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Capital, Privilege, and Political Participation in Britain and Beyond

This research tackles a core conundrum of political behaviour: why do people participate in politics in different ways and to different extents? Drawing on sociology and social psychology, it examines the links between economic, social, and cultural capital, perceptions of privilege, and political participation. It exploits unique, original, and detailed quantitative and qualitative data to shed light on those relationships in pre-Brexit Britain, and links them to the outcomes of the 2015 and 2017 general elections, and the 2016 EU referendum. It also deploys original conjoint survey experiments in the UK, Sweden, Poland, and India to examine how the privilege of politicians impacts on their perceived ability to represent, and on self-perceived status amongst electorates. These findings will be used to prompt the identification of solutions to participatory inequality in Britain, which will be produced in collaboration with political parties and organisation focusing on political engagement and social inequality.

PRIMARY APPLICANT DETAILS

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Name Joe
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CONTRIBUTOR DETAILS

Role	Lead Applicant Referee
Title	Professor
Name	Sonja
Surname	Zmerli
Tel (Mobile)	+33646607049
Email (Work)	sonja.zmerli@iepg.fr
Address	1030, avenue centrale St. Martin d'Hères France 38400 France

Section 1 - Eligibility

Primary Subject

Please indicate the subject most relevant to your research:

Politics

Primary Subject Detail - Politics

Please select the detail(s) of your primary subject:

- Comparative Politics
- Electoral Studies
- Political Parties
- Political Sociology - Politics

Secondary Subject

If your application is more interdisciplinary, you may choose to indicate a secondary subject to which your application might also be relevant:

Sociology

Secondary Subject Detail - Sociology

Please select the detail(s) of your Secondary subject:

- Political Sociology
- Social Divisions and Inequalities

Time Period

Please select your time period(s) from the list below:

- Contemporary

Audiences

Please select your audience(s) from the list below:

- Policymakers at national level (e.g. working with Government departments, participating in public in
- Journalists, broadcasters and other media
- Charities in the UK
- General Public

Regional Interests

Please select your regional interest(s) from the list below:

- England
- Scotland
- Wales
- South Asia
- Central Europe
- Northern Europe
- Western Europe

GMS ORGANISATION

Type	University
Name	University of Strathclyde
Address	McCance Building, 16 Richmond Street Glasgow G1 1XQ United Kingdom

Type	University
Name	London School of Economics and Political Science
Address	Houghton Street London WC2A 2AE United Kingdom

Section 2 - Lead Applicant Details

PRIMARY APPLICANT DETAILS

Title	Dr
Name	Joe
Surname	Greenwood
Organisation	London School of Economics and Political Science
Tel (Work)	+44 (0) 7855 012777
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Address	McCance Building, 16 Richmond Street Glasgow G1 1XQ United Kingdom

CONTRIBUTOR DETAILS

Role	Lead Applicant Referee
Title	Professor
Name	Sonja
Surname	Zmerli
Tel (Mobile)	+33646607049
Email (Work)	sonja.zmerli@iepg.fr
Address	1030, avenue centrale St. Martin d'Hères France 38400 France

PhD Awarding University

Please state the university from which your doctorate was awarded:

University of Essex

Nationality: You must select one but you may select up to three if applicable.

Please state your nationality:

British

Nationality: You must select one but you may select up to three if applicable.

Please state your nationality:

No Response

Nationality: You must select one but you may select up to three if applicable.

Please state your nationality:

No Response

Nationality: You must select one but you may select up to three if applicable.

Please state your nationality:

No Response

Nationality: You must select one but you may select up to three if applicable.

Please state your nationality:

No Response

Section 3 - Lead Applicant Career Summary

Statement of Qualifications and Career

Please give details of your academic qualifications and career.

Qualification:	Date:
PhD in Government	17 January 2018
MA in Political Behaviour with Distinction	30 September 2012
BA in History and Politics	21 July 2007
<i>No Response</i>	<i>No Response</i>

Present Appointment

Please state your present appointment.

LSE Fellow

Present Employing Institution

Please state the institution at which you are currently employed.

