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A Social Analysis of Women's Sporting Practices

By
Doris Emma McIlroy

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Masters of Arts
in Canadian Studies

Carleton University
OTTAWA, Ontario
March 1988.

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in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

Suzanne Lalonde
Thesis Supervisor

P. Smart
Acting Director,
Institute of Canadian Studies

Abstract

This thesis is an analysis of the sporting tastes of two groups of Canadian women occupying positions remote from each other in social space. They are identified as manual workers with low economic and cultural capital and professional women in the visual arts, with relatively high economic and cultural capital.

An attempt was made, using the theoretical insights and concepts of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, to grasp the specific social logic underlying the sporting tastes and distastes of the two social groups. Regular and non-regular practices, the modality of practices, as well as sports found appealing or non-appealing were taken into account. Practices relating to the body, such as health and beauty, were also taken into account.

The findings showed a certain systematic ordering of sporting tastes according to social class and an analysis of these findings suggested that the distribution of sporting preferences and practices was related to a disposition toward the body conditioned by volume and composition of capital.

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Table of Contents

	Page
Chapter One	
1.0 Introduction.....	1
1.1 The Object of Study.....	2
1.2 The Problem.....	2
1.3 Revelancy.....	4
1.4 Limitations.....	5
1.5 Thesis Structure.....	5

Chapter Two

2.0 Literature Review.....	7
2.1 Atheoretical Approach.....	7
2.2 The General North American Approach.....	9
2.3 More Specific Approaches.....	11
2.3.1 Symbolic Interactionist Perspective.....	11
2.3.2 Marxist Perspective.....	12
2.3.3 Feminist Perspective.....	12
2.4 Bourdieu's Theory.....	14
2.4.1 Practical Analyses Based on Bourdieu's Theory.....	15

Chapter Three

3.0 Identification of the Theoretical Frame of Reference.....	16
3.1 Review of the Model.....	16
3.1.1 Theoretical Foundations.....	16
3.1.2 Review of the Model and Some Basic Concepts.....	19

3.2	Elaborations on Some Key Concepts.....	22
3.2.1	Relation to One's Own Body.....	22
3.2.2	Social Space.....	24
3.3	Class Habits and the Question of Gender.....	26

Chapter Four

4.0	Methodology.....	30
4.1	Subjects.....	30
4.1.1	Prerequisites.....	31
4.1.2	The Sample.....	31
4.2	The Interview.....	33
4.3	Data Collection.....	34
4.3	Content Analysis.....	36

Chapter Five

5.0	The Social Logics Behind Sporting Tastes.....	38
5.1	Preferences and Rejections.....	39
5.1.1	Regular Practices.....	41
5.1.2	Modality of Practices.....	42
5.1.3	Similarities and Differences in Sports that Appeal.....	45
5.2	Similar Preferences--Similar Rejections	
	Similar Underlying Logics?.....	47
5.2.1	Curling.....	48
5.2.2	Body-building.....	50
5.2.3	Golf.....	53
5.2.3.1	Rationale Underlying Golfing Preferences....	53
5.2.3.2	Rationale Underlying Golfing Rejections....	54

Chapter Two

2.0

Literature Review

The literature review is structured in terms of theoretical orientations. In the first part, the general North American approach to the study of the social aspects of sport will be discussed, followed by more specific theoretical positions taken by various authors. The second part is a short discussion of a European approach, specifically Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework. This part will include a brief review of authors who have used this approach in their research.

In both parts, an attempt will be made to highlight Canadian findings and Canadian scholarship.

2.1

Atheoretical Approach

Can I Play? The Report on the Task Force on Equal Opportunity in Athletics (vol. 1-1983, vol 2-1984) and *Changing Times: Women and Physical Activity* (1984) are (respectively) Ontario and Canadian government reports on findings relating to women's sporting activity.

'Can I Play?' documents inequalities in school, university and community programs and facilities, and discusses inequalities in the law. This report is

Postscript

Bourdieu's Theoretical Framework as an Analytic Tool for Feminist Research

Feminist Theory.....	112
A Scientific Method.....	114
The Structures of the Sex-Gender System.....	117
Bibliography.....	123

List of Figures

Figure 1 Diagram of Bourdieu's Model of Class Habitus and the 'space of life-styles'.....	21
--	----

List of Tables

Table 5.1 Regular Sporting Practices of Manual Workers and Professionals.....	40
Table 5.2 Non-Regular Sporting Practices of Manual Workers and Professionals.....	40
Table 5.3 Sporting Practices That Appeal.....	46
Table 5.4 Sporting Practices That do not Appeal.....	46
Table 5.5 Sporting Tastes and Distastes of Each Social Group.....	47
Table 5.6 Cosmetic Practices of Both Social Groups....	91
Table 5.7 Being a Woman and a 'Sense of Place'.....	100

Chapter One

1.0

Introduction

In recent years, women's studies in the field of sport and physical activity have grown substantially. Studies relating socio-economic factors, perceived femininity, gender-role conflict, and the influence of peers, teachers or parents on women's sporting practices have not only contributed to our understanding of women's sporting experiences but have highlighted the need for further questioning and research.

Quite often, discussions have centered around male and female differences, thus contributing to the stereotypic idea of female inferiority based on physical strength or aerobic capacity. This thesis takes a different approach. It is not a comparison of the sporting practices of men and women, but rather, it is an attempt to understand the social logic underlying the sporting practices of two groups of women occupying positions remote from each other in social space and living in an androcentric culture. According to Birrell (1984:130):

The most enlightening research will follow from the assumption that women are different from men and the significant differences do not lie in biological or physiological differences nor in any inherent psychological differences but in a profound way that emanates from women's different social situation.

Volume and composition of capital, and the structure of gender relations are the social situations this thesis attempts to take into account.

1.1

The Object of Study

The object of study is women's sport and physical activity as it is practiced in their spare time, and has nothing to do with national sport selection, carded athletes or international competitions. The definition of sport in this study includes "any competitive physical activity that is guided by established rules." (Eitzen and Sage 1978:16) plus the notion of physical activities that are not competitive and have no set of formal rules, for example, running and exercise classes. It includes also the concept of sport and physical activity as a cultural commodity like art or music. The terms, 'sporting practices', 'sports' or just 'physical activity' will be used interchangeably throughout.

1.2

The Problem

The problem is to try to understand the social logic underlying the sporting tastes and distastes of women representing two distinct positions in social space, those with low economic and cultural capital and those with relatively high economic and cultural capital. It is a study of the cultural tastes of women representing two distinct segments of Canadian society, the professional class and the working class. Priority is given to their tastes in sport and physical activity, but

tastes in other areas of life-style relating to the body are also examined in order to gain some insight into the schemes of disposition and perception that govern practices relating to the body.

The aim of this thesis is to attempt to contribute to our understanding of the social practice of sport by using the sociological concepts and theory of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu as a theoretical frame of reference.

The central focus of the analysis is on sporting tastes, and the goal is to try to understand the social logic behind sporting preferences and rejections of each social group. It is hoped that by examining perceptions of the immediate and deferred benefits expected from physical activity, and the meaning sport holds for each group that some light might be shed on the social logic underlying sporting tastes.

The conceptual frame of reference and complementary methodology employed in social research flows from, that is, is directed by, the question under study. Since this thesis attempts to examine the expressions and feelings of women concerning their own and other peoples sporting practices, it seems to me that Bourdieu's conceptual frame of reference is a most appropriate one since it provides the concepts and theoretical insights permitting scientific discourse on feelings, conceptions, perceptions and social judgements. It permits discourse

relating to cultural capital and power as well as economic capital and power, and also takes material conditions and the conditionings they cause into account.

1.3

Relevancy

It seems to me that this thesis is relevant for the following three reasons:

- Scientific discourse in the social sciences has, until recently, been mainly from a male perspective representing a male normative world. It is hoped that this thesis may contribute to a more balanced perspective.
- Studies relating inequalities with social structures have primarily been centered on the structures of labour relations while inequalities in terms of gender relations have been hidden under the myth that biology is destiny. From a woman-centered perspective it is not important that men and women are biologically different, what is important is that men and women occupy different positions of power in social space. This thesis, in a very general way, attempts to take this into account.
- Understanding something of the social logic behind women's sporting preferences and practices may also contribute to our understanding of Canadian culture.

1.4

Limitations

Because of the decision to restrict the analysis to two social groups, i.e., those occupying positions remote from each other in social space, the analysis is limited in that the sporting tastes of the middle class and class fractions are not included in the study. It is limited in other respects as well. Bourdieu has not stressed the social position of women in any detail; however, by using his concepts and theoretical insights, I shall attempt to uncover the specific social logic behind the sporting practices of women living in an androcentric culture; but it must be emphasized that this is an exploratory effort.

1.5

Thesis Structure

Chapter two reviews the literature in terms of theoretical orientations with special attention given to works related to women's sporting experience and Canadian scholarship. It includes as well those authors who have used Bourdieu's theoretical frame of reference in their analyses.

Chapter three is concerned with reviewing Bourdieu's theoretical position, his model of class habitus and the 'space of life-styles' and elaborating on some key concepts.

Chapter four contains a detailed description of the qualitative methodology used in this study, i.e.,

construction of interview questions, interview strategy, and content analysis.

In keeping with the notion of the unifying nature of the habitus, a rather long examination of the findings is presented in chapter five. The first section is concerned with presenting data on regular and non-regular sporting practices, as well as data relating to practices that appeal or do not appeal, in order to expose any similarities or differences. In subsequent sections an attempt is made to analyze the perceptions and social judgements of the two social groups regarding their own and other peoples sporting practices, as well as other practices relating to the body, in order to try to uncover the social logic behind the observed similarities and differences.

Chapter six concludes the thesis with a brief summary of the findings, its implications and suggestions for future work.

The chapter on feminist theory takes the form of a postscript, since the thesis itself is completed with chapter six. Bourdieu's theoretical frame of reference offers the conceptual tools with which to objectify power in a variety of forms, economic, cultural and symbolic; so the aim of the postscript is to present Bourdieu's theoretical framework as one possible tool with which to examine, more concretely, women's experience in androcentric culture.

Chapter Two

2.0

Literature Review

The literature review is structured in terms of theoretical orientations. In the first part, the general North American approach to the study of the social aspects of sport will be discussed, followed by more specific theoretical positions taken by various authors. The second part is a short discussion of a European approach, specifically Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework. This part will include a brief review of authors who have used this approach in their research.

In both parts, an attempt will be made to highlight Canadian findings and Canadian scholarship.

2.1

Atheoretical Approach

Can I Play? The Report on the Task Force on Equal Opportunity in Athletics (vol. 1-1983, vol 2-1984) and *Changing Times: Women and Physical Activity* (1984) are (respectively) Ontario and Canadian government reports on findings relating to women's sporting activity.

'Can I Play?' documents inequalities in school, university and community programs and facilities, and discusses inequalities in the law. This report is

interesting in that it presents documented evidence of common knowledge related to social inequalities directed toward women with respect to sport and physical activity. For the most part, it is a comparison of male and female participation in a variety of sports, and a demonstration of the imbalance of funding in favour of males. It is unfortunate that some very stereotypic language is used in this report. Consider the following remark: "Generally, the games and sport skills introduced in the junior grades are male-oriented, for example, ball throwing and catching." (1984:14) Another point which is objectionable is the inclusion of the physiological differences between boys and girls as an issue worthy of discussion. Both of these are unnecessary and only contribute to reinforcing androcentric values.

'Changing Times' presents some interesting and informative material on the physical activity of Canadian women, but it has its drawbacks as well. For example, the definition of being physically active is not completely satisfactory. Being physically active is defined as "an average of at least three hours of leisure time physical activity per week for at least nine months a year." (1984:6) The problem is that gardening, jogging or exercise class are all given equal weight. How can we put much stock in these statistics if running and gardening three hours a week represent equal levels of physical activity? Another problem is that women are differentiated only according to two role categories: employed/students and housewives. Although Appendix A

lists 1981 statistics on activity levels of Canadian females according to education level, and occupation (among other categories), the bulk of the text does not allow comparisons between different socio-professional categories.

These government reports highlight problems surrounding the Canadian experience, but it must be pointed out that within the literature there exists an abundance of information concerning problems of definition, historical analyses, discussions of leisure and spare time, physiological and psychological aspects, plus reviews and critiques of various research orientations.

2.2 The General North American Approach

Much of the North American literature dealing with the social dimension of sport and physical activity falls within a functionalist framework. Most often the orientations are implicit, the work of Snyder & Spreitzer (1978); Sutton-Smith (1981); Hall (1976); Phillips (1972); Melcher & Sage (1978) and Greendorfer (1979) are some examples. The work of Kenyon & McPherson (1973); Eitzen & Sage (1978); Snyder & Spreitzer (1976); Stone (1979) and Coakley (1978) seem to be more explicit; however, according to Kenyon (1986:21), "an analysis of the literature suggested that in explicit terms theory hardly prevails, but in more implicit terms it shows up here and there."

The functionalist approach aims to show how factors within the social structure regulate sporting behavior and how and why sport maintains existing cultural and social life. Most prominent are correlational studies which tend to emphasize a mechanical relationship between certain psycho-social variables and women's sporting practices. For example, Greendorfer (1977,1979) and Greendorfer and Lewko (1978) studied the influence of parents, teachers, peers and other family members as variables influencing female sport participation. Eitzen & Sage (1978) discuss child socialization and gender identity as factors influencing female participation in sport and physical activity, but also illustrate the effects of social structures, societal pressures, and women's unequal authority and power structure as variables limiting female sport participation.

Following a specific theoretical persuasion may lead one to creative research problems, or to pose the question in a specific way, or even force one to ignore certain questions, but as Kenyon (1986) points out, there is no right or wrong theory.

For the most part, the functionalist framework responds to questions concerning specific variables and their relationship to particular sporting behaviors. Critics of this theoretical orientation point out that to focus only on function and ignore economic, symbolic and power relations, serves only to maintain the status quo. Organizing research under this paradigm forces one to

treat class relations, gender relations and the structures of power as non problematic. Nevertheless, a great deal of information has been gathered using this approach; it has stimulated and continues to stimulate further questioning and research. The task now is to build on these findings.

2.3 More Specific Approaches

2.3.1 Symbolic Interactionist Perspective

The principles of interaction theory are explicated in Herbert Blumer's (1962) "Society as Symbolic Interaction". Here he lists some general propositions of interaction theory which were gleaned from Mead's *Mind, Self and Society*--a more complex statement of the theory. Blumer writes: "Human society is to be seen as consisting of acting people, and life of the society is to be seen as consisting of their actions." (1962:186) The individual is the focus of attention in analyses following this perspective. The works of Stone (1955, 1965), and Snyder (1986) are representative of this perspective. Snyder looked at athletics in higher education focusing on individuals' self-perceptions, social influences, and the interpersonal processes that influence opinions and actions associated with sport in the educational milieu. According to Snyder (1986:214) this perspective "stresses the process of constructing, defining, and negotiating the actions of individuals."

2.3.2

Marxist Perspective

Many employ a Marxist perspective in order to take inequality and class structures into account. Kidd (1978), Gruneau (1978,1983) and Beamish (1984) are three Canadian authors who use this theoretical framework.

Gruneau seeks a more comprehensive understanding of social class and social agency. In his book, *Class, Sport and Social Development* (1983), he rejects the view of human actors as puppets of social structures and attempts to address the aspect of agency in culture. He writes of the dialectical relationship between socially structured possibilities and human agency. Rob Beamish (1984) discusses materialism and the comprehension of gender related issues in sport focusing on female exclusion from participation and makes a case for a materialist framework.

2.3.3

Feminist Perspective

Canadian feminists scholars attempt to take the structures of power into account. For example, Hall (1984) and Bray (1984) follow a Marxist-feminist approach and seek to develop concepts and methodologies which analyze, more precisely, women's sporting experience.

Hall (1984) argues that feminism is a social theory, a theory of power and its distribution. She sees theory as a scheme of ideas that explains practices, the problem

she says "is that history, philosophy, sociology--indeed all of human intellectual history--are male thought, based on male experience. It is in a sense, an ideology of male supremacy." (Hall, 1984:87) According to Hall (1984:96) feminist theory "...rejects positivism but supports an interpretive model of social science; it seeks to uncover systems of social relationships; and it is interconnected with political practice."

