	
				(0.123)	
Children in Household: 3+				-0.650***	
				(0.244)	
Spare time				-0.00167	
				(0.00775)	
Civic skills				0.0197	
				(0.0214)	
Political disposition				0.264***	
				(0.0453)	
Political knowledge				0.00199	
				(0.0244)	
Political recruitment				0.962***	
				(0.0507)	
Left-right position				0.165***	
				(0.0484)	
Liberty-authority position				-0.0230	
				(0.0345)	

# Appendix D: Full OLS models (individualised acts)

2010 vote: Did not vote	Reference category				
2010 vote: Conservative				0.0428 (0.0940)	
2010 vote: Labour				0.0992 (0.102)	
2010 vote: Liberal Democrat				0.0904 (0.0933)	
2010 vote: Other party				0.140 (0.118)	
Constant	1.174*** (0.105)	1.037*** (0.229)	1.135*** (0.304)	-0.0928 (0.386)	0.950*** (0.262)
Observations	1,405	1,405	1,405	1,405	1,405

OLS regressions using multiple imputation and robust estimation.

Coefficients are unstandardised, all models use sampling weights (pweight), and robust standard errors are presented in parentheses.

Statistical significance: \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.

# Appendix D: Full OLS models (contacting acts)

VARIABLES	(1) Cultural capital	(2) All forms of capital	(3) Capital and background	(4) Capital and all controls	(5) Background only
Performance-based cultural capital	0.223*** (0.0579)	0.194*** (0.0587)	0.199*** (0.0589)	0.155*** (0.0484)	
Exhibition-based cultural capital	0.0581* (0.0344)	0.0471 (0.0338)	0.0340 (0.0339)	-0.0509* (0.0295)	
Consumption-based cultural capital	-0.0657*** (0.0213)	-0.0615*** (0.0237)	-0.0559** (0.0238)	-0.0461** (0.0203)	
Know managers and professionals count: 0	Reference category				
Know managers and professionals count: 1		0.104 (0.0681)	0.0986 (0.0698)	0.0845 (0.0577)	
Know managers and professionals count: 2		0.188** (0.0807)	0.163** (0.0809)	0.0862 (0.0667)	
Know managers and professionals count: 3		0.338*** (0.118)	0.311*** (0.119)	0.136 (0.115)	
Know semi-routine employees count: 0	Reference category				
Know semi-routine employees count: 1		-0.0631 (0.0737)	-0.0319 (0.0738)	-0.0280 (0.0615)	
Know semi-routine employees count: 2		0.00430 (0.0857)	0.0357 (0.0868)	0.0873 (0.0789)	
Know semi-routine employees count: 3		0.0601 (0.0917)	0.100 (0.0929)	0.0512 (0.0872)	

# Appendix D: Full OLS models (contacting acts)

Know routine employees count: 0	Reference category				
Know routine employees count: 1		-0.0620	-0.0500	-0.115**	
		(0.0656)	(0.0656)	(0.0573)	
Know routine employees count: 2		0.117	0.122	0.0697	
		(0.0837)	(0.0857)	(0.0729)	
Know routine employees count: 3		0.0991	0.0848	0.0705	
		(0.124)	(0.123)	(0.0978)	
Size and activity of social network		0.0529	0.0551	-0.0213	
		(0.0421)	(0.0420)	(0.0371)	
% of acquaintances in the same sex		-0.00288*	-0.00215	-0.00155	
		(0.00165)	(0.00162)	(0.00129)	
% of acquaintances in the same ethnic group		-0.000989	-0.000668	-0.000180	
		(0.00143)	(0.00157)	(0.00133)	
% of acquaintances with the same religion		-0.00252**	-0.00243**	-0.00193*	
		(0.00121)	(0.00120)	(0.000996)	
Household income		-0.0201*	-0.0236*	-0.0180	
		(0.0103)	(0.0123)	(0.0115)	
Property types owned: 0	Reference category				
Property types owned: 1		0.122*	0.0985	0.0218	
		(0.0643)	(0.0860)	(0.0631)	
Property types owned: 2+		0.398**	0.359**	0.185	
		(0.156)	(0.165)	(0.141)	