London School of Economics and Political Science

Present Department

Please indicate the Department or Faculty (or equivalent) in which you are based.

Department of Government

Personal Statement

Please enter your personal statement:

I am seeking a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellowship that will allow me to move to the University of Strathclyde and continue to build an academic career within the disciplines of political behaviour, political sociology, and political psychology. In addition to my time as a postgraduate student at the University of Essex, and a fellow at LSE, the move will mean that I have experienced three of the leading academic institutions for political behaviour research in the UK. Following the completion and defence (without correction) of my ESRC and YouGov co-funded PhD in 2017, I worked in political polling for 16 months, which allowed me to solidify strong links with the sector. However, it required the deprioritisation of my academic work and publications, which I am now keen to make my first priority whilst also building on my experience of teaching (which I thoroughly enjoy) and seeking a permanent academic position.

PhD Awarded Date

07 December 2017

PhD Submitted Date

If your PhD has been submitted but it has not yet been examined, please enter the date of submission in this field:

No Response

PhD Expected Date

If your PhD has not yet been submitted or examined, please enter the expected date of submission, which must be sufficiently before 1 April 2019 to enable the viva voce examination to be held by then, in this field:

No Response

Name of Doctoral Supervisor

Please state the name of your doctoral supervisor(s):

Professor Robert Johns

Name of Examiners

Please state the name of your internal and external examiners:

If not yet known, please state not known.

Professor Catherine De Vries (Internal)

Professor Sonja Zmerli (External)

Other Academic Experience

Please provide details of all academic posts held prior to your present position (with dates), including any teaching experience gained during the course of doctoral registration.

Please include details of any experience in organizing conferences, workshops and wiki-based discussions.

If none, please state none:

September 2019 - Present: Co-opted organiser (voluntary) of the Political Studies Association (PSA) Elections, Public Opinion and Parties (EPOP) panels at the 2020 PSA Annual International Conference.

September 2018 - Present: LSE Fellow (full-time) teaching classes on GV101 Introduction to Political Science.

July 2017 - July 2019: Secretary (voluntary) of the Political Studies Association Early Career Network (ECN), including responsibility for organising ECN workshops on careers inside and outside academia, and

diversity in academia, and for co-organising the annual ECN one-day academic conference.

January 2018 – May 2018: Module Co-Leader on GV205 Measuring Public Opinion module, Department of Government, University of Essex.

May 2017 – August 2018: Data Analyst, Political and Social Research Team, YouGov.

January 2017 – April 2017: Teaching Assistant on GV150 Politics and Power module, Department of Government, University of Essex.

October 2016 – December 2016: Teaching Assistant on GV100 Introduction to Politics module, Department of Government, University of Essex.

July 2016: Teaching Assistant on Introduction to Survey Data Analysis course, Essex Summer School in Social Science Data Analysis.

January 2016 – March 2016: Teaching Assistant on GV150 Politics and Power module, Department of Government, University of Essex.

October 2016 – December 2015: Teaching Assistant on GV100 Introduction to Politics module Department of Government, University of Essex.

July 2015: Teaching Assistant on Practical Quantitative Research course, Essex Summer School in Social Science Data Analysis.

January 2015 – June 2015: Research Executive, Social and Political Research Team, YouGov.

October 2014 – December 2014: Teaching Assistant on GV207 Political Analysis: Introduction to Regression module, Department of Government, University of Essex.

July 2014: Teaching Assistant on Practical Quantitative Research course, Essex Summer School in Social Science Data Analysis.

March 2014 - June 2014: Research Assistant, Department of Government, University of Essex.

December 2013 – February 2014: Intern, Political and Social Research, YouGov.

July 2013: Teaching Assistant on Introduction to Survey Data Analysis course, Essex Summer School in Social Science Data Analysis.

Publications

Please list your principal and/or relevant publications in reverse chronological order, to a maximum of six:

Joe Greenwood and Joe Twyman, 'Exploring Authoritarian Populism in Britain', in Ivor Crewe and David Sanders (ed), *Authoritarian Populism and Liberal Democracy* (Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2020).