Hall sees the theory of power and its distribution as the most powerful explanation concerning women's sport participation. She feels that Marxist-feminist theory must integrate, more profoundly, the complex relationship between class and patriarchy.

Boutillier and SanGiovanni are American feminists who attempt to understand women's sporting experience by integrating symbolic interactionism and conflict theory. In their book *Sporting Woman*, Boutillier and SanGiovanni's examine the nature of social scientific inquiry and the multiple approaches to feminism. They write:

We ask instead for a humanist sociology that combines the insights of symbolic interactionism with the contributions of conflict perspectives. (...) We also stress that such a humanist sociology is best generated by using qualitative research (e.g., participant observation, intensive interviews), which allows theory to emerge from the data itself rather than being imposed on it by preconceived ideas and structured techniques.

Boutillier and SanGiovanni, 1983:viii

Bourdieu also sees human society as being made up of acting people making choices and following strategies, but he goes further and demonstrates a relationship between conditions of existence, structured dispositions and practices.

2.4

Bourdieu's Theory

Bourdieu's theoretical framework is an analytic tool which takes cultural capital as well as economic capital into account. He writes:

Thus the theory of strictly economic practice is simply a particular case of a general theory of the economics of practice. The only way to escape from the ethnocentric naiveties of economism...is to carry out in full what economism does only partially, and to extend economic calculation to all the goods, material and symbolic, without distinction, that present themselves as rare and worthy of being sought after in a particular social formation--which may be "fair words" or smiles, handshakes or shrugs, compliments or attention, challenges or insults...etc.

Bourdieu, 1977a:177-178

Bourdieu discussed his theory with respect to sport and physical activity in a short article "Sport and social class" (1978) and in *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (1984). A brief review of his theory will be presented in Chapter three.

2.4.1 Practical Analyses Based on Bourdieu's Theory

Le Pogam (1979), Pociello (1979, 1981), Laberge (1983) and Laberge and Sankoff (1988) have conducted analyses based on Bourdieu's theoretical model. Le Pogam examined the symbolic social meaning of sporting practices of males representing two distinct segments of French society, workers and professionals.

Pociello (1981) looked at the social logics underlying the various modalities of playing rugby, and Laberge and Sankoff (1988) tried to identify the body habitus and class habitus of French speaking women from Montreal in order to try to understand the social logic underlying regular physical activity. The latter was based on responses to a semi-open questionnaire and complementary qualitative information from one hundred and eighty Montreal women representing five socio-economic levels.

The concepts and insights of Bourdieu's theoretical framework seem very well suited to the problem under study in this thesis, that is, the problem of trying to understand the social logic behind the sporting tastes of women representing different positions in social space.

The next chapter will briefly outline Bourdieu's theoretical frame of reference and review some key concepts.

Chapter Three

3.0 Identification of the Theoretical Frame of Reference

The theoretical frame of reference guiding this thesis is that of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. His model of class habitus and 'the space of life-styles' is outlined in *La Distinction: Critique sociale du jugement* (1979), English translation (1984). Both in this work and in his article "Sport and social class" (1978), Bourdieu relates his theoretical concepts to the domain of sporting practices, specifically to understanding the distribution of sporting practices among social classes and class fractions.

The aim of this chapter is to review the model, elaborate on some key concepts, and briefly discuss the application of the model with respect to the question of gender.

3.1 Review of the Model

3.1.1 Theoretical Foundations

Although Brubaker's (1985) article "Rethinking classical theory" is not meant as a thorough examination of the multiple sources of Bourdieu's insights, he sees Lévi-Strauss, Marx, Durkheim and especially Weber as important intellectual sources. He writes:

Bourdieu appropriates from Weber the conceptual resources for a theory of social functions 'of symbolic goods and symbolic practices. (...) And from Weber's notions of ideal goods and ideal interests (as well as other themes and concepts developed by Weber in his sociology of religion), he constructs a general theory of the "economy of symbolic goods" and its relation to the material economy--a theory of the production and consumption of symbolic goods, the pursuit of symbolic profit, the accumulation of symbolic capital, and the modes of conversion of symbolic capital or power into other forms of power.

Brubaker, 1985:747

Brubaker also sees the influence of Sartre and Lévi-Strauss in Bourdieu's work. He writes:

Sartre's emphasis on the creativity, freedom, and undetermined power of choice of the individual subject and Lévi-Strauss's emphasis on the causal power of structures operating independently of the consciousness of agents came to be seen by Bourdieu as antithetical poles of a basic opposition between subjectivism and objectivism, an opposition discernible in different guises throughout the history of social thought and constituting, in his view, the chief obstacle to the construction of an adequate theory of society. All of Bourdieu's work, seen in this light, represents an effort to 'transcend the antagonism which sets these two modes of knowledge against each other and at the same time to preserve the insights gained by each position.'

Brubaker, 1985:746

But, with respect to Lévi-Strauss, Bourdieu states clearly that he understands and expresses the power of structures in a manner different from that of Lévi-Strauss:

Les agents sociaux, dans les sociétés archaïques comme dans les nôtres, ne sont pas davantage des automates réglés comme des horloges, selon des lois mécaniques qui leur échappent.(...) Je voulais réintroduire en quelque sorte les agents, que Lévi-Strauss et les structuralistes, notamment Althusser, tendaient à abolir, en faisant d'eux de simples épiphénomènes de la structure.

Bourdieu, 1987:19

Bourdieu explains the foundations of his theoretical insights in a 1977 article entitled 'Symbolic Power'. Here he reviews his theoretical inheritance, which he says, "must be integrated (and transcended) in order to produce an adequate theory of symbolic power." (Bourdieu, 1977c:112) In *Choses Dites* he sums up, in a few words, his theoretical position. He writes:

Si j'avais à caractériser mon travail en deux mots, c'est-à-dire, comme cela se fait beaucoup aujourd'hui, à lui appliquer un label, je parlerais de *constructivist structuralism* ou de *structuralist constructivism*, en prenant le mot *structuralisme* en un sens très différent de celui qui lui donne la tradition saussurienne ou lévi-straussienne. Par *structuralisme* ou *structuraliste*, je veux dire qu'il existe, dans le monde social lui-même, et pas seulement dans les systèmes symboliques, langage, mythe, etc., des structures objectives, indépendantes de la conscience et de la volonté des agents, qui sont capables d'orienter ou de contraindre leurs pratiques ou leurs représentations. Par *constructivisme*, je veux dire qu'il y a une genèse sociale d'une part des schèmes de perception, de pensée et d'action qui sont constitutifs de ce que j'appelle *habitus*, et d'autre part des structures sociales, et en particulier de ce que j'appelle des champs et des groupes, notamment de ce qu'on nomme d'ordinaire les classes sociales.

Bourdieu, 1987:147

3.1.2 Review of The Model and Some Basic Concepts

Bourdieu employs the concepts 'habitus' and 'class habitus' as primary tools of scientific discourse to characterize the mediating structure between conditions of existence and practices. For Bourdieu, the habitus represents the unity of the subjective conscience which the individual has of the social system and of the objective structures of that system. (Bourdieu, 1962:108)

In *Choses Dites* (1987:22-23) Bourdieu explains that other authors, for example, Hegel, Weber, Durkheim, and Mauss, inspired by the same theoretical intention, or at least by the same direction of research, have used the concept 'habitus'. He says, Hegel used also, with the same function, the notion of 'hexis' and 'ethos', and for Mauss it was a matter of rendering account of the systematic functioning of the socialized body. ,

For Mauss, (1950:369) the word 'habitus' includes the triple point of view of the person, that is, the biological, social and psychological person. What Mauss expresses as the triple point of view of the whole person, Bourdieu calls the unity of the subjective conscience--the habitus--inclusive of which is 'hexis', 'ethos' and 'taste'.

In Bourdieu's model of class habitus and 'the space of life-styles' the habitus is conditioned by conditions of existence, for example, type of work, economic capital, educational capital and other forms of cultural capital, and it is the unifying and generating principle of practices. (Bourdieu, 1984:170-173) That is to say, different conditions of existence condition different class habitus which may be defined as "the internalized form of class condition and of the conditionings it entails." (Bourdieu, 1984:101)

The following figure is a summarized version of Bourdieu's theoretical model. (Bourdieu, 1984:171)

Figure 1 Diagram of Bourdieu's Model of Class Habitus and the Space of Life-styles

3.2 Elaborations on Some Other Key Concepts

3.2.1 Relation to One's Own Body

Another key concept central to Bourdieu's model of class habitus and 'the space of life-styles' is 'relation to one's own body'. This he sees as the fundamental aspect of the habitus which distinguishes the working classes from the privileged classes. (Bourdieu, 1978:838). 'Relation to one's own body' may be seen as a fundamental aspect of the habitus, or privileged dimension of the habitus since it is through the body that each class enacts its practical philosophy. (Bourdieu, 1984:190-194) Bourdieu writes:

Everything takes place as if the social conditionings linked to a social condition tended to inscribe the relation to the social world in a lasting, generalized relation to one's own body, a way of bearing one's body, presenting it to others, moving it, making space for it, which gives the body its social physiognomy. Bodily hexis, a basic dimension of the sense of social orientation, is a practical way of experiencing and expressing one's own sense of social value.

Bourdieu, 1984:474

Some authors, for example, Boltanski (1971) employ the concepts 'body habitus' (habitus corporel) and somatic culture (culture somatique) when referring to the notion 'relation to one's own body'. For some reason, Bourdieu does not use these terms. On a few occasions, for example, (1984:190, 218) he used the term 'body schema' as

expressive of one's deepest disposition toward the body.
He writes:

We can hypothesize as a general law that a sport is more likely to be adopted by a social class if it does not contradict that class's relation to the body at its deepest and most unconscious level, i.e., the body schema, which is the depository of a whole world view and a whole philosophy of the person and the body.

Bourdieu, 1984:217-218

It seems that 'body habitus', 'somatic culture' and 'body schema' might be considered synonymous, but since Bourdieu did not use 'body habitus' or 'somatic culture', and since there is a risk some might tend to identify 'body schema' with 'body image' or 'body concept', I have decided, in this thesis, to eschew these concepts and refer specifically to 'relation to one's own body' or 'disposition toward the body'.

¹ Bourdieu (1980:122) makes it clear that 'relation to one's own body' cannot be reduced to 'body image' or 'body concept'. Laberge and Sankoff (1988:271) also emphasize this point. 'Body image' or 'body concept', they explain, "essentially consists of subjective representation of the body produced and transmitted back by others; a body habitus is made up of all the dispositions one has towards one's body, themselves determined and conditioned by the material conditions of existence."

Thus, 'relation to one's own body' may be understood as an expression of one's internalized social conditioning displayed in the 'sign wearing', 'sign bearing' body, and also as that aspect of the habitus which represents the deepest dispositions of the person in which is held the "groups deepest values, its most fundamental beliefs". (Bourdieu,1984:191) It is through the body that one experiences the world and social relationships and it is through the body (body hexis) that one expresses these experiences. 'Relation to one's own body' expresses class tastes. Bourdieu writes:

"Taste, a class culture turned into nature, that is, embodied, helps to shape the class body. It is an incorporated principle of classification which governs all forms of incorporation, choosing and modifying everything that the body ingests and digests and assimilates, physiologically and psychologically.

Bourdieu,1984:190

3.2.2

Social Space

'Social class' is a theoretical construct: in the Marxist sense one's social class is defined by one's relation to the means and mode of production; and in the empiricists' sense may be seen as a category defined by one's economic or social status. Bourdieu's notion of social class includes both the notion of class struggle and the idea of stratification expressed as social position or social status. (Bourdieu,1984:245) For Bourdieu 'social class' is not a static concept represented only by volume of

capital, but one which connotes a dynamism between different sorts of capital, that is, economic, cultural and symbolic capital, and trajectory up or down the social hierarchy. Bourdieu attempts to construct an adequate representation of the social world by situating individuals in three-dimensional social space based on their volume and composition of capital and trajectory. He writes:

Endeavouring to reconstitute the units most homogeneous from the point of view of the conditions of production of habitus, i.e., with respect to the elementary conditions of existence and the resultant conditionings, one can construct a space whose three fundamental dimensions are defined by volume of capital, composition of capital, and change in these two properties over time (manifested by past and potential trajectory in social space).

Bourdieu 1984:114

Social space is made up of social groups ranging from those with the lowest levels of both economic and cultural capital to those highest in economic and cultural capital with a whole variety of arrangements in between. Bourdieu sees volume and composition of capital as having the most weight or structuring force in the divisions, with sex and age as secondary forces. (Bourdieu 1984:107) Brubaker comments on Bourdieu's conception of social space, he writes:

spent on beauty care, as well as their thoughts on smoking/not smoking.

Questions intended to identify gender power relations focused on family relationships as well as their experiences as women in the world at large, that is, questions relating to their work experiences, sporting and family experiences. They were asked to comment on short scenarios concerning gender relations, as well as ideas and concerns of their mates, (or men like their mates) concerning the sexual division of labour and social change. Also an attempt was made to investigate what each considered legitimate uses and places for the female body.

At the end of the interview, questions of identification were posed, questions concerning the level of education, type of housing, occupation of mate, level of schooling of father etc. These questions were intended to help situate each woman in social space and to help understand variations in perceptions and practices of women from the same social group.

4.3

Data Collection

The interviews were recorded and later transcribed. The overall strategy was to collect a short account of the sporting practices of each informant, as well as perceptions and social judgements of her own and other peoples' practices, her disposition toward the body, and

When the volume and composition of capital carry the most weight and structuring force in the development of a class habitus, one might tend to forget the secondary forces. The structuring force of the sexual division of labour, even though considered secondary, carries some weight in the development of the habitus. Bourdieu says:

The secondary principles of division (such as country of origin or sex), which are likely to be ignored by an ordinary analysis until they serve as a basis for some form of mobilization, indicate potential lines of division along which a group socially perceived as unitary may split, more or less deeply and permanently. Because the different factors in the system of determinations constituting a class condition (which can function as real principles of division between objectively separate or actually mobilized groups) vary greatly in their functional weights and therefore in their structuring force, these principles of division are themselves set in a hierarchy; groups mobilized on the basis of a secondary criterion (such as sex or age) are likely to be bound together less permanently and less deeply than those mobilized on the basis of the fundamental determinants of their condition.

Bourdieu, 1984:107

Embodied structures of the social division of labour (labour relations) and embodied structures of the sexual division of labour (gender relations) as well as embodied structures relating to age and ethnic relations may be seen as contributing to the make up of the habitus, or one could say, the dispositions of the habitus. Bourdieu makes this point clear:

This means that inevitably inscribed within the dispositions of the habitus is the whole structure of the system of conditions, as it presents itself in the experience of a life-condition occupying a particular position within that structure. The most fundamental oppositions in the structure (high/low, rich/poor etc.) tend to establish themselves as the fundamental structuring principles of practices and the perception of practices.

Bourdieu, 1984:172

The internalized structures of the sexual division of labour might be seen by some to constitute a 'gender habitus'. Such a notion, it seems to me, would misrepresent the meaning and unity of habitus which is a unity of the subjective conscience which the individual has of the social system and of the objective structures of this system. (Bourdieu, 1962:108) Therefore, aspects of social life relating to gender must be examined in accordance with the structuring force of a class habitus, that is, the structuring force of the schemes of disposition, perception and appreciation of biological individuals, or groups of individuals representing divisions in the social world. Bourdieu seems to be stating quite clearly that the structuring force of secondary factors carry some weight in conditioning a class habitus; the problem is, how should one, in a practical analysis, consciously take into account the structuring force of a secondary division such as the sexual division of labour? One way might be to introduce the general idea or concept 'a sense of gender' defined as the schemes of disposition, perception and

appreciation relating to the sexual division of labour. Thus, aspects of social reality relating to sex/gender divisions may be taken into account and may contribute to a better understanding of social logic behind women's sporting preferences and practices.

The most crucial thing to note is that this is not a mechanistic model which expresses a relationship between material conditions and practices in a linear way, but rather, it is a structural model articulating the relationship between conditions of existence, class habitus and practices. The habitus, the product of material conditionings, is the generating principle of practices and perceptions of practices, and is a classificatory system of tastes articulating social identity. This conceptual frame of reference allows one to integrate concepts of the objective real world and the world of subjective tastes, feelings, hopes and concerns.