# Appendix D: Full OLS models (contacting acts)

Debts:	Reference category				
None or no difficulties					
Debts:		-0.0724	-0.0534	-0.0889*	
Occasional struggles		(0.0697)	(0.0695)	(0.0539)	
Debts:		0.117	0.130	-0.0277	
Constant struggle		(0.0873)	(0.0895)	(0.0795)	
Debts:		0.132	0.136	-0.0709	
Falling or fallen behind		(0.158)	(0.159)	(0.117)	
Parental NS-SEC:					
Routine					
Parental NS-SEC:	Reference category				
Semi-routine			0.149	0.0775	0.159
Parental NS-SEC:			(0.168)	(0.120)	(0.182)
Low. super. or tech.			0.0576	0.0138	0.150
Parental NS-SEC:			(0.158)	(0.114)	(0.157)
Small employer			0.00227	-0.126	0.0582
Parental NS-SEC:			(0.153)	(0.114)	(0.160)
Intermediate			-0.00594	-0.101	0.104
Parental NS-SEC:			(0.137)	(0.108)	(0.145)
Low. management			0.0926	0.0120	0.171
Parental NS-SEC:			(0.146)	(0.105)	(0.151)
High. professions			0.191	0.0675	0.289
Parental NS-SEC:			(0.179)	(0.119)	(0.189)
Large employer			0.0291	-0.0390	0.0586

# Appendix D: Full OLS models (contacting acts)

Ethnicity:	Reference category				
White British					
Ethnicity: Non-White British			0.173 (0.111)	0.0320 (0.0966)	0.236* (0.135)
Gender: Male	Reference category				
Gender: Female			-0.193*** (0.0647)	-0.116** (0.0577)	-0.202*** (0.0648)
Age			0.00343 (0.00302)	0.00678*** (0.00227)	0.00781*** (0.00262)
Education Level:	Reference category				
No formal qual.					
Education level: Below GCSE				0.162 (0.102)	0.215 (0.141)
Education level: GCSE				0.0569 (0.105)	0.0888 (0.129)
Education level: A Level				0.0967 (0.108)	0.143 (0.138)
Education level: Non-degree prof.				0.0315 (0.117)	0.188 (0.143)
Education level: Degree				0.159 (0.115)	0.446*** (0.142)
Education level: Higher degree				0.183 (0.154)	0.534*** (0.176)
Education level: Other quals.				0.0817 (0.107)	0.278** (0.139)

# Appendix D: Full OLS models (contacting acts)

Social grade: A	Reference category				
Social grade: B				0.0122	
				(0.0998)	
Social grade: C1				-0.00743	
				(0.0961)	
Social grade: C2				-0.0565	
				(0.0893)	
Social grade: D				-0.120	
				(0.0987)	
Social grade: E				-0.122	
				(0.113)	
Region:	Reference category				
North East					
Region:				-0.113	
North West				(0.152)	
Region:				0.0203	
Yorkshire & Humber				(0.147)	
Region:				-0.185	
East Midlands				(0.151)	
Region:				-0.0333	
West Midlands				(0.153)	
Region:				-0.0746	
East of England				(0.148)	
Region:				-0.156	
London				(0.147)	
Region:				-0.185	
South East				(0.146)	
Region:				-0.0192	
South West				(0.151)	

# Appendix D: Full OLS models (contacting acts)

Region:				0.110	
Wales				(0.206)	
Region:				-0.198	
Scotland				(0.150)	
Children in Household: 0	Reference category				
Children in Household: 1				0.0716	
				(0.0857)	
Children in Household: 2				-0.00679	
				(0.0916)	
Children in Household: 3+				-0.0165	
				(0.133)	
Spare time				-0.0122*	
				(0.00702)	
Civic skills				0.0412**	
				(0.0185)	
Political disposition				0.305***	
				(0.0431)	
Political knowledge				-0.0446**	
				(0.0209)	
Political recruitment				0.662***	
				(0.0526)	
Left-right position				0.0421	
				(0.0380)	
Liberty-authority position				0.0295	
				(0.0325)	

# Appendix D: Full OLS models (contacting acts)

2010 vote: Did not vote	Reference category				
2010 vote: Conservative				0.0641 (0.0710)	
2010 vote: Labour				0.0547 (0.0777)	
2010 vote: Liberal Democrat				0.0240 (0.0709)	
2010 vote: Other party				0.204* (0.114)	
Constant	0.640*** (0.0880)	0.855*** (0.206)	0.619** (0.316)	-0.374 (0.366)	0.119 (0.247)
Observations	1,405	1,405	1,405	1,405	1,405

OLS regressions using multiple imputation and robust estimation.