Joe Greenwood, 'Researching Political Participation Using Survey Data', *SAGE Research Methods Cases* (London, SAGE, 2019), available online: <http://methods.sagepub.com/case/researching-political-participation-using-survey-data>

Unpublished Research

Please list any extant unpublished projects funded by the Academy or any other agency, and their expected publication date (or other explanation):

No current funded research projects, but three planned publications:

Joe Greenwood, 'Teaching facts or teaching thinking: What should politics students learn in a "post-truth" age?', for submission to Teaching in Higher Education in November 2019.

Raynee Gutting and Joe Greenwood, 'Votes, booze, and marriage: Two survey experiments on the effects of framing and priming on support for votes at 16', for submission to a special edition of Parliamentary Affairs in January 2020.

Joe Greenwood, 'Self-Perceived Status and Perceptions of Politicians' Privilege: A survey order experiment', for submission to Political Studies Review in June 2020.

Previous Support Dates

Please give details of any research application submitted to the British Academy within the last five years:

Please note that only one British Academy research grant may be held, or applied for, at any one time.

N/A.

Where did you hear of this scheme?

Please indicate where you heard about this scheme:

Via a colleague at LSE.

Section 4 - Research Proposal

Subject Area

Please select the subject most relevant to your research:

Politics

Subject Area Detail - Politics

Please select the detail(s) of your Subject Area:

- Comparative Politics
- Electoral Studies
- Political Sociology - Politics
- Politics of a Specific Area or Region

Title of Research Proposal

Please state the title of your proposed research:

Capital, Privilege, and Political Participation in Britain and Beyond

Abstract

Please provide a short abstract summarising your proposed research in terms suitable for an informed general audience, not one specialised in your field:

This research tackles a core conundrum of political behaviour: why do people participate in politics in different ways and to different extents? Drawing on sociology and social psychology, it examines the links between economic, social, and cultural capital, perceptions of privilege, and political participation. It exploits unique, original, and detailed quantitative and qualitative data to shed light on those relationships in pre-Brexit Britain, and links them to the outcomes of the 2015 and 2017 general elections, and the 2016 EU referendum. It also deploys original conjoint survey experiments in the UK, Sweden, Poland, and India to examine how the privilege of politicians impacts on their perceived ability to represent, and on self-perceived status amongst electorates. These findings will be used to prompt the identification of solutions to participatory inequality in Britain, which will be produced in collaboration with political parties and organisation focusing on political engagement and social inequality.

Proposed Host Institution

Please indicate here your choice of host institution, including the appropriate Faculty, Department, Research Institute or College where you propose to work:

University of Strathclyde, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, School of Government and Public Policy.

Reason(s) for choice of host institution

Please explain the reason(s) for your choice of UK host institution (the university/research institute, department):

The School of Government and Public Policy at the University of Strathclyde boasts an array of expertise in political behaviour. This includes the Centre for Elections and Representation Studies, the members of which are leading experts in psephology and survey methods. There are colleagues who specialise in cross-national surveys and survey experiments as well as public opinion, and the availability of their advice and guidance is key to this research. Colleagues with relevant expertise include Dr. Heinz Brandenburg (the proposed mentor), Dr. Stefanie Reher, Prof. Thomas Scotto, Dr. Zachary Greene, Prof. Anthony McGann, and Prof. Robert Mattes. In terms of overall research excellence the School had 77% of its submitted outputs rated at 4* or 3* in the 2014 REF, with a particularly strong performance in impact. Further, the School has a culture of teaching excellence and a high intake of students from state schools, which matches my teaching priorities.