The following chapter details the methodology used in conjunction with the model in an attempt to understand the sporting tastes of women from two social groups.

Chapter Four

4.0

Methodology

The qualitative method adopted for this study of women's sporting preferences and practices is one consistent with Bourdieu's theory. In the first part of this chapter, the selection of subjects is outlined followed by the manner of data collection and method of analysis.

4.1

Subjects

The decision to confine the analysis to two socio-professional groups, those occupying positions quite remote from each other in social space, was made in the hope that the underlying social logics behind women's preferences and practices in sport and physical activity might stand out in the contrast of the two positions. The two socio-professional categories indicative of volume and composition of capital were represented by professional women with high economic and high cultural capital and those at the opposite pole, working class women with low economic and low cultural capital.

4.1.1

Prerequisites

In order to control (in some measure) the social impact on choices and rejections, the women from both groups fulfilled the following prerequisites.

- nationality--English speaking Canadians, that is, born or having lived at least twenty years in Canada,
- age--middle aged (between the ages of thirty and fifty),
- motherhood--mothers in the paid labour force,
- urban dwellers--living in Ottawa.

4.1.2

The Sample

Identifying professional women with high economic and cultural capital was not that difficult; university professors in the visual arts, museum and art gallery curators and administrators were judged as having high cultural capital and relatively high economic capital. They are referred to as artistic producers.

The task of finding working class women proved to be more difficult. They were much more difficult to locate, and once located would not always agree to an interview even though the sum of fifteen dollars was offered as recompense for the hour interview. It seems that many mothers in this socio-economic category were either on welfare, immigrants, or for a variety of reasons, not in the paid labour force.

Factory workers, cleaners and waitresses in cafeterias or 'every-day' (non-elite) restaurants were the targeted socio-professional group representing the working class. They are referred to as manual workers. But while economic and cultural capital were relatively equivalent, other conditions of existence varied to some degree, for example, one worker was married to an engineer. It is not to be expected that women representing the same socio-professional category will have identical life situations. However, when an extraneous element such as this enters the picture, it needs to be taken into account and may serve to highlight a specific social logic pertinent to her choices and perceptions.

The sample consisted of six women in one group and seven in the other. During the course of the interview it was learned that one individual had developed a heart condition which, of course, affected her sporting practices. Nevertheless, she was included in the sample since her information might be insightful concerning possible choices with respect to change.

Le Pogam (1979) followed a similar methodological strategy, that of selecting male subjects occupying positions remote from each other in social space. By focusing on two social classes in France, the 'popular class' (qualified or specialist workers) and the professional class (executives) he was able to show that inequality on the social and cultural plane contributed to participants' choices in sporting practices.

The interview consisted of open-ended questions with a view to obtaining comments and expressions relating to their 'disposition toward the body', and perceptions and appreciations of sport and physical activity which is one dimension of a 'disposition toward the body'.

The interview questions centered on three general themes, sport and physical activity, other bodily practices like health and beauty, and thirdly on gender relations, both in the family and in society as a whole. Questions concerning sport and physical activity centered around the nature and modality (where, when, how often and with whom) of the women's sporting practices and the sporting practices of their mates. Questions concerning perceptions and appreciations of sport and physical activity were also asked. (What were their expectations of the sports they practiced? What did they think of sports not practiced by themselves but practiced by others?) An attempt was made to establish the influence of material conditions as well as the influence of cultural and family conditions (children and mate) on sporting practices.

Questions about other bodily practices centered around health and beauty, fashion and clothing practices, as well as comportment of the body. They were asked to elaborate on their health, how often they visited the doctor or dentist and why, how much time and money was

spent on beauty care, as well as their thoughts on smoking/not smoking.

Questions intended to identify gender power relations focused on family relationships as well as their experiences as women in the world at large, that is, questions relating to their work experiences, sporting and family experiences. They were asked to comment on short scenarios concerning gender relations, as well as ideas and concerns of their mates, (or men like their mates) concerning the sexual division of labour and social change. Also an attempt was made to investigate what each considered legitimate uses and places for the female body.

At the end of the interview, questions of identification were posed, questions concerning the level of education, type of housing, occupation of mate, level of schooling of father etc. These questions were intended to help situate each woman in social space and to help understand variations in perceptions and practices of women from the same social group.

4.3

Data Collection

The interviews were recorded and later transcribed. The overall strategy was to collect a short account of the sporting practices of each informant, as well as perceptions and social judgements of her own and other peoples' practices, her disposition toward the body, and

information relating to experiences in the home, the work place and the street. But it was found that a different strategy was necessary for the two groups since the responses of the artistic producers were more detailed and voluminous (most likely due to their high educational capital) than were the responses of the manual workers.

The artistic producers, for the most part, expressed their opinions at length and in detail, but the interviews with the manual workers proved to be more difficult. In the beginning, the manual workers looked like they were facing an inquisition; it took much more ingenuity to have them speak freely. Nodding in agreement, or comments like, "I think so too", or "I've experienced that too", sometimes contributed to their speaking more at length. It might be said, that in the name of scientific objectivity, one should eschew comments such as these; however, it seems to me, rather than influence the quality of information given, these comments merely established a bond between interviewer and subject which encouraged them to speak more freely and more at length. Questions like, 'Why do you say that?' were asked to stimulate them to speak more and to ensure that they were expressing their own opinions. It is interesting to note that the artistic producers may have spoken at length and with such freedom not only because of their high educational capital, but perhaps because of their power position vis-à-vis the interviewer. (They were higher in both economic and

cultural capital than the interviewer.) On more than one occasion, members of this group attempted to 'manipulate' the interview by questioning the line of inquiry, or attempting to 'correct' some source material. This was an advantage the working class women did not have, in fact, they expressed concern that they might not give the 'right' answer. They had to be continually reassured there was no 'right' answer and that their opinions were valuable and important.

4.4

Content Analysis

The technique chosen to analyze the information collected in the interviews was content analysis. Of course, there are many types of content analysis, some very quantitative, that is, sometimes specific words or groups of words are counted. This was not the approach of this study, it was rather, a thematic approach using a comparative perspective, that is, one which examined the information given by each of the two social groups according to themes to try to understand both overt and covert messages. In other words, evaluative expressions relating to physical activity, to the body and to gender relations were examined in an attempt to understand the meaning inherent in the data. In the words of Holsti: "Thus content analysis is employed to discover 'lawful relations between events in messages and processes transpiring in the individuals who produce them' (...) this use of content analysis is a problem in pragmatics, the relationship of signs to those who produce them." (Holsti, 1969:32)

The following chapter will examine the distributions of sporting practices between the two social groups in order to try to identify the system of schemes of disposition, perception and appreciation of each.

Chapter Five

5.0 The Social Logics Behind Sporting Tastes

In this chapter, an attempt will be made to examine the meaning sport and physical activity hold for each of the two social groups occupying distinct positions in social space--manual workers and artistic producer--in order to try to get a glimpse of the social logics underlying their sporting practices and perception of practices.

In the first section, the similarities and differences found in preferences and rejections of the two groups will be presented, and then, in subsequent sections, an analysis of these similarities and differences will be attempted in order to try to uncover, that is, investigate the rationale, or social logic underlying sporting tastes and distastes.

5.1

Preferences and Rejections

It was found that patterns of 'regular'¹ physical activity were markedly different for the two social groups. Although the analysis will be centered on evidence from each collective, the following tables allow one to see individual accounts of regular and non-regular sporting practices.

¹ The definition of 'regular physical activity' differs from study to study. Although this was recognized as a methodological problem, in this thesis it seemed appropriate, since perceptions and appreciations were the center of study and not individual levels of physical fitness, to allow informants to define what 'regular physical activity' constituted for them. For some it was once a week, others, everyday, twice a week or three times a week. Although the intensity of physical effort differed among individuals, 'regular physical activity' expressed a pattern of regularity for both groups.

Table S.1
Regular Sporting Practices of
Manual Workers and Professionals

Manual Workers	Professionals
MCD #1-No regular physical activity-	AP #1-Has heart condition but formerly was very active-tennis twice/wk., exercised everyday-
MCD #2-Walk the dog every day approx. 1 Km.	AP #2-Exercise class 2 noon hr./wk., swimming 3x/wk. during pregnancy-
MCD #3-Baseball team at husband's work during summer-	AP #3-Aerobics 3x/wk., weight lifting 2x/wk., walk approx. 1 hr./day-
School Cleaner-No regular sport or physical activity-	AP #4-Exercise class 1/wk.
Molly Maid-No regular sport or physical activity-	AP #5-Pre & post natal exercises-used to jog & lift weights-
Factory worker-Bowling every week-	AP #6-Walk 1 hr./day, jogging & weight lifting before child was born-
	AP #7-Swimming 1/wk. Used to exercise everyday and walk to work, now no time-

Table S.2
Non-regular Sporting Practices of
Manual Workers and Professionals

Manual Workers	Professionals
MCD #1-Camping, pool, dancercise class once after pregnancy-	AP #1-Skating, swimming, cycling, cross-country skiing in Gatineau Hills-
MCD #2-Water-skiing, tennis against the wall, fishing, cross-country skiing on flat trails-	AP #2-Cross-country skiing in the Gatineau Hills-
MCD #3-Water-skiing, camping, fishing & skidooing-	AP #3-Cycling, swimming, cross-country skiing-
School Cleaner-Skidooing, snow shovelling, camping, biking, lying out in the sun-	AP #4-Biking, swimming, cross-country skiing, walking the dog-
Molly Maid-Skating, cycling to the pool, swimming, paddling the canoe-	AP #5-Cross-country skiing, working around the farm-
Factory Worker-Skidooing, walking, sandbags, horse shoes biking, boating, dancercise class once after surgery-	AP #6-Skating, playing with the children-
	AP #7-Biking & canoeing-

5.1.1

Regular Practices

Differences in regular sporting practices between the two groups were quite marked. Half the manual workers reported no regular physical activity and none participated in a modality that demanded strenuous physical effort. This was not an unexpected finding; a number of quantitative analyses show documented evidence of a positive correlation between high socio-economic position and active sports participation. A Government of Canada report entitled "Changing Times: Women and Physical Activity" (based on 1981 data) showed blue collar workers less likely to be physically active than university educated professional women. Also Bourdieu reports (based on the results of a national survey of French sport) that 10.1 percent of manual workers compared to 32.3 percent of professionals participated in regular sporting activity. (Bourdieu, 1984:214) The findings of others seem to support the findings of this study which suggests that university educated individuals are more likely to participate in sport and physical activity than working class individuals.

In order to investigate, more precisely, the meaning of physical activity and the dynamics of choice, data relating to the mode in which sports are practiced, as well as findings relating to physical activities practiced in the past or wished to be practiced in the future were taken into account.

even a sport", whereas, views about curling were not expressed in such explicit terms. Nevertheless, the association is unmistakable. Therefore, it seems fair to say that the rejection of curling by the artistic producers seems to be associated with the notion that it brings no distinctions, and that it is alien to the experiences of this group.

The manual workers say curling is boring and too slow. This may appear contradictory to the analysis of Table 5.1 and 5.2 which found this social group to be inclined toward more easy, less physically demanding sports; but actually both bowling and curling may be seen as relatively easy compared to aerobics or running. The manual workers like snowmobiling, water-skiing and fast boats; they like the excitement of speed, but a speed generated outside the body. The reasons they gave when asked why they find curling unappealing were the following: "It's boring, it doesn't look all that exciting--sweeping that ball around." (Molly Maid); "I think it is too much work--fighting with this broom." (Factory Worker); "I get enough sweeping at home, why would I want to go do something like that? (McD #2); "No. I don't know, maybe because it's too slow." (McD #3) They enjoyed team sports such as bowling or baseball, but curling seemed to be associated with work and was boring. McD #3's grandmother was a senior citizen involved in curling, and Factory Worker, at one time, lived with a family of avid curlers, so curling might be viewed as a realistic choice for this social

against the side of the school. Several artistic producers walked to work, (approximately four to six miles a day) whereas McD #2, who said walking was her regular physical activity, walked a small dog around the block (approximately one kilometer); and cross-country skiing in the Gatineau hills 'working up a sweat' (Artist Curator #2) is not the same as spending an hour or two on flat easy trails. (McD #2) So, in attempting to understand the social logic behind women's preferences in sport by examining their sporting practices, it is necessary to classify the sports and physical activities according to the manner in which they are practiced. A make-up game of tennis is sociologically different from tennis at a club, or on a private tennis court. Court etiquette is different, the rules are different, the cost is different and most likely dress is different. It is the same with cross-country skiing, 'working up a sweat' may be characterized as a work-out, whereas the other may be seen as an outing.

It seems, based on the data classified in Table 5.1 and Table 5.2, as well as the modality of skiing, tennis and walking of each group, that the professional group practiced physical activity in a manner which required considerable physical effort, whereas the manual workers were inclined toward more easy activities.

On first sight, this finding that representatives from the professional class seem to prefer more rigorous sports whereas the working class women were inclined

toward more easy physical activities appears to contradict Bourdieu's analysis. He says:

The instrumental relation to their bodies which the working classes express in all practices directed towards the body--(...) is also manifested in choosing sports which demand a high investment of energy, effort or even pain, (e.g., boxing) and which sometimes endanger the body itself (e.g., motor cycling, parachute jumping, acrobatics, and, to some extent, all the 'contact sports').

Bourdieu, 1984:212-213

Actually, it would appear that (in this instance) when referring to the working classes, Bourdieu is most likely speaking of working class males since the examples he cites are motor cycling, boxing and other contact sports. He makes it clear, however, that the 'relation to one's own body', a fundamental aspect of the habitus, is different for males and females. He writes:

Du fait que les schèmes de classement sociaux à travers lesquels le corps est pratiquement appréhendé et apprécié sont toujours doublement fondés, dans la division sociale et dans la division sexuelle du travail, le rapport au corps se spécifie selon les sexes et selon la forme que revêt la division du travail entre les sexes en fonction de la position occupée dans la division sociale du travail: ...

Bourdieu, 1977b:34

Pociello (1981:225) also stresses this point; he points out that a female socio-cultural system of sports would, of necessity, be different from that of males because of the different 'relations to the body'. A problem arises, however, when an author takes the male system as the normative system; the findings of this study do not contradict Bourdieu's analysis since he appears to be speaking specifically of working class males.

The specificity of gender as it relates to class habitus will be taken into account along with the modality of practices of both groups in subsequent discussions, but first, it is necessary to examine, as well, tastes or preferences which have not been translated into practices.

5.1.3 Similarities and Differences in Sports That Appeal

In order to more precisely explore the social logics governing dispositions towards sport and physical activity of each social group, it is necessary to examine not only the regular and non-regular practices of each group, but perceptions and social judgements of other sporting practices as well. The following tables list individual accounts of appealing and non-appealing sporting practices for each social group.