Coefficients are unstandardised, all models use sampling weights (pweight), and robust standard errors are presented in parentheses.

Statistical significance: \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.

# Appendix D: Full OLS models (collective acts)

VARIABLES	(1) Cultural capital	(2) All forms of capital	(3) Capital and background	(4) Capital and all controls	(5) Background only
Performance-based cultural capital	0.210*** (0.0514)	0.186*** (0.0506)	0.182*** (0.0496)	0.156*** (0.0350)	
Exhibition-based cultural capital	0.0361 (0.0261)	0.0436* (0.0249)	0.0382 (0.0254)	-0.0134 (0.0207)	
Consumption-based cultural capital	-0.0266** (0.0121)	-0.0287** (0.0146)	-0.0246* (0.0141)	-0.0177 (0.0116)	
Know managers and professionals count: 0	Reference category				
Know managers and professionals count: 1		-0.0179 (0.0509)	-0.0172 (0.0498)	-0.0239 (0.0423)	
Know managers and professionals count: 2		0.0504 (0.0679)	0.0455 (0.0689)	0.00378 (0.0589)	
Know managers and professionals count: 3		0.127 (0.0930)	0.128 (0.0937)	0.0350 (0.0849)	
Know semi-routine employees count: 0	Reference category				
Know semi-routine employees count: 1		-0.0170 (0.0498)	-0.00222 (0.0499)	-0.000610 (0.0410)	
Know semi-routine employees count: 2		0.0724 (0.0702)	0.0883 (0.0713)	0.126** (0.0573)	
Know semi-routine employees count: 3		0.0802 (0.0626)	0.0898 (0.0633)	0.0897* (0.0538)	

# Appendix D: Full OLS models (collective acts)

Know routine employees count: 0	Reference category				
Know routine employees count: 1		0.0246	0.0182	-0.0485	
		(0.0493)	(0.0484)	(0.0400)	
Know routine employees count: 2		0.00516	0.00623	-0.0410	
		(0.0572)	(0.0571)	(0.0470)	
Know routine employees count: 3		-0.0262	-0.0211	-0.0542	
		(0.0681)	(0.0715)	(0.0588)	
Size and activity of social network		0.0789**	0.0749**	0.0236	
		(0.0312)	(0.0306)	(0.0233)	
% of acquaintances in the same sex		-0.000408	-0.000238	7.73e-05	
		(0.00125)	(0.00126)	(0.000929)	
% of acquaintances in the same ethnic group		-0.00342***	-0.00274**	-0.00170*	
		(0.00113)	(0.00118)	(0.000880)	
% of acquaintances with the same religion		-0.00106	-0.00117	-0.000695	
		(0.000849)	(0.000852)	(0.000708)	
Household income		-0.0184**	-0.0256***	-0.0241***	
		(0.00774)	(0.00946)	(0.00837)	
Property types owned: 0	Reference category				
Property types owned: 1		0.0245	0.0712	0.0339	
		(0.0488)	(0.0586)	(0.0459)	
Property types owned: 2+		-0.0452	0.0221	-0.0654	
		(0.0870)	(0.0929)	(0.0722)	



# Appendix D: Full OLS models (collective acts)

Debts:	Reference category				
None or no difficulties					
Debts:		0.0173	0.0115	-0.0252	
Occasional struggles		(0.0476)	(0.0454)	(0.0340)	
Debts:		0.0875	0.0845	-0.0501	
Constant struggle		(0.0663)	(0.0678)	(0.0571)	
Debts:		0.296*	0.274*	0.0755	
Falling or fallen behind		(0.161)	(0.156)	(0.107)	
Parental NS-SEC:	Reference category				
Routine					
Parental NS-SEC:			0.0314	-0.00709	0.0569
Semi-routine			(0.0937)	(0.0741)	(0.0970)
Parental NS-SEC:			-0.0150	-0.0283	0.0562
Low. super. or tech.			(0.0868)	(0.0652)	(0.0928)
Parental NS-SEC:			-0.0179	-0.105	0.0242
Small employer			(0.0924)	(0.0747)	(0.0992)
Parental NS-SEC:			0.0665	-0.00255	0.167
Intermediate			(0.0944)	(0.0790)	(0.109)
Parental NS-SEC:			0.0720	0.00998	0.158
Low. management			(0.0927)	(0.0734)	(0.104)
Parental NS-SEC:			0.134	0.0586	0.244*
High. professions			(0.124)	(0.0900)	(0.146)
Parental NS-SEC:			0.0130	-0.00429	0.0742
Large employer			(0.134)	(0.103)	(0.157)