Previous Research

Please give a description of research already undertaken, normally referring to the doctoral thesis:

My doctoral thesis focused on a core conundrum in political behaviour research: why do people participate in politics in different ways and to different extents? This focus reflected a concern with the proper functioning of democracy: if some people cannot participate in particular ways because they lack resources or perceive barriers to entry then democracy is not functioning as it should. Drawing on sociology and social psychology, my research focused on measuring and examining the relationships between resources, perceptions of the self, society, and politicians, and participation in non-electoral political activities. I drew on Pierre Bourdieu's work to argue that economic, social, and cultural capital are important mechanisms of structural privilege, which I conceptualise as an intersectional rather than class-based phenomenon. Capital is a resource that enables participation in a range of activities including political ones, whilst its absence is a barrier to participation. One way in which capital facilitates participation is by imbuing individuals with a sense of comfort in certain environments, which is indicative of the importance of perceptions. Whether or not people feel that they belong relates not only to structural privilege but also to perception of privilege. I developed the latter concept with reference to Daryl J. Bem's self-perception theory, as well as Social Identity Theory and Self-Categorisation Theory. I posited that perception of privilege is constituted by perceptions of one's own status in society, explanations for that status, and explanations for status differences more generally. Finally, my dependent variable was non-electoral participation, which I focused on as the life-blood of democratic decision-making for the months and years between elections. Specifically,

I adopted Pattie, Seyd, and Whiteley's typology of such participation: individualised, contacting, and collective.

The above concepts were measured in two original surveys fielded to a representative sample of 1,480 GB adults drawn from YouGov's online panel of survey respondents. This produced a rich dataset with an array of variables including income and wealth; number, diversity and statuses of friends, and strength of relationships; and frequency of cultural activities inside and outside the home. The data also includes measures of the three components of perceived privilege outlined above, and frequency of participation in an array of political activities. This is the first dataset to include such a breadth and depth of measures of these phenomena in Britain. The data was analysed using structural equation modelling, to investigate not only the specific behaviours that relate to the key concepts, but also the relationships between those concepts. Two key findings emerged from the analysis: first, cultural capital matters. When controlling for background characteristics and political dispositions, the relationship between political participation and cultural capital is stronger than those for economic capital and many components of social capital. Second, perception of privilege channels people towards particular types of political participation. Those who have different explanations for their own status than for the statuses of others are especially likely to undertake individualised political participation, whilst those who consistently perceive privilege as a factor in status are likely to participate in individualised, contacting, and collective activities. In addition to building important links between political sociology, social psychology, and political behaviour, these findings indicate that work considering the marginalisation from day-to-day democratic politics should pay attention to cultural as well as economic and social capital. Further, the perceptual findings suggest that political engagement efforts should be directed towards ensuring not only the diversity but also the visible diversity of those involved in politics.

Proposed Programme

Please give a detailed description of the research programme, including methodology:

Applicants should be aware of the importance that assessors place on the viability, specificity and originality of the research programme and of its achievability within the timescale, which should be specified in the Plan of Action.

The question of what drives inequality in political participation has gained new salience with narratives of the 'left-behind' emerging from the populism's rise in recent years. Explanations for that rise combine economic and cultural factors but a gap remains regarding individual-level relationships between economic, social and cultural capital, political participation, and electoral behaviour. This research exploits unique, original, and detailed quantitative and qualitative data to shed light on those relationships in pre-Brexit Britain, and links them to the outcomes of the 2015 and 2017 general elections, and the 2016 EU referendum. It also examines how the privilege of politicians in four countries impacts on their perceived ability to represent, and on self-perceived status amongst the electorate. These findings will provide the basis for collaboratively identified solutions to participatory inequality in Britain. The research extends my thesis in three directions:

- Mixed methods analysis; undertaking an extended analysis of the variables in the quantitative dataset gathered for my PhD and original qualitative data also gathered on the topic;
- Comparative conjoint experiments; conducting survey experiments in the UK, Sweden, Poland, and India to examine the effects of political candidates' capital profiles on their perceived ability to represent, and on respondents' self-perceived statuses;
- Solutions; working with political parties and organisations focusing on political engagements and social inequality to propose ways of addressing unequal access to day-to-day political life.