Table 5.3
Sporting Practices That Appeal

Manual Workers	Artistic Producers
MCD #1-Bowling, dancing mini-putt, judo/karate, snowmobiling-	AP #1-fencing is artistic, golf & bowling fine but never go, riding, sailing-
MCD #2-Bowling, dancing, skidooing, western riding softball-	AP #2-Riding, dancing, nautilus-body toning, sailing, fencing is elegant-
MCD #3-Skating, bowling, cross-country skiing, golf, riding, snowmobiling, judo/karate	AP #3-Dancing, softball, judo/karate for self defense, not as a sport, sailing-
S.C.-Bowling, western riding, power boating, skidooing, judo/karate-	AP #4-Fencing, golf, riding, sailing-
H.M.-Dancing, softball, western riding, skating, swimming-	AP #5-Fencing, riding, sailing
P.W.-Bowling, judo/karate, skidooing, mini-golf, western riding	AP #6-Fencing, sailing, body-building to enhance feeling of strength, dancing-
	AP #7-Jogging, riding, tennis (athletic club), fencing cross-country skiing-

Table 5.4
Sporting Practices That Do Not Appeal

Manual Workers	Artistic Producers
MCD #1-Curling, fencing, riding, sailing, softball, body-building-	AP #1-Judo/karate, wrestling, snowmobiling-too noisy, body-building-
MCD #2-Curling, fencing, golf, sailing, body-building, judo/karate-	AP #2-golf, dirt bikes, body-building, snowmobiling-
MCD #3-Curling, fencing, body-building-	AP #3-Alpine skiing, bowling, car racing, curling, fencing is elitist, golf is stupid, snowmobiling, motorcycling-
S.C.-Curling, softball, sailing-slow, fencing is boring, body-building is for men-	A.P #4-Bowling, curling, body-building, judo/karate, hates snowmobiling-
H.M.-Judo/karate, curling, bowling, snowmobiling, fencing, golf-	AP #5-Bowling, curling, social dancing, body-building, power boats and snowmobiling-
P.W-Fencing-too violent, curling, body-building, sailing, softball-	AP #6-Bowling, snowmobiling, speed boats, body-building, riding, golf & curling-
	AP #7-Judo/karate, sailing, curling, body-building, dancing, snowmobiling-

Table 5.5 shows, at a glance, a summarized version of the tastes and distastes of each social group:

Table 5.5
Sporting Tastes and Distastes of Each Social Group

Tastes		Distastes	
Manual workers	Professionals	Workers	Professionals
bowling	fencing	sailing	bowling
snowmobiling	riding	fencing	wrestling
western riding	sailing	curling	curling
judo/karate	exercise class	body-	body-building
camping	tennis	building	judo/karate
water-skiing	cross-country		snowmobiling
fishing	skiing, walking		all types of
swimming	jogging, cycling		racing vehicles-
			dirt bikes, boats,
			motorcycles &
			cars

In order to make 'sense' out of these findings, that is, to try to understand why sporting tastes and practices are distributed between the two social groups in this way, it is necessary to examine the comments and expressions of the informants to try to recognize any ordering or pattern of choices and rejections with respect to ethos, ethics and aesthetics.

5.2 Similar Preferences. Similar Rejections.

Similar Underlying Logics?

With few exceptions, the sports preferred by the manual workers were the ones the artistic producers rejected. Curling and body-building (building muscle bulk as opposed to toning the body) were two exceptions, neither group found these appealing; and some from both groups found golf appealing and unappealing. Before examining

the most significant differences, some 'apparent' similarities will be considered.

Similar tastes in curling, body-building and golf will be examined in this section to see if the underlying rationale is the same for the two social groups.

5.2.1

Curling

The artistic producers, it seems, reject curling for the same reason they reject bowling, because of the social composition of the individuals who participate in these sports. Some openly expressed their rejections in terms of class distinction, whereas others were more subtle. Rejections reflect a 'sense of place', that is, a feeling of not fitting in. They sense they would not fit in because the people they might meet there are not people like themselves: "That's totally alien to my experience, I think that's a rural game." (Artist Curator #3); "I was a championship curler as a high school student, but I wouldn't do it now to save my life. (...) It is the same as bowling, so inside and noisy." (Artist Professor #5); "Bowling is, excuse the expression, just sort of half-assed, I mean it is not really a sport to me. The people I know associate bowling as a sort of lower middle class thing, there's a class distinction." (Artist Professor 6) Embedded in these comments associating curling with bowling is the notion that these sports bring no distinctions. Insofar as bowling is concerned, it is considered vulgar, that is, "half-assed", and "not

even a sport", whereas, views about curling were not expressed in such explicit terms. Nevertheless, the association is unmistakable. Therefore, it seems fair to say that the rejection of curling by the artistic producers seems to be associated with the notion that it brings no distinctions, and that it is alien to the experiences of this group.

The manual workers say curling is boring and too slow. This may appear contradictory to the analysis of Table 5.1 and 5.2 which found this social group to be inclined toward more easy, less physically demanding sports; but actually both bowling and curling may be seen as relatively easy compared to aerobics or running. The manual workers like snowmobiling, water-skiing and fast boats; they like the excitement of speed, but a speed generated outside the body. The reasons they gave when asked why they find curling unappealing were the following: "It's boring, it doesn't look all that exciting--sweeping that ball around." (Molly Maid); "I think it is too much work--fighting with this broom." (Factory Worker); "I get enough sweeping at home, why would I want to go do something like that? (McD #2); "No. I don't know, maybe because it's too slow." (McD #3) They enjoyed team sports such as bowling or baseball, but curling seemed to be associated with work and was boring. McD #3's grandmother was a senior citizen involved in curling, and Factory Worker, at one time, lived with a family of avid curlers, so curling might be viewed as a realistic choice for this social

group. Although they all rejected curling, the rationale behind rejections is not completely clear. Perhaps it is associated with the mystery around sweeping the stone, since several remarked on the sweeping. Bowling and baseball may be favoured because it is more common place and less formal; some people even take the children along. Concerning bowling, Factory Worker said: "If I was stuck for a baby sitter, she could go, there is some people who take them there, (...) my niece is there every week". They can muster the economic and cultural capital for bowling, but curling demands more. One must have the skills or at least know people who curl in order to make up a team, and the technique is a little more specialized.

It seems the manual workers and artistic producers reject curling for different reasons. Curling, like bowling, seemed to be rejected by the professional group because (at an unconscious level) participation in these sports might signify a depreciation in social standing. For the working class, perhaps acquiring the specialized technique was a difficulty which contributed to a rationale which rejected curling.

5.2.2

Body-Building

Body-building, that is, building muscle bulk as opposed to just toning the body, was also rejected by both groups mainly because of the end result. It is interesting to note, however, that the artistic producers phrased their

rejections in terms of what is aesthetically pleasing whereas the manual workers spoke of what is appropriate. For example, School Cleaner said: "This muscle stuff is ridiculous, that's not a woman, that's blaaa--I mean that's for men." Similar reasoning was seen in other contexts: "...Even to me, a policeman is not a woman. (...) I still can't see a female being a cop or firefighter, you know." (School Cleaner) For this social group, certain things are appropriate for women and certain things are not, and body-building, i.e., building muscle bulk is not.

The artistic producers expressed their rejections of body-building, i.e., muscle bulk in a different way. Because of their feminist point of view and their position in social space, no behavior is seen as inappropriate for women. The rejections of this group were phrased in terms of aesthetics: "It is aesthetically unappealing, I don't like those big muscled figures; in fact I find it revolting." (Artist Administrator #4)

Both groups rejected body-building because of the end result which most likely was related to a 'sense of gender'. (This will be discussed in another section.) However, the manner of expressing a 'sense of gender' appears to be different for the two social groups and this most likely is related to volume and composition of capital; the aesthetic disposition of the artistic producers may be seen as a reflection of their high

economic and cultural capital. With respect to the aesthetic disposition, Bourdieu makes the following observation:

What is in fact affirmed in this relationship is the dependence of the aesthetic disposition on the past and present material conditions of existence which are the precondition of both its constitution and its application and also of the accumulation of a cultural capital (whether or not educationally sanctioned) which can only be required by means of a sort of withdrawal from economic necessity. The aesthetic disposition which tends to bracket off the nature and function of the object represented and to exclude any 'naive' reaction--horror at the horrible, desire for the desirable, pious reverence for the sacred--along with all purely ethical responses, in order to concentrate solely upon the mode of representation, the style, perceived and appreciated by comparison with other styles, is one dimension of a total relation to the world and to others, a life-style, in which the effects of particular conditions of existence are expressed in a 'misrecognizable' form.

Bourdieu, 1984:53-54

The aesthetic disposition of the artistic producers and the more realistic disposition of the manual workers will become more evident as other expressions of their perceptions and appreciations are presented.

None of the manual workers or artistic producers listed golf among their practices but some from both social groups found it appealing. One manual worker, McD #3, thought that some day she might like to take it up; her husband was an engineer and he golfed a little at one time. Two artistic producers found golfing appealing but several from both groups openly rejected it. This suggests, at a superficial level, a certain randomness to choices. The following two sections will examine the comments and opinions of the informants with an eye to seeing if in fact a random assortment of tastes exists, or if they are the product of a specific social logic.

5.2.3.1 Rationale Underlying Golfing Preferences

Artist Curator #1 recently learned she had a heart condition, previously she was very active, she says: "It [golf] appeals because of being out of doors, and not being too taxing." It is interesting to see this informant suggest golf as a substitute for her more rigorous sporting practices such as, tennis, jogging, and cross-country skiing. Although she said bowling and golfing were fine (see Table 5.2), she suggested golf as a substitute sport rather than bowling. This choice most likely was related to the composition of the golfing public, that is, they were perceived to be more like herself. Also golf was seen as an outdoor activity which might be seen as a more health giving practice.

McD #3's interest in golfing some time in the future may be recognized as an aspect of her social trajectory. She said: "It would give yourself and your husband something to do together, if you know, the time came when you didn't have the kids and you didn't have to worry about it, but right now I just keep putting it off." Because of her social trajectory (being married to an engineer), golf is seen as a realistic choice. Her husband plays golf sometimes and she visualizes it as a sport they could do together. She continued: "There are a few that we know that do golf, but I find if the man golfs, then he's off golfing three, four times a week, and the wife sits at home and that doesn't appeal to me. So I think if you are going to do it, like another couple we know, they do it together as an activity, so that's the only way it would appeal to me." It is a personal profit of time with one's mate which is expected by this informant, and most likely her perceptions are related to her social trajectory, since all the other manual workers rejected golf.

5.2.3.2 Rationale Underlying Golfing Rejections

When asked if golfing appealed to them, all but one of the manual workers said no: "No, it doesn't appeal to me. I never played it." (McD #2); "I don't know, I've never tried golf neither. It looks boring. Just walking from hole to hole, it's not exciting." (Molly Maid) Some referred to mini-putt: "Mini-putt, the lower end of it, oh'ya, we go out and we mini-putt sometimes." (McD #1);

"I never tried it (...) I've tried mini-golf and it was alright." (Factory Worker)

Because of the high economic and cultural capital investment associated with golf, this is not a sport realistically considered by most members of the working class. Mini-golf is an appealing substitute; they can muster the economic and cultural capital and enjoy the company of their friends and family in a sporting environment.

The artistic producers indifference to golf seemed puzzling at first, one might have expected to see golf listed among their practices since golfing has, in the past, been associated with the privileged class. Nevertheless, some members of this group rejected golf: "I think golf is stupid." (Artist Curator #3); "I think of golf as this kind of executives---, you know, they go there to network, as opposed to really play." (Artist Professor #6); "You know, hitting this little ball around and walking miles after it on a hot summer afternoon is not my idea of fun." (Artist Curator #3) This reasoning, that "it is not fun" or "it's boring" was presented by members of both social groups as a simple reason for rejecting certain sports. Rather than elaborating, at this point, on what constitutes 'fun' for the professional class, it seems more informative to reveal that this social group used the topic of sports, and golf in particular to express a fundamental ideological point of view. Several appeared to wish to

disassociate themselves from a sport which they perceived as oppressive to women. Artist Curator #2 elaborated at length following her comment that "golf was not fun":

There is this whole social thing, it's unfortunately the whole notion of the man gets away from the wife and kids for the afternoon and spends the day on the green with his friend.(...) Some of these things are structured societal excuses for a separate sex time. Nothing particularly wrong with separate sex time as long as it is not used in a way to beat or disadvantage the other party--like being away all day so that usually the woman does all the other stuff.

And Artist Curator #1 observed:

A man can take a hobby like photography or sports and it becomes his second life away from work (...) the woman will resent this because she's left, her second hobby is by default, it is running the house. She has no choice, whereas the man seems to perceive himself to have a choice.

It seems safe to say that it is not a matter of low economic or cultural capital, or a disposition toward the body incompatible with golf which keeps the professional group from associating themselves with golf; it seems rather, that they reject it more as a bastion of patriarchal power than anything else. This social group (due to their high cultural capital) recognized sports and the 'institution of golf', in particular, as a form of male cultural capital--cultural power; that is, a form of symbolic power used by males to disadvantage females.

The artistic producers may say "golf is stupid" or "golf is not fun" as a way of expressing what they feel is an instrument of male power over which they have little control, other than to reject it.

Although it may appear that the tastes and distastes relating to golf are expressed in a random way, since a variety of preferences and rejections were expressed by members of both groups, a closer inspection of the perceptions and appreciations seem to show the influence of the structuring action of a working class habitus and a professional class habitus.

5.3 Different Dispositions Toward Sports

With regard to differences in sporting tastes expressed by the two social groups, the following three preferences stand out, and so were selected as a center of focus. Other differences were also found, but the oppositions were less striking, and so will be discussed briefly at the end of this section. The most outstanding differences were:

- The artistic producers participated regularly in exercise classes while the manual workers did not.
- The manual workers exhibited a taste for motorized sports whereas the artistic producers have a profound distaste for these activities.
- The manual workers rejected sailing and fencing and the artistic producers found these sports appealing.

5.3.1

Exercise Classes

The most striking difference between manual workers and artistic producers concerning their choice of practices is the fact that the artistic producers regularly attend exercise classes and the manual workers do not.

A common notion is that because manual workers are, in a sense, doing physical activity in their work, they are less keen to participate in a strenuous manner in other activities. Some may see this as an explanation as to why manual workers reject exercise classes; but as Artist Curator #7 pointed out to me, being a museum or art gallery curator is not a sedentary occupation. Hence, it seems appropriate to look for other reasons.

Lack of spare time might be another explanation as to why the manual workers seem to eschew exercise classes; however, 'spare time' seemed very difficult to define precisely. Time spared from what? Cleaning the house? Playing with children? Shovelling snow? Going to church? In this study, some from both groups seemed to have more spare time than others. For example, Molly Maid had one twelve year old child, it was necessary for her to have a fifteen minute nap everyday after work before she could get dinner ready and enjoy the evening or attend to household chores. Artist Curator #7 had a three year old child, an aged mother-in-law living next door whom she looked in on every evening, as well as teenaged step-children living at home. Neither of these

women felt they had much spare time. but Molly Maid chose to use her time to support her son's hockey, whereas Artist Curator #7 arranged time for a weekly swimming session for herself. Spare time appeared to be a scarce commodity for both groups of women, so it seemed more informative to focus on time management and the question of priorities rather than to try to quantify spare time.

Although economic concerns alone cannot account for differences in a taste for exercise classes, the relation of each social group to necessity must be seen as an indirect influential factor. The artistic producers' relative ease or freedom in joining aerobic and weight lifting classes, the Ottawa Athletic Club or the R.A. Center is a reflection of their high economic capital: "I could find the two hundred bucks or what ever it is; (...) I used to play tennis at the Ottawa Athletic Club and I was the one who got the membership at the R.A. Club." (Artist Curator #7) The manual workers, however, express a different concern, speaking about a bicycle, School Cleaner said: "We know, to wait and save money for it we'll never get it, so we get it now and pay later sort of thing." Commenting on the cost of exercise classes, Factory Worker said: "A lot of them are----this one was just for three months, you know, where otherwise, they want you to join it for a year and it costs you too much money at a time, or if you could pay so much at a time---it's a little bit different." Putting out a large amount of money at a time was definitely a hardship for the manual workers; it is different with bicycles and camping gear, these may be purchased on credit.

Economic concerns, most likely, are related to the different choices, but economic concerns alone cannot account for the expressed differences, since camping gear and water-skiing equipment (two sports popular with this group) may also be seen as considerable economic investments. In reality, if money can be found for these activities, it could be used instead for exercise classes. Why do the manual workers choose to invest time, energy and money in water-skiing, for example, rather than exercise class? One answer might be that, with exercise classes, investments of time, money and energy are not seen as yielding a large enough profit. Unlike the artistic producers, the manual workers do not gain a professional profit from exercise class. A trim, slim, fashionable body increases the artistic producers chances of professional advancement; in the professional world, success depends a great deal on appearances. Because of the type of work of the manual workers, physical appearances are not as important; an example of this may be seen in their cosmetic practices. Table 5.6 shows that, for the most part, the manual workers wore little make-up to work. In the words of Molly Maid: "...There is no sense in wearing make-up and that to go and clean houses. (...) No, not to go to work, not cleaning, I don't bother." Physical appearances, as a result of make-up or exercise classes may be seen to bring little gains in economic or professional profit for the manual workers.