# Appendix D: Full OLS models (collective acts)

Ethnicity:	Reference category				
White British					
Ethnicity: Non-White British			0.150 (0.111)	0.0322 (0.0970)	0.270** (0.132)
Gender: Male	Reference category				
Gender: Female			-0.0701 (0.0484)	-0.0602 (0.0432)	-0.0558 (0.0493)
Age			-0.00202 (0.00198)	0.000304 (0.00149)	-0.000794 (0.00189)
Education Level:	Reference category				
No formal qual.					
Education level: Below GCSE				0.0234 (0.0621)	0.0550 (0.0971)
Education level: GCSE				-0.0307 (0.0609)	-0.0198 (0.0805)
Education level: A Level				-0.0781 (0.0692)	-0.0196 (0.0989)
Education level: Non-degree prof.				-0.0464 (0.0753)	0.0935 (0.0955)
Education level: Degree				-0.114 (0.0766)	0.106 (0.0918)
Education level: Higher degree				-0.0845 (0.0881)	0.158 (0.107)
Education level: Other quals.				0.0267 (0.0714)	0.143 (0.0923)

# Appendix D: Full OLS models (collective acts)

Social grade: A	Reference category				
Social grade: B				0.0636	
				(0.0666)	
Social grade: C1				-0.0325	
				(0.0580)	
Social grade: C2				0.0401	
				(0.0563)	
Social grade: D				-0.0296	
				(0.0620)	
Social grade: E				-0.0394	
				(0.0683)	
Region:	Reference category				
North East					
Region:				0.0189	
North West				(0.0912)	
Region:				-0.0988	
Yorkshire & Humber				(0.0813)	
Region:				-0.149*	
East Midlands				(0.0812)	
Region:				-0.129	
West Midlands				(0.0837)	
Region:				-0.0853	
East of England				(0.0744)	
Region:				-0.00776	
London				(0.0922)	
Region:				-0.113	
South East				(0.0751)	
Region:				-0.0623	
South West				(0.0765)	

# Appendix D: Full OLS models (contacting acts)

Region:				-0.0885	
Wales				(0.0931)	
Region:				-0.0719	
Scotland				(0.0780)	
Children in Household: 0	Reference category				
Children in Household: 1				0.205***	
				(0.0666)	
Children in Household: 2				0.103	
				(0.0676)	
Children in Household: 3+				-0.0498	
				(0.117)	
Spare time				-0.00387	
				(0.00461)	
Civic skills				0.0259*	
				(0.0144)	
Political disposition				0.118***	
				(0.0328)	
Political knowledge				-0.0345**	
				(0.0150)	
Political recruitment				0.446***	
				(0.0408)	
Left-right position				0.0639**	
				(0.0256)	
Liberty-authority position				-0.0331	
				(0.0216)	

# Appendix D: Full OLS models (contacting acts)

2010 vote: Did not vote	Reference category				
2010 vote: Conservative				0.0361 (0.0582)	
2010 vote: Labour				-0.0391 (0.0576)	
2010 vote: Liberal Democrat				-0.0309 (0.0510)	
2010 vote: Other party				-0.00293 (0.0736)	
Constant	0.211*** (0.0484)	0.394*** (0.143)	0.424** (0.201)	0.0917 (0.241)	0.337** (0.170)
Observations	1,405	1,405	1,405	1,405	1,405

OLS regressions using multiple imputation and robust estimation.

Coefficients are unstandardised, all models use sampling weights (pweight), and robust standard errors are presented in parentheses.

Statistical significance: \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1.

# Appendix E: CMA % mediated, and sensitivity analysis

	<u>% of Total Effect mediated</u>	<u>[95% Conf. Interval]</u>		<u>Rho at which ACME = 0</u>
Parental Class -> P-BCC -> Ind. Acts	0.282	0.153	1.312	0.235
Parental Class -> E-BCC -> Ind. Acts	0.258	0.139	1.207	0.273
Parental Class -> C-BCC -> Ind. Acts	0.004	0.002	0.017	0.070
Parental Class -> P-BCC -> Collect. Acts	0.338	0.201	0.941	0.327
Parental Class -> E-BCC -> Collect. Acts	0.251	0.147	0.726	0.308
Parental Class -> C-BCC -> Collect. Acts	0.005	0.003	0.013	0.084
Gender -> P-BCC -> Contact. Acts	0.083	0.054	0.192	0.242
Gender -> E-BCC -> Contact. Acts	0.227	0.145	0.512	0.215
Gender -> C-BCC -> Contact. Acts	-0.001	-0.002	-0.001	0.016