Strand one – Mixed-methods analysis:

The first strand of this research draws on the richness of the survey data that was gathered for my PhD, which contains approximately 900 data points on each respondent. This is an unrivalled dataset in terms of the detailed insight it provides into economic, social, and cultural capital, perceptions of the self and society

at large, and political behaviour and preferences at the time of fielding and subsequently. The data contains detailed variables covering economic and social capital but its particular strength is the breadth and depth the following measures:

- Cultural capital, including activities inside and outside the home, tastes in film, music, and cuisine, and holiday pastimes;
- Perception of privilege, including self-perceived status, explanations for own and others' statuses, self-perceived class, self-perceived accent, the positive or negative role background in determining own status, and perceived indicators of status;
- Participation, including political acts, civic roles held, prospective political activities, and voting behaviour in the 2015 general election, 2016 EU referendum, and 2017 general election.

The examination of the quantitative data will be part of an overarching mixed-methods analysis also encompassing qualitative data that fell outside the scope of my thesis: the anonymised transcripts of 41 semi-structured interviews conducted with activists and volunteers, politically inactive people, and MPs, and of four focus groups held after political engagement events. These data cover participants' understandings of politics and barriers to participation, the reasons for their (lack of) activities, and the concept of privilege. A thematic analysis will be undertaken to identify the commonalities and differences between participants' understandings and explanations, as well as the relationships between them. Together with the quantitative data, this will provide an extensive and detailed examination of capital, privilege, and participation in pre-Brexit Britain. In doing so, the research will paint a new picture of the social and psychological terrain preceding the 2016 EU referendum whilst analysing previously overlooked factors in recent electoral outcomes.

Strand two – Comparative conjoint experiments:

The second strand of the research will deploy survey experiments to shed light on the effects of candidates' capital profiles on perceptions of representation and status in the UK, Sweden, Poland, and India. The first two of those countries represent most and least likely cases for observing the impact of candidates' capital: the UK is renowned for the prominence of social structure in public discourse, whilst Sweden practices a more egalitarian form of social democracy. Poland is of interest because of its experience of an imposed egalitarian system and subsequent problematic market liberalisation. Finally, India presents a prominent social structure organised on a distinct basis from the occupational landscape of industrial Europe. These countries also benefit from having varied electoral and party systems, ranging from the multi-member district party-list system in Sweden, where candidate characteristics may be less important, to single-member district plurality in the UK and India, and a mix in Poland. In line with the underlying social-psychological theories deployed, it is hypothesised that the capital profiles of candidates will have an effect in all four countries, albeit to varying degrees given the differing social and electoral contexts.

The focus on perceptions will draw on Social Identity Theory (Tajfel 1979), which suggests that individuals organise into groups with ease and that group membership forms part of identity. It will further draw on Self-Categorisation Theory (Turner and Reynolds 2012), which posits that salient group membership and identity will vary between contexts. These will be combined with Daryl J. Bem's (1970) self-perception theory, which argues that individuals assess their status based on external indicators in any given context. The experiments will present respondents with three pairs of hypothetical political candidates with randomly varied characteristics and ask which one they feel would best represent them. The varied characteristics will be gender, ethnicity, education, policy interests, previous occupation, previous income, statuses of friends, and cultural activities. With the exception of a control group that will not see them, the candidate profiles will be followed by a question relating to self-perceived status. A quote has already been received from YouGov confirming that they can field the survey experiments in the four countries within the £6,000 budget available for research costs.

The analysis of the experimental data will focus on the effects of candidates' cultural capital on their perceived capacity to represent respondents. The hypothesis is that candidates with highbrow cultural

capital will be seen as less able to represent. Counter to the idea that voters should prefer higher status candidates because of their qualifications, this builds on the work of Carnes and Lupu (2016) showing that voters see working class candidates as more relatable. The randomisation of other characteristics allows the isolation of the effects of cultural capital, comparison of the effects of cultural capital against those of other characteristics, and comparison against the effects of economic and social capital in particular. The placement of the candidate questions before the self-perceived status question provides an additional opportunity for experimental analysis. Respondents will randomly see more or fewer candidates with the characteristics of interest, allowing assessment of the effects of the hypothetical political environment on self-perceived statuses. The hypothesis is that respondents who are exposed to a surfeit of candidates who are the apparent beneficiaries of structural privilege will report lower self-perceived status. Thus, the experiments will allow assessment of the effects of candidates' capital profiles on how represented people feel and their sense of their own statuses in the four countries under study.