The expense of exercise classes might be the reason offered by the manual workers for not participating regularly in exercise classes, but on closer inspection we may see other reasons as well. It seems to me the prime reasons may be related to the fundamental disposition of the habitus, 'one's relation to the body'. Boltanski (1971:217) found that, in France, the interest and attention individuals give their bodies were not the same for all social groups. His analysis showed that attention to health matters, indicated by one's attention to preventive medicine, grows as one moves from the working class to the professional class. The comments of the artistic producers in this study seem to echo these findings; none smoked, and they appeared to be more concerned with their weight, and their health in general than the manual workers. The fact that they knew exactly what they weighed before they were pregnant or five years ago suggests they paid close attention to their weight.

The manual workers, while not wishing to be obese, seemed to tolerate more fat on their bodies, although none appeared excessively overweight. When asked if they ever tried to lose weight, the manual workers replied: "I should, but I don't. A friend of mine went to weight loss clinic (...) and then her intestines burst inside her. They had to remove everything and put a bag on her; so I said: no way am I going to diet, no way." (Molly Maid); "I figure if you get to a certain weight, you have always been that weight, why change something that ---because half the time you look sick after you lose

weight." (MCD #2); "If I lose it, I lose it, if I don't, I don't, as long as I don't gain too much." (School Cleaner) So it seems the manual workers appear more content with their bodies, they also said their mates preferred women with a little "meat on them". It can be seen that the professional women and the working class women do not gain the same profits from a slim body. The manual workers do not gain a professional profit, and they appear to be not too concerned with a little extra weight.

The artistic producers, however, show a different disposition toward the body. Artist Curator #3 goes to aerobics class three times a week, and twice a week to weight lifting classes (See table 5.1). She says she goes for health reasons: "I'm forty (...) I've seen my body change already and I want to forstall more change as much as I can. (...) I do it primarily for health and looks, which I think in this respect are connected." Artist Curator #2 said: "My husband and I cross-country skied a lot, (...) but the only formal thing I do is an exercise class--I love it--I'd like to do it more, I feel it is my time, it is not just for my body it is for my head.(...) I think it is extremely important for mental as well as physical health."

These comments and feelings about exercise classes or slimming practices, give some glimpse of the different dispositions toward the body of each social group. But it must be emphasized that one group is not seen as being

healthier than the other. Some professional women perceive aerobic type exercises and physical conditioning to be more dangerous than beneficial for the body and prefer instead physical activities such as yoga, for example. (Laberge and Sankoff, 1988:281) These artistic producers appear to perceive exercise classes and other sporting activities as yielding a profit of 'good health' among other profits, and one manual worker suggested excessive dieting might be harmful to the health, but that is not to say that because they express these perceptions that one group may be seen as healthier than the other.

It seems it is the fundamental disposition of the habitus, the 'relation to one's own body', which primarily accounts for the manual workers practices with respect to exercise classes. That is not to suggest that working class women never attend exercise classes. Two manual workers attended exercise classes for a short time in the past, one to strengthen abdominal muscles after surgery, and the other to lose weight after pregnancies and before going back into the labour market. The point is, for the manual workers, exercise classes were not a means of maintaining the body as they were for the artistic producers, but were rather, a fix-up measure.

5.3.2

Motorized Sports

The artistic producers expressed a vehement dislike for all motorized sports, that is, racing with dirt bikes, motor boats, snowmobiles or cars, all of which were

sports which appealed to the manual workers. "I love watching car racing, or boat racing.(...) Two of them just touching!--Holy Cow! some of them wipe out real well.(...) I love snowmobiling, just racing across the snow, like, I love the outdoors." (School Cleaner) "Up at the camp (...) my parents have a row boat with a motor on it, (...) and in the winter we go skidooing." (Factory Worker) "Water-skiing is fun, (...) it's fast, but you don't really notice it." (MCD #3) For the manual workers fun is going fast; the sports they spoke of with the most enthusiasm were these motorized sports.

One reason motorized sports appealed to the manual workers may be seen in the fact that they can easily muster the cultural capital; the training necessary in order to master these sports is not extensive. Also, these sports seemed to be compatible with their 'relation to the body'. They appreciate the fun, the speed and excitement of movement and the element of risk and danger.

The artistic producers expressed quite the opposite point of view, they detested snowmobiling. They explained: "I think snowmobiling is----polluting the landscape, you know, with noise. (...) It is ugly to me, I mean, it is like----why can't people go in a sail boat as opposed to a speed boat?" (Artist Professor #6); "I hate it, and I think it is offensive to every one around. I love going through the countryside on cross-country skis, but these 'hooligans', I mean that's really the way they impress you, (...) it is the same thing with noisy boats, I

really think it is unnecessary. I think it is a real crime." (Artist Administrator #4); "I think it is dangerous, physically dangerous for the people who do it and sometimes for the people around. It is all about speed and thrills and I'm really against it, it is just like the worst of everything that has to do with say motorcycling or car racing or you know." (Artist Curator #3); "I can't bear the noise of them (...) they are so intrusive, they can go anywhere, and one other thing I like about winter is that suddenly nature doesn't allow you to go everywhere, and if you do, you go in quietly on skis--sort of much more as a part of nature, and the idea of zooming through it is just totally repulsive to me." (Artist Professor #5)

These comments about desecrating nature, noise pollution and the intrusiveness of motorized sports expressed by the artistic producers point to their 'sense of distinction'. Consciously or unconsciously, they appear to seek to separate themselves from the common lot. They see these activities as desecrating nature--a profanity--as opposed to cross-country skiing, which they see as an activity which allows one to honour or worship nature, away from the hordes of noisy, crass people--the 'hooligans'--in select places, silent, clean and lofty.

A logic of distinction may be seen, on the one hand, as the logic of the dominant class, an unconscious logic reflecting aesthetic tastes stemming from high economic and cultural capital which gives this class power in the

cultural game, power to name and define 'legitimate culture', and so distinguish themselves from those whom they have named as 'lacking culture'; and on the other, as a logic which reflects the desire to distinguish, or differentiate oneself on moral or ethical grounds. The logic of distinction expressed by the professional group appears to reflect the former.

The comments and expressions of the professional group depicting fast boats and snowmobiles as "offensive to every one around", "polluting the landscape with noise", "intrusive" or "zooming through nature" may be seen to reflect a logic of distinction whereby they consider their aesthetic as the legitimate aesthetic. The oppositions of pollution/purity, honouring/desecrating and silent/noisy are expressions by which this group evaluate these activities and according to an unconscious social logic formulate their rejections. It goes without saying that this is not to be taken as a moral judgement against artistic producers. We are all the same, that is, we all try to maximize our profits in one way or another, and define our identity by asserting differences. As Mary Douglas points out:

For me, its most disturbing impact is in the thought that the idiom of purity is only too well known to us. It is liable to dominate our transactions with one another whenever other kinds of social distinctions, based on authority or wealth, are not clear. Purity and impurity are principles of evaluation and separation. The purer must be kept uncontaminated by the less pure."

Douglas, 1975:186

The anthropological literature is filled with cultural examples of classifications of distinctions based on division of pollution and purity and between sacred and profane. Thus, it is interesting to see these structures of opposition as working tools in the perceptions and appreciations of the dominant group.

As well as a logic of distinction expressed by the artistic producers, we may also see the expression of a mis-fit between motorized sports and the disposition toward the body. The artistic producers object to the noise, it pollutes their environment and it pollutes their ears. They see no profit in these sports, the profit they tend to expect from sports seems to be related to personal accomplishment and to health and beauty. For example, they say; I like swimming and jogging, but I have no interest in being competitive, not at all. It is a pleasure in doing it, and you hope for a few results in the end." (Artist Professor #5); "If you are competing against yourself, then, that's fun, I mean, you know women who jog, that enhances their sense of themselves and I think that's good." (Artist Professor #6)

The manual workers seem to enjoy motorized sports because it appeals to their sense of fun, they like the excitement of a little risk. The professional group seemed to favour sports like tennis or cross-country skiing, sports which require an investment of knowledge and skill or training in the body.

Sailing and fencing are two sports which require a great deal of knowledge and training and will be examined next.

5.3.3

Fencing and Sailing

Perceptions and appreciations of fencing were found to be markedly different for the two groups. Concerning fencing, the artistic producers offered the following remarks: "I've done fencing when I was younger, I think it is very artistic, it is a very good work-out too." (Artist Curator #1); "I did it one year at university, I think it is very graceful." (Artist Administrator #4); "It seems very graceful, I like the tensions that the bodies go through, (...) psychologically very interesting between the two fences," (Artist Curator #7); "It appeals more than other things, again because of the agility required and the thinking, and I guess the sort of dance-like quality of it." (Artist Professor #5)

The manual workers show a different disposition. "Oh no, I don't like that, that's violent, I'd be too afraid of getting the end of it." (Factory Worker); No, I'd find it boring." (School Cleaner); "It just doesn't make much sense to me, I've never met anyone in my life who did that." (McD #1); "I've never had any desire to fence, maybe because it seems violent." (McD #3)

Fencing does not make much sense to the manual workers. It is far removed from their circumstances of life and not in keeping with their expectations of sport. This

social group, expressing a realistic disposition toward the body, seem to center their attention on the content of the activity, on the practical mechanics of the event, that is, the actual actions of two bodies slicing and poking at each other with long sharp knives. From this perspective, it seems sensible and reasonable one might find it violent and distasteful.

The artistic producers perceived fencing in a different way. They seemed to concern themselves with the art form of movement, they remarked on the dance-like quality, the agility and the tensions between the bodies. From this perspective, it is not surprising that one might find fencing elegant, graceful and artistic. The artistic producers also appreciated the fact that it was a "good work-out", which is in keeping with their ascetic disposition.

On one side are found perceptions and appreciations through which qualities of the body, its agility, its strength, its tensions and its intellectuality are admired, while on the other side, perceptions and social judgements of fencing were identified with violence. The former have their origins in an ascetic, aesthetic disposition toward the body and the latter in a pragmatic, realistic disposition toward the body. The artistic producers seem to concentrate on form, whereas the manual workers seem to concentrate on content and function, which is another way of saying that popular tastes relate to the ordinary circumstances of life, and

privileged tastes to aesthetics or elective distance to the ordinary circumstances of natural life. (Bourdieu, 1984:5)

With respect to sailing: although the rejections of sailing were explicit, the underlying rationale was not stated so clearly. They said: "No, I don't like sailing at all." (Factory Worker); "Nay---that's too slow. Give me a power boat and you're talking 'fun.'" (School Cleaner); "No, but going on a yacht cruise would, I don't know anybody that sails." (McD #1) The fact that the manual workers oppose power boats to sail boats, or find it too slow may be seen as a subtle expression of their 'relation to the body'. As has already been seen, they like the speed and excitement of going fast. Sailing is not fun, "that's too slow", fun is going fast. Also, their friends do not sail, so they may be seen as feeling "out of their place" in the sailing milieu.

As for the artistic producers, again they referred to noise and pollution. They identified the absence of noise and pollution with sailing, and also cited the skill as reasons why they liked sailing. Sailing like fencing or cross-country skiing sets one apart, it is a sign of mastery, a sign of distinction. Artist Curator #2 said: "I like the fact that there is no noise except for the wind, I love the chance you are dependent on the wind to propel you, and the skill of finding the wind and bringing the boat around. I like the skill, (...) you don't pollute and you don't make noise."

Because of their high economic and cultural capital the privileged class can invest knowledge and training in the development of bodily skills. Pociello (1981:190-193) found that the privileged class tend to make an art form of sport. He says those with high cultural capital take information and knowledge, combine it with mastering equilibrium and other features of the body and match these with natural elements, wind, sun or snow to get the maximum effect from a light simple machine.

Sports like sailing and fencing set one apart, they demand a high investment of economic and cultural capital which only the privileged class can muster. They may be seen as prestigious sports.

These findings, that fencing and sailing act as signs of distinction, signs of luxury, are supported by the work of Le Pogam (1979). He showed that sport functions as distinctive signs and symbols of class, that is, that sports are social emblems of class.

The analysis of the major differences expressed by the two groups finds support also in the findings of Pociello. He writes:

La place que l'on occupe dans la société conditionne, comme nous l'avons vu, le type de rapport que l'on entretient avec son corps et détermine grandement les usages, notamment sportifs, que l'on en fait.

Pociello, 1981:236

5.3.4

Other Differences

Differences between the two groups were also visible in preferences for riding and judo/karate, but these were not expressed as strongly or clearly as those relating to fencing, sailing, exercise class and motorized sports. Nevertheless, an examination of these differences may contribute something to our understanding of class habitus.

5.3.4.1

Judo/karate

Table 5.3 shows that judo/karate was appealing to some manual workers and rejected by two others. Molly Maid was unfamiliar with either judo or karate and McD #2's comments referred to children. She said: "I think it is because I see my next door neighbour's kids--they are such forceful kids--and because they have this behind them, they figure they can go around and just beat-up any kid that they want. I just say no, I really don't care for it."

Judo/karate appealed to some members of both groups as a means of self-defence, but was rejected by the artistic producers as a sport. Artistic producers said: "When I did it, it was for self-defence." (Artist Curator #3); "Not as a sport, nothing I would pursue as a sport, I think one may be inclined to take a self-defence course as a woman." (Artist Curator #7) The underlying logic behind the rejection of judo or karate as a sport may be

related to a certain incompatibility between these sports and a 'relation to the body'. The artistic producers favoured sports like tennis and fencing which may be seen as combat at a distance as opposed to the close combat of sports like judo or karate. Perhaps judo/karate was rejected because of the body contact, but it is interesting to note that noise rather than body contact was mentioned as an unappealing feature of judo/karate. When asked if judo or karate appealed to her, Artist #4 said: "No. I can't stand noise confusion, (...) the thumping onto the mat, also the echoing within the gym." She gave the same reason for rejecting bowling, she said: Nooo! I mean, one hears occasionally of people doing that sort of thing, no, it doesn't interest me at all, (...) it is the noise as all the pegs go down." Citing noise as a reason for rejecting certain sports was one way the artistic producers explained their dislikes, although most likely other factors were involved, such as the composition of the bowling public, and perhaps body contact in judo/karate.

In attempting to understand the unconscious social logic governing perceptions and practices one must rely on the clues given by the informants. Judo/karate was not practiced by any of the informants and their comments on the topic were sparse. However, this explanation, although based on very scanty evidence, may be seen as one possible line of reasoning in keeping with the disposition toward the body of women from the privileged class.

The manual workers did not make a distinction between judo/karate as a sport and as a measure of self-defence. They said: "I've thought about it, I'm interested (...) a cousin of mine had a black belt." (McD #1); "I wouldn't mind learning how, for protection more than anything else." (School Cleaner); "Yes, I'm going to get Shannon into karate, to defend herself." (Factory Worker) The underlying rationale seems to be related to two elements. It is appealing as a sport compatible to their life situation, that is, they fit-in, they know people who practice the sport, and they see it as a means of self-defence.

5.3.4.2

Riding

Perceptions and appreciations of riding were different for the two groups. In the same way that the artistic producers do not consider snowmobiling or bowling a sport, ("Bowling is, excuse the expression, just sort of half-assed. I mean it is not really a sport to me."--Artist Professor #6) the manual workers do not consider riding a sport: "I wouldn't classify it as a sport, I would classify it as a pleasure." (McD #1); "I think it is just an outing, I don't see where you'd get any exercise in that, sitting on a horse." (Factory Worker); "It's not a sport, cause you're not doing nothing but sitting on a horse." (Molly Maid) The professional group viewed riding from a different perspective: "It is physically very demanding. (...) If you look at the studies done on the number of calories

4

burned, horse back riding is away up there with things like cross-country skiing. You're using all your thigh muscles, and you're trying to second guess the horse." (Artist Curator #1) These quite opposite points of view show that riding holds a different meaning for each social group. Although riding was not listed among their practices, five of the manual workers said riding appealed to them, but occasional western riding, not competitive riding. "I like western riding, I don't like that English riding, that's not-----, that's more for the rich snobby ones--I don't know, I can't see myself,--yuck no! Gimme a pair of jeans and a sweater or jacket and just go, you know." (School Cleaner)

A logic of distinction may be seen in the manual workers reasoning, not a logic associated with high economic or cultural capital, but rather, a logic of distinction related to ethics. They desire to distinguish or differentiate themselves from "the rich snobby ones", that group of people perceived as considering themselves better than other folk. A logic related to low economic and cultural capital may also be depicted. The manual workers sense their place to be not with the 'horsey set' which demands proper attire, posture, techniques and even vocabulary, but fancy themselves, rather, in a freer environment where jeans are the order of dress and the object is to enjoy the countryside and have fun.