# Appendix E: Full CMA tables (parent class → indiv. acts)

VARIABLES	Parental NS-SEC -> P-BCC -> DV	Parental NS-SEC -> E-BCC -> DV	Parental NS-SEC -> C-BCC -> DV
Parental class:	0.187**	0.191*	0.017
Intermediate or higher	(0.092)	(0.114)	(0.090)
Education level:	0.495***	0.694***	0.089
Degree or higher	(0.095)	(0.116)	(0.084)
Constant	1.137***	1.461***	4.016***
	(0.064)	(0.079)	(0.078)
Observations	1,405	1,405	1,405
R-squared	0.050	0.062	0.001

VARIABLES	Parental NS-SEC -> P-BCC -> DV	Parental NS-SEC -> E-BCC -> DV	Parental NS-SEC -> C-BCC -> DV
Parental class:	0.126*	0.130*	0.176**
Intermediate or higher	(0.071)	(0.072)	(0.076)
Education level:	0.147*	0.113	0.277***
Degree or higher	(0.082)	(0.083)	(0.080)
Performance-based	0.272***		
cultural capital	(0.041)		
Exhibition-based		0.243***	
cultural capital		(0.031)	
Consumption-based			0.047*
cultural capital			(0.025)
Constant	1.013***	0.967***	1.134***
	(0.072)	(0.070)	(0.115)
Observations	1,405	1,405	1,405
R-squared	0.084	0.095	0.022

# Appendix E: Full CMA tables (parent class → collect. acts)

VARIABLES	Parental NS-SEC -> P-BCC -> DV	Parental NS-SEC -> E-BCC -> DV	Parental NS-SEC -> C-BCC -> DV
Parental class:	0.188**	0.191*	0.017
Intermediate or higher	(0.092)	(0.114)	(0.090)
Education level:	0.496***	0.694***	0.089
Degree or higher	(0.095)	(0.116)	(0.084)
Constant	1.138***	1.461***	4.016***
	(0.064)	(0.079)	(0.078)
Observations	1,405	1,405	1,405
R-squared	0.050	0.062	0.001

VARIABLES	Parental NS-SEC -> P-BCC -> DV	Parental NS-SEC -> E-BCC -> DV	Parental NS-SEC -> C-BCC -> DV
Parental class:	0.083**	0.095**	0.126***
Intermediate or higher	(0.037)	(0.040)	(0.045)
Education level:	0.006	0.005	0.117**
Degree or higher	(0.054)	(0.056)	(0.052)
Performance-based	0.232***		
cultural capital	(0.040)		
Exhibition-based		0.168***	
cultural capital		(0.029)	
Consumption-based			0.038***
cultural capital			(0.013)
Constant	0.082*	0.101**	0.190***
	(0.050)	(0.048)	(0.057)
Observations	1,405	1,405	1,405
R-squared	0.172	0.135	0.023



# Appendix E: Full CMA tables (gender → contact. acts)

VARIABLES	Parental NS-SEC -> P-BCC -> DV	Parental NS-SEC -> E-BCC -> DV	Parental NS-SEC -> C-BCC -> DV
Gender:	-0.075	-0.283***	0.023
Female	(0.084)	(0.098)	(0.082)
Education level:	0.517***	0.714***	0.092
Degree or higher	(0.089)	(0.106)	(0.082)
Constant	1.289***	1.722***	4.014***
	(0.071)	(0.079)	(0.067)
Observations	1,405	1,405	1,405
R-squared	0.045	0.078	0.001

VARIABLES	Gender -> P-BCC -> DV	Gender -> E-BCC -> DV	Gender -> C-BCC -> DV
Gender:	-0.204***	-0.173***	-0.223***
Female	(0.061)	(0.061)	(0.066)
Education level:	0.122	0.123	0.247***
Degree or higher	(0.075)	(0.075)	(0.071)
Performance-based cultural capital	0.242*** (0.039)		
Exhibition-based cultural capital		0.175*** (0.028)	
Consumption-based cultural capital			0.009 (0.022)
Constant	0.511*** (0.059)	0.522*** (0.059)	0.786*** (0.092)
Observations	1,405	1,405	1,405
R-squared	0.106	0.086	0.027

# Appendix F: Full question wordings

Now we'd like to ask you about things you've done in relation to issues that matter to you.