Strand three – Solutions:

The final strand of the research is policy and practice orientated, focusing on identifying solutions to inequalities in political participation associated with structural and perceived privilege. It will engage with political parties and organisations focusing on political engagements and social inequality in Britain to present the empirical findings of the first two research strands. This will provide the starting point for discussions about how to remove barriers to entry into day-to-day politics and change perceptions of politics as a domain reserved for the privileged. Discussions will be open, and the accumulated policy and practical suggestions will be synthesised into recommendations. These will be incorporated into an academic article and provide the basis for a report that will face the public and policymakers. The plan of action includes a list of relevant organisations, and the collaborative nature of the recommendations and their dissemination will increase their prominence amongst policy-makers and practitioners in Britain. Combined, the three strands of the research will shed new light on participatory inequalities in pre-Brexit Britain and link them to subsequent electoral outcomes, comparatively examine the impact of perceived privilege on the sense of representation in four countries, and use these findings to prompt collaborative identification of workable solutions to participatory inequality in Britain.

Selected bibliography:

- Bem, Daryl J. 1970. *Beliefs, Attitudes, and Human Affairs*. Belmont, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1986. 'The Forms of Capital.' In *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, edited by John G. Richardson, 241-258. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Carnes, Nicholas, and Noam Lupu. 2016. 'Do Voters Dislike Working-Class Candidates? Voter Biases and the Descriptive Underrepresentation of the Working Class.' *American Political Science Review* 110 (4): 832-844.
- Pattie, Charles, Patrick Seyd, and Paul Whiteley. 2004. *Citizenship in Britain: Values, Participation and Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tajfel, H. (1979). "Individuals and groups in social psychology". *British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*. 18 (2): 183-190.
- Turner, John C., and Katherine J. Reynolds. 2012. 'Self-Categorization Theory'. In *Handbook of Theories of Social Psychology*, edited by Paul A. M. Van Lange, Arie W. Kruglanski, and E. Tory Higgins, pp. 400-414. London: Sage Publications.

Plan of Action

Please indicate here a clear timetable for your research programme:

Try to be as realistic as possible, but keep in mind that research programmes will develop over time and this plan of action is not something that is expected to account for every minute and is not unchangeable. But your chances of award will be affected by the assessors' perception of how viable and realistic this plan is.

First year: September 2020 – August 2021:

Note: The quantitative and qualitative data for the first strand of the research has already been collected.

September 2020 – November 2020:

- Review and updating the literature review undertaken for the PhD;
- Draft proposal for a monograph titled 'Capital, Privilege, and Political Participation in Pre-Brexit Britain' and submit to Routledge.

December 2020 – February 2021:

- Process and analyse the quantitative data;
- Complete the thematic analysis of the qualitative data;
- Incorporate initial findings into the book proposal alongside responses to feedback from Routledge.

March 2021 – August 2021:

- Draft full monograph manuscript;
- Undertake necessary additional quantitative and qualitative analysis;
- Submit complete draft book manuscript to Routledge by September 2021.

Second year: September 2021 – August 2022:

September 2021 – November 2021:

- Review of literature relating to representation, candidate preferences, and experimental studies;
- Draft experimental questions for review by colleagues;
- Seek quotes for fieldwork (including translation) from survey research agencies:
 - Note: a quote has already been received from YouGov confirming that they can field the survey experiments in the UK, Sweden, Poland, and India within the £6,000 budget available for research costs;

December 2021 – February 2022:

- Simultaneously field of the survey experiments to representative samples in the four countries under study, which should take no more than two weeks;
- Process and analyse the data, and draft the article;
- Revise the monograph manuscript addressing comments from Routledge.

March 2022 – May 2022:

- Finalise the article manuscript and seek feedback from relevant colleagues before submitting to the American Journal of Political Science.