Table 5.3 shows almost all the artistic producers found riding appealing. Artist Curator #1 belonged to a club at one time, she said: "I did belong to a club, it is very enjoyable but it is very demanding, if you get into it in any way it is physically very demanding."; "It [riding] is something where you constantly feel you can improve yourself." (Artist Curator #7) Riding, like exercise class or cross-county skiing seemed to be favoured because it is perceived as being physically demanding and a chance to improve one's self. It suits the ascetic disposition.

Riding was perceived differently by the two social groups and these expressed differences along with the expressed differences relating to exercise classes, sailing, fencing and motorized sports point to a system of differences. The descriptive adjectives and the network of oppositions such as, fast/slow, noisy/silent and pure/polluted used by the informants to express why they favoured certain sports and not others contributed to our understanding of the underlying social logic behind preferences and rejections. These expressions revealed that each social group viewed the social world differently. Likes and dislikes seemed to be related to a working class aesthetic and a professional class aesthetic. The ascetism and attention to form expressed by the artistic producers, and the pragmatism and realism of the manual workers are expressions of two distinct dispositons toward the body, two distinct dispositions toward sport and physical activity.

Apparent similarities in sporting tastes, except for body-building (to be discussed later), were also seen to be governed by a system of dispositions specific to each social class. Thus, based on the information given by the two social groups, one may say, along with Bourdieu (1978:835): "Class habitus defines the meaning conferred on sporting activity."

In the next section, other bodily practices will be examined in order to try to gain added insights into the schemes of disposition and perception relating to the body.

S. 4 Other Bodily Practices

Boltanski (1971) found that individuals occupying similar positions in social space implicitly organize a common relationship to the body. Bourdieu elaborates on this point:

In reality, even apart from any search for distinction, it is the relation to one's own body, a fundamental aspect of the habitus, which distinguishes the working classes from the privileged classes, just as, within the latter, it distinguishes fractions that are separated by the whole universe of a life-style. On one side, there is the instrumental relation to the body which the working classes express in all practices centred on the body, whether in dieting or beauty care, relation to illness or medication, and which is also manifested in the choice of sports requiring a considerable investment of effort, sometimes of pain and suffering (e.g. boxing) and sometimes a gambling with the body itself (as in motor-cycling, parachute-jumping, all forms of acrobatics, and, to some extent, all sports involving fighting, among which we may include rugby). On the other side, there is a tendency of the privileged classes to treat the body as an end in itself, with variants according to whether the emphasis is placed on the intrinsic functioning of the body as an organism, which leads to the macrobiotic cult of health, or on the appearance of the body as a perceptible configuration, the 'physique', i.e., the body-for-others.

Bourdieu, 1978:838

Based on these observations, we should expect to see an homology of tastes in other bodily practices specific to each social group.

5.4.1

Slimming Practices

Neither group seemed overly interested in slimming practices, and both groups found being overweight undesirable, but being overweight did not mean the same

thing for the two groups. The artistic producers knew precisely what they weighed before pregnancy or ten years ago, thus, showing they paid close attention to their weight: "I weigh ten pounds more than I weighed as a young adult and I feel happy with that weight (Artist Curator #3); "I think if I really had a weight problem I would get a hold on myself, I wouldn't say I was overweight now, but I'm ten pounds heavier than I was a year before I was pregnant." (Artist Curator #2); "I'm eight pounds heavier than I was before I had my first child, and I would love to lose that weight, I've stopped breast feeding so I'm trying to change my diet, just take in fewer calories." (Artist Professor #5); "I think I have a sort of body image which is a quite thin ideal body image, I mean I don't think I am overweight now, that's for sure, but I think, oh, those thighs are too big, you know; the whole cultural thing." (Artist Professor #6)

It seems fair to say that the entire group of artistic producers had a 'quite thin ideal body image', whereas the manual workers, while not wishing to be obese, seemed to tolerate more fat on their bodies. When asked if she ever tried to lose weight, Molly Maid said: "No. I should, but I don't. I had a friend who went to weight loss clinic and lost a lot of weight in six months, and then her intestines burst inside her, so they had to remove everything and put a bag on her. So I said, no way am I going to diet. No way." McD #2 felt that people who diet sometimes look unhealthy, she said:

"...Half the time you look sick after you've lost weight, (...) I've seen that with my sister, she lost weight and she looks terrible." School Cleaner lost twenty pounds when she had dental surgery, and she was pleased about that. She said: "The guys at work, you know, they were all commenting on how good I look and that, eh?. My sister is afraid to gain a pound, (...) but I mean, there's a point to my, like to me-----ah---if I lose it, I lose it, if I don't, I don't, as long as I don't gain too much."

These comments about slimming practices suggest the artistic producers reflect more on body image and health, while the manual workers seem to tolerate more fat on their bodies before going on a diet. Also they seem to consider the risks, that is, looking unhealthy or having intestinal problems.

5. 4. 2. Practices Relating to Health

It was found that both groups had annual medical check-ups. Several manual workers mentioned they go for a 'pap smear' every year, thus showing they are aware of the value of early detection of cervical cancer. "If I've got anything, I want to be aware of it right away, and deal with it, you know, instead of waiting."
(Factory Worker)

Boltanski (1971:210-211) found that, in France, working class individuals visited the doctor less often than professionals. Although consumption of medical attention by these two Canadian groups did not agree with the French findings (which were based on quantitative data) it was clear however, (as the following discussions will show) that in matters of health, the manual workers and artistic producers expressed different dispositions toward the body.

Boltanski (1971:217) found that the attention individuals give their bodies is not the same for all social groups. He says it is normal for the working class to tend not to acknowledge bodily discomfort or pain as a symptom of illness until it is quite severe. He writes:

Ainsi, pour les membres des classes populaires qui ne prêtent pas volontiers attention à leur corps, qui l'utilisent d'abord comme un outil et qui lui demandent avant toute chose de fonctionner, la maladie se manifestera brutalement parce qu'on n'en a pas perçu les signes avant-coureurs ou qu'on s'est refusé à les percevoir et sera saisie, le plus souvent, sur le modèle de l'accident imprévisible et soudain. A l'inverse, les membres des classes supérieures qui prêtent attention à leur corps et ont une perception aiguë des messages qu'ils en reçoivent, n'établissent pas une différence aussi tranchée entre l'état de santé et l'état de maladie, si bien qu'ils ont tendance à voir dans la maladie une sorte de dégradation longue et insidieuse de la santé plutôt qu'un accident soudain.

Boltanski, 1971:221

The manual workers in this study did not reflect on their health as did the artistic producers, a fact which should not go unnoticed. Support for Boltanski's findings may be seen in the fact that this social group appeared not to acknowledge minor messages of pain or discomfort until they reached a point where they could no longer go unnoticed. One worker, School Cleaner, elaborated on a medical problem which could not be ignored: "I go because of my neck: it gives out. (...) I get muscle spasms in my neck and I can't move. (...) He gives me pills to relax it and I'm off work for two weeks with it. My neck went out in October and then it went out just at Christmas again."

The artistic producers, when asked about their health, included in their responses unsolicited comments about diet: "We eat very substantially, very organically, a lot of grains, a lot of vegetables, no processed food whatsoever! The children are on an almost totally organic diet. It is not that we are particularly vegetarian, but it is trying to get non-chemically treated meat--it is not easy to find." (Artist Professor #5); "I'm not fiendish about macrobiotic diets or anything, I try to eat healthily, and I try to keep my body in shape." (Artist Curator #2) "I go to an acupuncturist, I went for a year and a half, I now have far fewer colds and flu's and all that. (Artist Professor #6)

The comments of the artistic producers reveal a perception of health tied up with maintaining a healthy body; they seem to take a holistic approach to health care. Responding to health concerns in terms of diet and exercise suggests they are more interested in preventing sickness than treating a sick body. The manual workers, however, seemed not to notice tell-tale signs of discomfort, perhaps considering such conditions (aches or pains) normally associated with their type of work.

5. 4. 2. 1

Smoking Practices

None of the artistic producers smoked. Only one, a university professor was previously a heavy smoker, she said: "I just knew that I had to stop, that it was very bad for my health, (...) I'm not interested in smoking anymore. I think smoking is just incredibly self-destructive, that it is just a tragedy for anyone to smoke." (Artist Professor #6) This social group expressed a very strong dislike for smoking and was highly critical of its effects: "I'm an avid non-smoker, (...) I can't stand it now, I am very anti-smoking." (Artist Curator #7); "I think it is ghastly, I had a father who died of emphysema." (Artist Administrator #4); "I've never smoked because I was so put off by my mother's horrible cough." (Artist Curator #3); "I hate it, especially with the children, I can't stand the smell of it." (Artist Professor #5)

All but one of the six manual workers smoked. A few spoke of quitting, but this seemed not to be a major concern at this time. McD #2 said: "I stopped on New Year's day and I didn't smoke until February, and I didn't miss it, but you have to want to quit in order to quit, and I just wasn't ready to quit." The rationale for smoking seemed to be that it was enjoyable and the risks were not seen as great since their lungs were already subjected to unclean air. They explained: "I don't do anything else but that. I don't drink, so I smoke. It is the only bad habit I have, but I enjoy it so---." (Molly Maid); "It is not the cleanest habit I would say, but what about all this car pollution and crap we're breathing? What's the difference? We figure it this way: we don't go out, we don't do anything, we don't go anywhere so the only money we spend and enjoy is cigarettes." (School Cleaner)

The tastes for tobacco were markedly different for the two groups and the difference cannot be attributed to the volume of economic capital, as smoking is a considerable expense. It is now less fashionable to smoke than it was a few years ago, this may have influenced the artistic producers rejection of smoking, but also their attention to preventive medicine most likely contributed to a rationale that rejected smoking. The manual workers, however, seemed to weigh the risks against the pleasure they received.

The enjoyment factor and the risk factor were evaluated by the manual workers and the enjoyment factor appeared to carry more weight. Bouchayer (1984) evaluated the literature on the relationship of smoking to health using a similar logic. She writes:

Les brochures élaborées dans le cadre des campagnes anti-tabac rappellent fréquemment que 90% des cancers du poumon se développent chez de gros fumeurs, et que 13.000 personnes en France décèdent chaque année du "cancer du fumeur". Toutefois, parmi les gros fumeurs, seule une minorité développe un cancer du poumon, et cela est rarement exprimé ainsi. (...) Isolement du facteur de risque désigné comme nocif pour la santé (le tabagisme), isolement également de l'individu de son environnement et mode de vie (milieu et conditions de travail en particulier), dont il est maintenant démontré qu'ils peuvent constituer d'importants facteurs de risque, en matière de pathologie respiratoire tout particulièrement.

Bouchayer, 1984:87

Bouchayer suggests social inequality, the work place and environmental risks should be included in the interaction of factors. She sees the power of the dominant group at work in the fact that smokers are treated as social outcasts because of the effect of second-hand smoke, and also in the fact that with tobacco total abstinence is recommended, whereas with the use of alcohol (a practice favoured by the dominant group) moderation is advocated.

(Bouchayer, 1984:89-99) The pleasure of alcohol seems to be taken into account, whereas with smoking it is not.

Interestingly enough, Artist Curator #2 made a similar critical observation about weight: "You know, the scientific community is even brought into it by having us believe, to a far greater extent than I think is justified, that overweight is unhealthy. That perhaps is true, but it depends on where you place the overweight person, and I think we have probably placed it much too low."

Both in the tolerance of body fat and the tolerance for tobacco, a line of division is visible between the two groups which implies a different line of reasoning. On one side, may be seen a logic which weighs the risk factor against the enjoyment factor and finds the enjoyment factor carries more weight; and on the other, a logic reflecting a 'cult of health', that is, preventive medicine and body maintenance. Perhaps also a logic of distinction is at work. Although smoking tastes of the privileged class may have changed in the past few years, that is, smoking has become unfashionable, not too long ago it was a sign of 'sophistication', that is, associated with being 'worldly' or 'cultured'. Most likely a logic of distinction could be identified with the present tastes for the 'cult of health' as in the past with a taste for 'sophistication'.

5. 4. 2. 2

Dental Practices

The manual workers, for the most part, were less concerned with preventive dental care than were the artistic producers, but there were exceptions. McD #2 spent twenty minutes a day on her teeth, she brushed twice a day and flossed and used a water pik as well. She said: "My grandfather died with his own teeth in his mouth, he was eighty-seven, so I figure maybe I could do the same." The specific logic behind McD #2's dental practices seems to be connected to her role model. None of the other manual workers took such good care of their teeth, most did not even use dental floss. Three of the manual workers regularly went for dental check-ups, two had dentures and one said she went only when she had a problem: "I try not to, but if I have a problem I go (...) we do go for clean-up, you know, but we don't make it every six months." (McD #3) Only McD #2 flossed regularly, the others just brushed. "I brush once or twice a day (...) mostly just in the morning, that's about it." (McD #1); "I just give them a quick go." (McD #3); "I brushed them twice a day, that was it, but I didn't bother flossing or anything." (School Cleaner)

The artistic producers were more concerned about dental health. They all went for check-ups every six months, and most used dental floss as well as brushing as a means of preventing tooth decay. That they took care in maintaining their teeth is evidenced by the fact that none wore dentures.

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Preventive dental concerns, and no dentures in family were one of the many manifestations of a specific 'relation to the body'--that of maintaining a healthy body--identified in an upper class habitus in the Laberge and Sankoff (1988) study.

5. 4. 2. 3

Preparation for Childbirth

A reflexive disposition toward the body was evident in the artistic producers remarks about childbirth. They reported that they prepared their bodies for labour by strengthening their muscles and practising relaxation and breathing exercises: "I went swimming three times a week (...) I hate cold weather, so I really had to force myself when I was pregnant." (Artist Curator #2) "The trained-labour classes were wonderful, they were muscle stretching and relaxing exercises. It is a work out, but one geared to pregnancy. It made the whole difference." (Artist Professor #5)

None of the manual workers enrolled in prenatal exercises or followed a regime of childbirth training for any of their pregnancies. This pattern seems to be in accordance with their disposition toward the body. Like other aspects of health and medicine, childbirth seemed not to be something one prepared for, but rather an event dealt with when it happened.

5.4.3

Clothing and Cosmetic Practices

5.4.3.1

Clothing Practices

A specific social logic which inclines the manual workers toward a more pragmatic disposition may be seen in their fashion and clothing practices. The manual workers chose practical clothing, looking for good value for their money; they commented: "I look around, I price and see what I like and then I'll go and buy it." (Molly Maid); "I say I like the fashions, but if it fits and it feels good on me and I am comfortable, I buy it." (MCD #2); "I wear what I want to wear (...) I like jeans, give me my jeans, my running shoes and a good old campfire, and that's me." (School Cleaner); "I just don't have the time or the money to get into the latest fashions. I like to go to Sears." (MCD #3) As one might expect, members of this social group concentrate on content, they look for the best value at a reasonable price.

The artistic producers were more concerned with aesthetics: "I've always liked clothes, I enjoy clothes, but I mean, I'm in the visual arts, so I enjoy those things." (Artist Curator #2); "I like good clothes, I like expensive clothes, I wish I could indulge my likes, but I can't stand spending time on it. (Artist Administrator #4); "I'm interested in fashion, I like it, I like the aesthetics of it. I also find that since I work, I have a certain image or role that I have to play or project, so clothes help me do that." (Artist Curator #3)

The manual workers' taste in fashion, like their taste in sports, seemed to reflect a pragmatic disposition, whereas the artistic producers appeared more concerned with aesthetics. These findings seem to be in agreement with those of Bourdieu. He writes:

...low investment in clothing and a low propensity to invest in aesthetic refinement in such matters is seen in the fact that a high proportion of working-class women buy their clothes on the market, by post or in 'popular' department stores, whereas bourgeois women tend to limit their purchases to boutiques and 'up-market' department stores. The logic is the same in the area of cosmetics; the numerous market surveys on the subject all show that working-class women reduce their expenditure on make-up and beauty care to a minimum...