[PolActFreq] {dyngrid roworder = randomize} \*\*In the last five years\*\* roughly how often have you done the following things in relation to any issue that you care about personally?

- - [PolActFreq\_Materials] Displayed campaign materials (e.g. posters, badges, stickers)
- - [PolActFreq\_PetitOnline] Signed a petition or taken an online action (e.g. joined a group, liked a page, or posted a link on a social network)
- - [PolActFreq\_Boycott] Chosen to boycott a product or company
- - [PolActFreq\_MeetElecRep] Met with an elected representative
- - [PolActFreq\_AttMeet] {fixed = 1} Attended a public meeting
- - [PolActFreq\_Protest] {fixed = 1} Gone on a public rally, protest or demonstration
- - [PolActFreq\_DirectAct] {fixed = 1} Taken a direct action (e.g. a public stunt, or chaining yourself to something)
- - [PolActFreq\_OrgMeeGro] {fixed = 1} Organised a public meeting or set up a group
- - [PolActFreq\_ContPol] Contacted an elected representative or a government body
- - [PolActFreq\_ContMed] Contacted the media (i.e. local or national radio, TV, or newspapers)
- - [PolActFreq\_Urge] {fixed = 1} Urged someone to take any of the actions we've just asked about
- <1> Once a month or more often
- <2> Once every two to three months
- <3> Once every six months
- <4> Once a year
- <5> Less often
- <6> Never

# Appendix F: Full question wordings

[CultCapExt] {dyngrid roworder = randomize} Roughly how often, if at all, do you...

- - [CultCapExt\_Cinema] ...go to the cinema?
- - [CultCapExt\_Music] ...go to live music gigs?
- - [CultCapExt\_ClasOper] ...go to classical music or opera performances?
- - [CultCapExt\_Theatre] ...go to the theatre or a musical?
- - [CultCapExt\_Museum] ...visit museums?
- - [CultCapExt\_Gallery] ...visit art galleries?
- - [CultCapExt\_HistBuild] ...visit historic buildings?
- - [CultCapExt\_EatOut] ...go out to eat with others?
- - [CultCapExt\_Bingo] ...go to the bingo?
- - [CultCapExt\_Dance] ...go to watch dance or ballet?
- - [CultCapExt\_WtchSprt] ...go to watch live sport (not on TV)?
- - [CultCapExt\_Pub] ...go out to a pub, bar, or cafe?
- - [CultCapExt\_Nightclub] ...go out to a nightclub?
- - [CultCapExt\_Comedy] ...go to see stand-up comedy?
- - [CultCapExt\_Shopping] ...go shopping for pleasure?
- - [CultCapExt\_Walk] ...go out for a walk for pleasure?
- - [CultCapExt\_Sport] ...play sport with others?
- <1> A couple of times a month or more
- <2> Once a month
- <3> Once every two to three months
- <4> Once every six months
- <5> Once a year
- <6> Less often
- <7> Never

# Appendix G: Sophisticated view of the role of media

- Market Trader, North West:
  - ‘Now, how else are we going to know about what goes on? I mean, if that's our only point of reference for anything, then the world's in a bad place anyway, you know? You should always, at least, hear it from the horse's mouth when it comes to stuff, you know, because then you can make a better opinion of it. I mean, the media, they can build up and destroy anyone in a week.’
- Conservative MP, Wales:
  - ‘I think the media doesn't help, but obviously MPs always blame the media so I'm feeling a bit guilty because we're always attacking the media. But I think the media do have a degree of responsibility.’

# Appendix G: Gap can be overcome

- Customer Adviser, South of England:
  - 'It just completely changed my view of an MP, you know. Rather than one that just knocks on your door and says, 'Will you vote for me?' to actually what they do on a day-to-day, and how difficult it is, and what hard work, and so forth.'
- Conservative MP, East of England:
  - 'I knocked on doors and I talked to people as normal people and said that I moaned about the same things that they moaned at. It's hard work but actions speak louder than words. You know, you have to deliver on what you promise, if you tell people you'll be accessible, you'll be the one checking the emails, you'll be the one having surgeries, getting into the community'