June 2022 – August 2022:

- With the findings of the first two strands of the research finalised, contact the organisations that will be worked with for the third strand of the research to arrange presentation of the findings. The organisations that will be approached are:
 - The Electoral Commission;
 - The Parliamentary Outreach and Engagement Service;
 - The Hansard Society;
 - Democratic Audit;
 - The Joseph Rowntree Foundation;
 - The British Youth Council;
 - The Conservative Party;
 - The Labour Party;
 - The Liberal Democrat Party;
 - The Scottish National Party;
 - Plaid Cymru.

Third year: September 2022 – August 2023:

September 2022 – November 2022:

- Continue meetings with the above organisations to disseminate the findings of the first two strands of the research.
- Use the meetings as a springboard to arrange follow-up interviews with relevant individuals in each organisation.
- Make revisions to the survey experiment article in response to peer review and resubmit to the American

Journal of Political Science or, if necessary, submit to the American Political Science Review.

December 2022 – February 2023:

- Conduct follow-up interviews with the above organisations, focusing on identifying practical solutions to barriers to political participation. Interviews will, where possible, be arranged via phone or Skype to avoid incurring travel costs.
- Facilitate exchange of ideas by maintaining dialogue with interviewees and organisations so that they can comment on suggestions emerging from subsequent interviews and other organisations.

March 2023 – May 2023:

- Analyse the notes from the interviews and subsequent discussions, and draw them together into key recommendations that will be incorporated into a draft journal article;
- Send draft recommendations article to interviewees and organisations for review.

June 2023 – August 2023:

- Respond to feedback on the solutions article from individuals and organisations, and prepare it for submission to Parliamentary Affairs;
- Write report focusing on the key recommendations in the article;
- Disseminate the above report collaboratively with the organisations involved.

Planned Research Outputs

Please indicate here what the expected output(s) from your research programme might be.

As appropriate, please indicate as follows: monograph, journal article(s), book chapter(s), digital resources, other (please specify).

Please outline your plans for publication under Plans for publication/dissemination below:

Strand one – Mixed-methods analysis:

- Monograph titled 'Capital, Privilege, and Political Participation in Pre-Brexit Britain', for publication by Routledge. The full manuscript for this book will be submitted to the publisher by September 2021.
- Note: the quantitative and qualitative data that will be analysed for the above have already been gathered, are anonymised, and will be deposited with the UK Data Service.

Strand two – Comparative conjoint experiments:

- Research article titled 'Candidates' Capital and Public Perceptions of Representation in Four Democracies', for submission to the American Journal of Political Science by June 2022.
- Dataset of responses to survey experiments on candidate characteristics, especially their capital profiles, and perceptions of their ability to represent, in the UK, Sweden, Poland, and India. These survey data will be fully anonymised and deposited with the UK Data Service.

Strand three – Solutions:

- Research article titled 'Recommendations for Breaking Down Barriers to Political Participation in Britain' for submission to Parliamentary Affairs by September 2023;
- Public report presenting the key recommendations from the research article, to be prepared by September 2023.

Plans for Publication and Dissemination

Please state in more detail here what plans you have for publication or other dissemination of your research, including potential publishers, journals, conferences etc that are appropriate for your research subject:

Academic Publications:

- The first output will be a monograph titled 'Capital, Privilege, and Political Participation in Pre-Brexit Britain' to be proposed for publication by Routledge. This publisher has previously published books by

Pierre Bourdieu, and related texts, which are thematically related to significant components of the monograph.

- The journal that will be targeted for the second research output, a research article titled 'Candidates' Capital and Public Perceptions of Representation in Four Democracies', is the American Journal of Political Science. This is a leading journal in the discipline of political science globally, and the comparative and experimental nature of the research renders it relevant to an international readership.

- The journal that will be targeted for the third output, a research article titled 'Recommendations for Breaking Down Barriers to Political Participation in Britain', is Parliamentary Affairs. This journal focuses on politics in the United Kingdom and is linked to the Hansard Society, which is one of the organisations that will be engaged with during the third stage of the research.