Bourdieu, 1984:378

5.4.3.2

Cosmetic Practices

In this study, the differences between the two groups in the area of cosmetics were quite subtle. Both groups reported that they used little make-up, but detailed questioning concerning their daily grooming practices showed the artistic producers wore make-up everyday to work, and were more interested in skin maintenance than the manual workers who tended to wear make-up when they went out in the evening. But Factory Worker and McD #1 were two exceptions. Factory Worker applied a little eye liner and blush before rushing to catch the bus in the morning, and McD #1, who worked in the drive-through booth at McDonald's, wore a lot of eye make-up. The following table shows the grooming practices of the two groups.

Table S.6
Cosmetic Practices of Both Social Groups

Manual Workers	hair colour	nail polish	make-up
Molly Maid	no	yes	No make-up except to go out in the evening--eye shadow & mascara-
MCD #1	no	no	Every day: three colours of eye shadow, eye pencil, lipstick and a little blush-
MCD #2	no	no	No make-up except to go out at night--a little mascara, liner, blush & eye shadow, oil of Olay everyday-
MCD #3 ¹	no	no	No make-up, maybe at night if I go out--a bit of mascara & eye shadow-
School Cleaner	no	no	2nd Debut in the morning, eye make-up occasionally in the evening-
Factory Worker	no	no	Everyday--Oil of Olay, eye-liner & blush, & at night, eye shadow, mascara & lipstick-
Artist #2	no	yes	Everyday: moisturizer, blush, lipstick & eye shadow-
Artist #3	no	no	Everyday: Light moisturizer, light foundation, blush, eye shadow & mascara--richer moisturizer at night and wash with cold cream-
Artist #4	no	no	Everyday: moisturizer, lipstick, a little eye make-up, once a week: a cleanser-
Artist #5	no	no	Moisturizer, a little blush-
Artist #6	no	no	More into care than cosmetics, facial masks, cleansers & moisturizers, special occasions--eye make-up, blush, lip gloss, lipstick, & foundation-
Artist #7	no	no	Conditioning cream every morning & night--Eye make-up on weekends, eye shadow and mascara-
Artist #1	yes	yes	moisturizer & lipstick

¹ Workers at McDonald's must keep fingernails short and free from nail polish

Because of the nature of their work, the manual workers gain no social profit from wearing make-up to work. Molly Maid said: "Not cleaning, I don't bother (...) because there is no sense wearing make-up and that to go and clean houses." One exception was MCD #1, she wore extensive eye make-up everyday, for her, it made sense to wear make-up to work, she worked in drive-through booth at McDonald's serving the public. She may be seen as gaining a professional profit from the practice.

Another difference may be seen in the fact that the artistic producers seemed to put a lot of emphasis on skin maintenance. All seven referred to moisturizers or conditioning creams. (See Table 5.6) This practice seems to be congruent with their philosophy of preventive medicine and body maintenance. They said: "I'm more into care than cosmetics, like facials, you know, and masks, and cleansers and moisturizers and all of that." (Artist Professor #6); "I wear a light moisturizer during the day, (...) and in the evening I take it all off with cold cream, and I put on a richer moisturizer. I just started doing that, in deference to being forty." (Artist Curator #3)

Although the analysis, with respect to other bodily practices is in no way exhaustive, it is interesting to identify a 'relation to the body' specific to each social class in practices relating to the body. By seeing choices governed by a logic specific to each group, the structuring power of a class habitus is highlighted.

The information supplied by these social agents representing opposite poles in social space seemed to show a certain affinity of tastes existing within social groups whereas a relationship of opposition was visible between groups. But, at the same time, a relationship of affinity seemed to exist between groups when aspects of gender were a pertinent factor, for example, with body building, hockey, football, wrestling etc. This will be discussed next.

5.5 The Sex-Gender System and 'A Sense of Place'

Both groups seemed to eschew certain sports and physical activity because of a certain intuitive knowledge of how they might feel, or what might happen. Intuitive knowledge, feelings and taste, that is, schemes of the habitus orient one toward practices and places where one feels comfortable. Bourdieu comments:

The schemes of the habitus, the primary forms of classification, owe their specific efficacy to the fact that they function below the level of consciousness and language, beyond the reach of introspective scrutiny or control by the will. (...) It [taste] functions as a sort of social orientation, a 'sense of one's place', guiding the occupants of a given place in social space towards the social positions adjusted to their properties, and towards the practices or goods which befit the occupants of that position.

Bourdieu, 1984:466

In chapter three, a 'sense of gender', defined as the schemes of disposition, perception and appreciation relating to the sexual division of labour, was introduced as a concept by which one might account for perceptions and social judgements relating to gender. Although such a notion is in keeping with Bourdieu's theory, it introduces another dimension of social reality which was not discussed in any detail by Bourdieu, that of gender power. The power of the dominant class was included in Bourdieu's analysis, and a 'sense of one's place' seems to refer specifically to social class, but it seems to me, it would not be a mistake to expand this term to include aspects of social divisions related to gender.

The following is an attempt to take the structuring force of a secondary division of the social world, that of gender, into account. More specifically, an attempt will be made to identify, through the perceptions and appreciations of the two social groups, the specificity of woman's place, that is, a 'sense of one's place' in an androcentric culture. It seems to me, if one attempts to study the properties of socially pertinent relations interacting in a universe of objective relations, gender power relations should not be forgotten, but rather, need to be integrated into the analysis. But it must be emphasized that this is an exploratory effort since Bourdieu's model does not take into account the differential in gender power.

According to Bourdieu (1977b:33), one's 'relation to the body' is specified according to the sexes and according to the form gender relations take relative to the position one occupies in the social division of labour. Thus, the conditions of existence of women may be seen to contribute to a specific 'sense of gender' for each class, while at the same time, a general 'sense of gender' may be identified irrespective of class lines. Add to this the gender power conditions of existence of women living in a patriarchal culture and the relational properties become even more complicated. Keeping in mind this complex network of relations, this section will examine comments and opinions relating to sporting practices and other general practices.

5. 5. 1

Sporting Practices

With respect to certain sports, the artistic producers and manual workers responded as a unitary group; both groups ignored hockey, football, soccer, boxing, and wrestling as possible choices. Body-building, that is, building muscle bulk as opposed to just toning the muscles, was also rejected by both groups because of the end result. On a very general level these choices may be explained as a function of their 'relation to the body'. In the same way that Bourdieu was able to show the practices of working class males follow a practical philosophy of the male body, for example, ways of eating and drinking, ways of blowing the nose, etc. (Bourdieu, 1984:190-193), there may be seen, in these

rejections of 'male sports'¹, a similar logic--a logic related to the practical philosophy of the female body.

Sports like hockey, football and boxing contradict women's disposition toward the body; these sports were not even considered by these women as possible choices because they intuit that they would feel 'out of their place' in these activities. As a group of women they feel 'out of their place' because of internalized structures of the sexual division of labour. Even though husbands, fathers, brothers and sons were involved in hockey, football, or soccer, a rationale related to a 'sense of gender' keeps these women from even considering such possibilities for themselves, although both groups thought hockey or soccer appropriate for their daughters or friends. Because of their high cultural capital, the artistic producers, most likely, would not say any sport was inappropriate, but they might not do it. Artist Administrator said: "I have a god-daughter who is in fact a soccer player, I wouldn't do it, but I don't see why she shouldn't."; and McD #2 maintained: "My daughter would love hockey, but I told her I can't afford it, not with one already in hockey, (...) but she'd want to be in with the boys, she's got the power behind her, she is bigger than her brother."

¹ For lack of a better term, this expression is used to connote those sports glorifying a cult of masculinity

The structures of the sexual division of labour are embedded in the deepest depths of one's being. Even though McD #2 said that her daughter was more physically powerful than her twin brother, and would love to play hockey, money for equipment and training was invested in her brother. Why? One explanation might be that the parents are guiding their young to have a 'sense of place' in the same way Factory Worker was guided to sense the playing field as a place for her brothers, not for her. She said: "My father was the coach, he had a hockey team, baseball and football.(...) It was always boys, ya, cause I have three brothers, so he had his boys growing up in these sports."

An unconscious logic related to their 'sense of gender' prompts the manual workers and artistic producers (as a group of women) to refuse what they are already refused, so they involve themselves in a different way, as spectators and supporters, although the manual workers were more avid spectators and supporters than were the artistic producers. This was most likely influenced by the fact that their mates were more involved in these sports than were the mates of the artistic producers. McD #2 exclaimed: "I'm a hockey mother, I'm at hockey all the time.(...) He's the coach and I'm the manager, I get to manage the money and he gets to manage the kids." Molly Maid also participated as a supporter: "I'm not participating, but I'm screaming and yelling so,---so I'm sort of participating, but we enjoy it. ♦ always did enjoy hockey cause my husband played it." The artistic

producers involved themselves by watching television with their families. They said: "I watch some sports on television with my son, but they have to be quick and they have to be graceful. I don't like football, I think it is so boring, but of course, I used to go to all my brothers' football games. You do as a girl." (Artist Administrator #4); "I enjoy watching hockey, I used to watch it quite a lot." (Artist Curator #7)

- Le Pogam (1978:132) found that working class women involved themselves as supporters in men's activities or stayed home and cared for the children while their mates participated in sports. He writes:

L'épouse subit les contraintes familiales et subit la pratique du mari: "Tous les dimanches ma femme vient assister au match"; "Ce n'est pas marrant de voir le mari qui "fout le camp" et pendant ce temps-là elle (la femme) reste à la maison garder les gosses. (...) Dans le milieu "supérieur", l'attitude de l'époux est résolument favorable à une pratique mixte ou familiale, condition d'une pratique durable, et tout est engagé dans ce sens.

Women from both social groups rejected 'male sports' most likely because of internalized structures of the sexual division of labour. Conditions of existence associated with gender conditionings may be seen to have contributed to the schemes of perception and appreciation through which they understand the social world. Just as Bourdieu (1984:192) speaks of the practical philosophy of the male body as a sort of power, big and strong, the practical

philosophy of the female body is expressed in female body hexis and hustling after a hockey puck, throwing body checks, or scrimmaging after a football are bodily comportments not in harmony with the body hexis of women of this age group. Hence, it appears that the rejection of 'male sports' by both social groups most likely is related to incorporated structures of gender relations rather than incorporated structures of labour relations.

With respect to body-building, it is interesting to note, that although the end result, muscle bulk, was not appreciated by either group, rejections were expressed differently by the two groups. The artistic producers commented on form and found it "aesthetically unappealing", whereas the manual workers thought muscle bulk inappropriate for women, "that is for men". These different perceptions most likely stem from different visions of the social world related to volume and composition of capital. But the strategy of rejecting body-building, i.e., muscle bulk, by both groups, most likely is related to the sexual division of labour and reflects a general 'sense of gender'.

5.5.2

Some Other Practices

This section, in a very superficial way, will focus on one question which was posed to the two social groups. The question was: Being a woman, are there any places you are uncomfortable to go? The following table shows the responses of both groups.

Table 5.7

Being a Woman and a 'Sense of Place'

Artistic Producers

- AP #3 Bars. I never go by myself. If I'm travelling I might conceivably--in an airport--I feel bars, those kinds of places to socialize are closed to me because I suppose a certain residual shyness makes me not want to address people who might think I am there for a pick-up.
- AP #2 To go to restaurants alone at night when you're travelling is just a drag. I tend to fight that and avoid being cloistered, subtly cloistered by the pressures I feel in a male dominated society, but it takes a lot of energy, it takes a lot of guts. I know what it's like to be the only woman on the 8 A.M. flight to Toronto and have seventy-eight men staring at you.
- AP #7 I used to find restaurants difficult. Once I was flying, I was on maternity leave, but I had commitments made while still at work. I had my three month old daughter with me, and my pediatrician had told me that I should nurse her on take-off and landing. They had not provided me with a bulk-head, or sky-cot, so I nursed her in my seat. I think they should have a resident nursing mother on that early morning flight just to keep men in touch.
- AP #5 I would really not feel that comfortable walking into a bar and having a drink by myself.
- AP #6 A bar where there was a female stripper, and places where I feel I am in danger.
- AP #4 A pub, and I suppose I would hesitate, late at night to walk in certain areas of the city, but I think anyone with any sense would. But there are enclaves where men are just more accepted--the stock exchange and things like that. But I never go there.

Manual Workers

- M M Bars. If I go, I go with my husband. After nine I don't go nowhere. I figure it's not safe to be in the streets.
- F W I never go to a pub by myself--I feel uncomfortable unless I'm with somebody, I never go out after dark. I get my stuff done before that.
- MCD #2 To classy places, not classy meals, probably to politicians & high people. If I had to, I would walk down Bank St. at night by myself, but 90% of the time, if you went out by yourself, it is because you are looking for a pick-up.
- MCD #3 I would not go to a pub or restaurant by myself, I don't like to go anywhere alone.
- S C Bars. When you go out, you either go out with a guy or with another girl. I feel uncomfortable going out to eat by myself. I just feel as if you're looking to be picked up or something.
- MCD #1 Bars. Hotels. I know my husband would disapprove of it. I feel my place is more home than going out with the girls. I don't walk downtown during the evening. It's scary, I was followed once.

Table 5.7 shows that women from both social groups independently named restaurants, pubs, bars and such places to socialize, and the street after dark as places they feel uncomfortable. In addition, the artistic producers referred to aspects relating to their experiences in the business world, i.e., air travel, meals and entertainment. Several factors appeared to contribute to this uncomfortable feeling. Sometimes similar perceptions of social reality were expressed by both groups, but quite often they differed.

Both groups mentioned they were uncomfortable in the street after dark because of the risk of physical assault. They said: "I suppose I would hesitate, late at night to walk in certain areas of the city, but I think anyone with any sense would." (Artist Administrator #4); "I don't walk downtown during the evening. It's scary, I was followed once." (McD #1); "I figure it's not safe to be in the streets." (Molly Maid) But aside from the fear of aggression, the two social groups seemed to perceive the social world differently.

The artistic producers seemed to perceive the social world in terms of a differential in gender power whereas the manual workers seemed to espouse the dominant ideology. McD #2 said: "If I had to, I would walk down Bank Street at night by myself, but ninety percent of the time, if you went out by yourself, it is because you are looking for a pick-up." The artistic producers seemed to

recognize the notion that 'unescorted women were out for a pick-up' as an ideology of male power. Artistic Curator #3 said: "I suppose a certain residual shyness makes me not want to address people who might think I am there for a pick-up." Others were more explicit in their views and remarked at length. Artist Curator #2 elaborated:

When you're travelling, and particularly when you're in a foreign country, it is just a drag. I think if you surveyed women in positions who travel, and travel in foreign countries, you'd find that they use room service a lot more than men do, and it is not that they are too tired to go out. You just don't want to have to deal with people coming on to you, people, i.e., men. I tend to fight that and avoid being cloistered, subtly cloistered by the pressures I feel in a male dominated society; but it takes a lot of energy, it takes a lot of guts sometimes. For example, my husband told me about some people he met in Stuttgart one evening when he went to a couple of wine bars. (...) I could never do that; not that I wouldn't have the guts but why would I bother to put myself in that situation? Why would I want to go into a wine stuba and sit down there and have these guys coming on to me? I mean it is just a pain in the neck. So I don't do it, so I miss those things unless I have a male partner. It's easy to say, oh she is a real chicken, you should feel the right as a woman to go out and do what ever you want and you know--screw society. It's not that easy.

Although Artist Curator #2 might perceive that as a woman she has the right to go out unescorted, on a personal level she finds it difficult. MCD #1 sees things differently. She perceived her place to be at home. She

said: "I don't like going out with the women, like I'd rather, I figure my place is more at home than going out with the girls. (...) I know my husband would disapprove of it, so I guess that's the main thing, and I figure, since he disapproves of it, it is not that important to me to be there, so why cause a stir?" It seems she perceives her place to be at home because she has little choice, if harmony is to be maintained in the household.

What seems to be expressed in these opinions is the specific 'sense of gender' of each group. But even though perceptions of social reality may differ for the two social groups, the strategy followed by both groups, for the most part, was to avoid certain places, which may be termed 'male spaces'. How can this be explained?