Public Report:

- The third strand of the research constitutes dissemination in itself. The first step in engaging with the organisations listed in the plan of action will be the presentation of the findings from the first two strands of the research. The resulting article, focusing on policy and practical solutions to barriers to political participation, will provide the basis for a public report that will be disseminated, including to policy-makers, in collaboration with the consulted organisations.

Academic Conferences:

- The British focus of the first strand of the research is such the 2021 PSA Annual International Conference will be targeted for its presentation. The theory developed for and underpinning the research is more broadly applicable so the APSA Annual Meeting will also be targeted in the same year.

- The comparative nature of the second strand of the research means that the 2022 IPSA World Congress will be targeted for its presentation. The choice of three European countries as cases means that it will also be beneficial to present it at the ECPR General Conference in the same year.

- The focus of the third strand of the research on policy and practical solutions to barriers to political participation in Britain means that it will be most appropriate to present the research at the PSA Annual International Conference in 2023.

- It may also be beneficial to present at sub-disciplinary conferences such as the EPOP Annual Conference and the Annual Meeting of the ISPP.

- Note: The BA research funds will be used to cover the costs of the survey experiments so additional funding will be sought for conference costs. An application will be submitted to the Carnegie Trust Research Incentive Grant scheme, which has been successfully applied to by colleagues at Strathclyde who can advise on the process. The application will also seek costs to add non-experimental components to the cross-national surveys.

Digital Resource

If the primary product of the research will be a digital resource have you obtained guidance on appropriate standards and methods?

- Yes
- No

Deposit of Datasets

Please provide details of how and where any electronic or digital data (including datasets) developed during the project will be stored, along with details on the appropriate methods of access:

It is a condition of award that all data be freely accessible during, and beyond, the lifetime of the project.

The quantitative and qualitative data that will be analysed for the first strand of the research have already

been gathered, are anonymised, and will be deposited with the UK Data Service.

The conjoint survey experiment data relating to the UK, Sweden, Poland, and India will be fully anonymised and deposited with the UK Data Service.

Anyone wishing to access the data for academic or non-profit research purposes, will be able to do so for free by registering on the UK Data Service website.

Besides upload to the UK Data Service, the anonymised survey data and non-anonymised qualitative interview transcripts will be stored on my personal computer, which is password protected.

Project Start Date

Please state the start date of the proposed research:

01 September 2020

Project End Date

Please state the end date of the proposed research:

31 August 2023

Language Competence

Please indicate here, if relevant, your level of language competence, or otherwise explain how the objectives of the research will be met:

I do not speak Swedish, Polish, Hindi, or other languages that are widely spoken in India. However, survey research companies commonly offer translation services when fielding surveys across multiple countries. Further, the conjoint survey experiments will be very short (four questions in total) so, if such services are not available, I have colleagues and friends who are native speakers of the relevant languages and will be willing to translate the questions.

Endangered or Emerging Subject Area

Applicants should be intending to pursue original, independent research in any field of study within the humanities or social sciences. There are no quotas for individual subject areas and no thematic priorities. The primary factor in assessing applications will remain the excellence of the proposal. The Academy will, however, where appropriate, take into account the aim of providing particular support for certain important fields, either emerging areas of scholarship or areas of research that are endangered or under threat.

N/A.

Ethical Issues

Are there any special ethical issues arising from your proposal that are not covered by the relevant professional Code of Practice? You must answer yes or no:

No

Have you obtained, or will you obtain ethical approval from your employing institution or other relevant authority? You must answer yes or no:

No

If the answers are yes to special ethical issues and no to having obtained prior approval, please describe here the non-standard ethical issues arising from your research and how you will address them:

If the answer is no to special ethical issues please enter N/A

N/A.

Section 5 - Equal Opportunities

Gender

Please indicate your gender:

Male

Age

Please indicate which age group you are in:

30-39

Date of Birth

Please state your date of birth:

11 September 1984

Ethnic Origin

Please state your ethnic origin:

White - British

Disabilities

The Equality Act defines disability as "A physical or mental impairment which has a substantial and long-term negative effect on the person's ability to carry out normal daily activities". If this applies, please specify the nature of the disability:

N/A.