Although, at a very general level, the conditions of living in a patriarchal culture may be seen as similar for both groups; on another level, women from the professional class, due to their high economic and cultural capital experience positions of power in social space which the manual workers do not experience. That is, the professional women are able to appropriate to themselves aspects of 'legitimate culture' as signs of symbolic and real power. Also, because of their high educational capital these women have become familiar with, or enlightened by feminist ideology which may have influenced perceptions of the social world. This most likely contributed to the recognition of the cultural hegemony of males.

The professional women do not define themselves as the established order defines them, as the manual workers appear to do, rather, they may be seen to recognize a 'misrecognized' truth, that is, 'the differential in gender power in favour of males'. But, at the same time, in terms of practice, by avoiding 'male spaces', both groups may be seen as responding in a unitary way to the patriarchal structures of their society. The artistic producers and manual workers may conceptualize the situation differently, but for the most part, the strategy is the same for both groups, that is, they tend to avoid places where they feel uncomfortable. The explanation, most likely, is related to their position of power in social space vis-a-vis men. From a more global perspective of social reality, that of interacting males and females, professional women and working class women experience low cultural power, i.e., low gender power because of the structures of patriarchal culture. Even though the volume of economic capital, and the volume and composition of other aspects of cultural capital is different for the two social groups, with respect to gender relations, both groups have low cultural capital and power--low gender power.

Women 'embody', that is, take into themselves the structures of patriarchal culture and following the synthesizing and structuring action of a system of dispositions make certain choices and follow certain strategies. Women from both social groups were seen to avoid 'male spaces', for example, pubs, hockey on

football playing fields, and the stock exchange because they lack the power to define these spaces as legitimate places for the female body.

These social agents (manual workers and artistic producers) have shown themselves to be acting, thinking, choosing individuals following a social logic related to their material conditions of existence and their cultural conditions of existence, inclusive in which is gender conditions of existence. Through the examination of their expressed thoughts and feelings, using Bourdieu's theoretical insights of the habitus, it has been possible to get a glimpse of the systemic nature, that is to say, the social logic underlying a certain patterning or ordering of practices and perception of practices.

In *Distinction--A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Bourdieu was able to show the structuring force of a mediating structure between conditions of existence on one side and practices on the other. This mediating structure functions by following an unconscious knowledge, a knowledge without concepts, a common sense knowledge by which social agents intuit or sense their place in social space following the logical insights of their biological-sociological-psychological experiences of social structures, or in other words, their total experiences of social structures. The perceptions and social judgements expressed by the women in this study bring to light, at least in some measure, the structuring force of class habitus. In the words of Bourdieu:

The cognitive structures which social agents implement in their practical knowledge of the social world are internalized, 'embodied' social structures, (...) historical schemes of perception and appreciation which are the product of the objective divisions into classes (age groups, genders, social classes) and which function below the level of consciousness and discourse.

Bourdieu, 1984:468

Chapter Six

6.0

Conclusion

6.1

Summary

The task of this research was, first of all, to see if the sporting preferences and practices of two socio-economic groups of women followed some sort of pattern or if, in fact, they represented a random assortment of tastes; and secondly, if some system was visible, to try to see the underlying social logic which might account for this ordering.

Based on the information supplied by the two social groups, it appears that bodily practices, and sporting practices in particular, were not the result of a random series of choices and rejections, but rather, seem to be structured in a coherent manner. The structuring force was seen to be related to the division of labour between the social classes and the sexes.

For the most part, the sporting tastes of one group were the distastes of the other. This distribution of sporting preferences and practices between the two social groups was seen to be governed by the structuring action of a working class habitus and a professional class habitus.

However, it was also found that with respect to certain sports, the two socio-professional groups responded as a unitary group. For example, both groups rejected body-building, i.e., building muscle bulk, and ignored other sports, for example, hockey and football, as possible choices. This practice was seen to be conditioned by a class habitus conditioned by the internalized structures of the sexual division of labour. Gender, a secondary division of the social world, was found to account for the unity of tastes among women occupying positions remote from each other in social space.

In summary, it seems that the sporting practices of women occupying positions remote from each other in social space were governed by a working class habitus and a professional class habitus except when such practices contradicted their 'sense of gender'. The schemes of disposition, perception and appreciation conditioned by internalized structures of gender relations rather than internalized structures of labour relations appear to be the governing principle behind the rejection of 'male sports' by women from both social groups.

This thesis may be seen as adding to the findings of others. For example, Greendorfer (1977, 1978) examined the role of socializing agents in female sport involvement and found that elements in the social system other than schools were primarily responsible for socializing women into sports. Boutilier and SanGiovanni go further. Relying on the insights of symbolic

interactionism and conflict theory, they elaborated on the agency of individuals to overcome the constraints of power and social structures. This thesis, based on the theoretical insights of Pierre Bourdieu, focused, not on the individual, but rather, on social groups and based on the information supplied by two groups of women occupying positions remote from each other in social space, identified a class habitus specific to each group. The contribution of this thesis, it seems to me, is that it adds (at least in some small measure) to our understanding of the relationship between social structures, structured dispositions and sporting practices.

6.2 Significance and Implications

One of the significant features of this thesis is that it attempts to appreciate the force of unconscious determinings behind women's sporting practices. It attempts to shed some light on the social logics governing practices and the relational properties between material and cultural conditions of existence and structures, of thought.

Although Bourdieu's theoretical model relates primarily to the social division of labour, he maintains that it accounts also for secondary divisions such as age and gender. (Bourdieu, 1984:468) His analysis did not take gender power relations into account, but the concepts

and insights of his theory seem suited to such considerations. It seems to me, that the structures of gender relations are a dimension of social reality which cannot be ignored, and I feel this aspect of my thesis contributes to our understanding of the sporting preferences and practices of women living in an androcentric culture.

In reality, no firm conclusions can be reached from this small study of the sporting tastes of women representing positions remote from each other in social space. But it was found that a relationship of affinity appeared to exist in the sporting tastes of individuals from the same social group, while a relationship of opposition was visible between groups, except when gender conditionings were a pertinent factor. Based on the perceptions and social judgements of the two groups, an aesthetic, ascetic disposition was identified for the professional group and a more realistic, pragmatic disposition for the manual workers. So, tentative conclusions seem to suggest that the distribution of sporting tastes between the two social groups was governed by a system of dispositions conditioned by volume and composition of capital. But it remains to be seen if others will reach the same findings.

If we are to make a start in identifying a female system of sports, a multitude of questions remain to be explored. Future research along the lines of this inquiry might include middle class tastes and the dynamics of trajectory. Another interesting project might be the study of the sporting tastes of fractions of the dominant social class.

Bourdieu's theoretical frame of reference is, it seems to me, a valuable conceptual tool for women's studies in areas other than sport. The concept of 'class habitus', particularly the fundamental aspect of class habitus, 'relation to one's own body', and the relational aspects of economic and cultural capital and power may contribute to our understanding of women's experiences in androcentric culture.

social division of labour. But it is clear that the model applies to secondary divisions of the social world as well. (Bourdieu, 1984:172, 107, 468) Women's experiences of androcentric culture are not the same for all classes. This was evident in the findings of this thesis which showed that perceptions and social judgements of social reality were not the same for both social groups. So in addition to facilitating the expression of women's experiences as legitimate, Bourdieu's theory should also be able to contribute to our understanding of the relationship between social class and patriarchy.

The Structures of the Sex-Gender System

Eisenstein, Hartmann and Ortner are three authors who view patriarchy as a system. Hartmann (1981) sees patriarchy not only as an economic or cultural structure, but also as a psychic structure. Ortner (1974:87) refers to it as "an efficient feedback system", and Eisenstein (1979:25) speaks of "the two-way flow" between material conditions of existence and ideologies. This conceptualization of the social world, I would argue, is on the same track as Bourdieu's thinking, although far less developed. It would not be a mistake, it seems to me, to view Ortner's "efficient feedback system" or Eisenstein's "two-way flow" as analogous to Bourdieu's understanding of the relationship between the system of dispositions and conditions of existence. The feminist conceptions may be viewed as a way of formulating the

stratification studies a double standard is used in determining social class membership. She writes: "Occupation, the universal measure of an individual's social class, is in the case of women and women alone, replaced by a completely heterogeneous criterion: marriage." (Delphy, 1981:116) Married women are classified according to their husbands profession whereas single women are classified according to their own profession. In addition, married women take on the identity of their mates whereas men are never classified by their wife's occupation. "Marriage is considered a valid criterion for determining class membership only as far as women are concerned." (Delphy, 1981:125) This is only one example, but it serves to highlight the kind of problems feminist research attempts to overcome.

In very general terms, feminist theories may be seen as conceptual frameworks which recognize the legitimacy of women's experience.

Jaggar and Struhl, in their book, *Feminist Frameworks: Alternative Theoretical Accounts of the Relations between Women and Men* attempt to classify and explain the various models of feminism that have emerged in the past couple of decades. They identify five frameworks: Conservatism, Liberalism, Traditional Marxism, Radical Feminism and Socialist Feminism. These theories differ significantly in their basic philosophical assumptions of social reality, but the latter four have at least two common threads. They all

reject the conservative orientation which denies the existence of women's oppression, and which argues that woman's place in society is determined by biological facts. As well, they all seek to assert the legitimacy of women's experience.

"A successful feminist theory must provide us with the conceptual tools for describing our experiences as women and men in the world today. . . ." (Jaggar & Struhl, 1978:xi) Feminist theory, I would also argue, must include conceptual tools by which theory and practice may be united in a scientific way.

A Scientific Method

Bourdieu's theoretical framework is, it seems to me, a valuable conceptual tool for investigating social phenomena since it allows one to escape from the ordinary acceptance of the social order. Bourdieu's theory goes beyond understanding the social world from an androcentric perspective or a feminist perspective, but rather, takes into account structures of thought, that is, visions of the social world which themselves contribute to the construction of this world, and also the structures of power conditioning such visions or perceptions. Rather than conceptualizing an explanatory model of social reality in oppositions of subjectivity-objectivity, Bourdieu's theory goes further; it attempts to unite, in a scientific method, these two ways of understanding the social world. On one side, it

allows for reflexive, subjective expressions of experiences of the social world and on the other, takes into account the objective structures which condition these experiences. Bourdieu writes:

...d'un côté, les structures objectives que construit le sociologue dans le moment objectiviste, en écartant les représentations subjectives des agents, sont le fondement des représentations subjectives et elles constituent les contraintes structurales qui pèsent sur les interactions; mais, d'un autre côté, ces représentations doivent aussi être retenues si l'on veut rendre compte notamment des luttes quotidiennes, individuelles ou collectives, qui visent à transformer ou à conserver ces structures. Cela signifie que les deux moments, objectiviste et subjectiviste, sont dans une relation dialectique et que, même si, par exemple, le moment subjectiviste semble très proche, lorsqu'on le prend séparément, des analyses interactionnistes ou ethnométhodologiques, il en est séparé par une différence radicale: les points de vue sont appréhendés en tant que tels et rapportés aux positions dans la structure des agents correspondants.

Bourdieu, 1987:150

He also writes:

Nous croyons féconde, disait-il, cette idée que la vie sociale doit s'expliquer non par la conception de ceux qui y participent, mais par des causes profondes qui échappent à la conscience.

Bourdieu, 1987:148

Even though the tenets of Bourdieu's theory are outlined in chapter three, the following is presented as an attempt to encapsulate the essence of his theoretical framework and establish a foundation on which to build a case outlining the value of his theoretical insights for feminist research.

Bourdieu's theory attempts to grasp the mediations between structural processes in society and structural processes of the mind. He postulates that the 'habitus' or system of dispositions is the mediating structure between conditions of existence and practices; it is the unifying and generative principle of practices. (Bourdieu, 1984:169-175) The structuring force of this mediating structure which Bourdieu calls the 'habitus' or system of dispositions is embodied or incorporated social structures. That is, individuals, biological, psychological individuals incorporate, take into the body, experienced structures of power which become second nature. "Strictly biological differences are underlined and symbolically accentuated by differences in bearing, differences in gesture, posture and behavior which express a whole relationship to the social world." Bourdieu (1984:192) This 'relation to one's own body' is seen by Bourdieu as a fundamental aspect of the habitus. (Bourdieu, 1978:838)

It must be emphasized that Bourdieu's model of class habitus and the 'space of life-styles' is primarily concerned with the structures of power related to the

social division of labour. But it is clear that the model applies to secondary divisions of the social world as well. (Bourdieu, 1984:172, 107, 468) Women's experiences of androcentric culture are not the same for all classes. This was evident in the findings of this thesis which showed that perceptions and social judgements of social reality were not the same for both social groups. So in addition to facilitating the expression of women's experiences as legitimate, Bourdieu's theory should also be able to contribute to our understanding of the relationship between social class and patriarchy.

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problem, whereas, Bourdieu's theoretical framework (which was built on empirical evidence) may be seen as an analytic tool capable of investigating the problem.

Hartmann attempts to contribute to our understanding of the relationship between social class and sex by exploring the economic, cultural and psychic structures of patriarchy. She argues that marxism and feminism by themselves are inadequate explanations, feminism because it is blind to history and insufficiently materialist, and marxism because it is sex-blind. She proposes uniting the strengths of each. (Hartmann,1981:2) Bourdieu's model of class habitus and the 'space of life-styles' I would suggest, should also be considered as a conceptual tool complementary to feminist analysis. It takes individual and collective history into account and includes cultural capital and power as well as economic capital and power in its analysis.

In attempting to understand what there might be in the generalized structure and conditions of existence common to every culture that would lead every culture to place a lower value on women, Sherry Ortner (1974) posed the question: Is female to male as nature is to culture? She presented plausible reasons why women may be seen to be closer to nature, but she stressed in her conclusion that in reality women are no closer to (or further from) nature than men. She writes:

The result is a (sadly) efficient feedback system: various aspects of woman's situation (physical, social, psychological) contribute to her being seen as closer to nature, while the view of her as closer to nature is in turn embodied in institutional forms that reproduce her situation."

Ortner, 1974:87

By what concepts are we to identify and explain the workings of this "efficient feedback system"? How are we to investigate these "embodied institutional forms" that reproduce woman's situation? In *Distinction* (1984), Bourdieu (using different conceptual references) showed this "efficient feedback system" operates according to an unconscious social logic, a logic reflecting embodied structures of power. He used the concept 'habitus' to account for "the profound causes that escape consciousness" (Bourdieu, 1987:148) which are the unifying and generating formulae of practices and perception of practices of social groups.

Ortner tried to expose the underlying logic of cultural thinking. In reality, females are no closer to nature than are males, but an unconscious social logic underlying the culture-nature/male-female equation may be recognized in the perception of such an association. Following a male point of view, or one might say 'an accepted point of view', that is, that the primary role of males is to tame nature, males may be seen to identify females as their opposite; and since they may be seen to identify themselves with culture, that is, transcending

nature, females, being their opposite must be identified with inferior nature. Following Bourdieu's theory, we understand these perceptions as a reflection of the embodied structures of the sexual division of labour.

Eisenstein contends that the existence of the sexual ordering of society is derived from ideological and political interpretations of biological differences. She writes:

Men have chosen to interpret and politically use the fact that women are the reproducers of humanity. (...) A patriarchal culture is carried over from one historical period to another to protect the sexual hierarchy of society; today the sexual division of society is based on real differences that have accrued from years of ideological pressure. Material conditions define necessary ideologies, and ideologies in their turn have impact on reality and alter reality. There is a two-way flow: women are products of their social history, and yet women can shape their own lives as well.

Eisenstein, 1979:25

What is at stake here, is the power of naming--the power of naming valued and therefore rewarded expenditures of human labour, and what is also at stake is the recognition, or 'misrecognition' of the legitimacy of this naming process by social agents of both sexes.

This 'misrecognition' of the legitimacy of the naming power of the dominant group was brought to light by Bourdieu. He was able to bring to the level of scientific discourse the structuring action of symbolic power as an instrument of real power exercised through a system of perceived differences.

While Bourdieu's theory does not address the genesis of female oppression, it is a model equipped with concepts and logic capable of analyzing what Eisenstein calls the "two-way flow between material conditions and ideology" and at the same time take female agency into account.

Because, as Bourdieu (1984:471) points out, primary experience of the social world is that of doxa, ("an adherence to relations of order which, because they structure inseparably both the real world and the thought world, are accepted as self-evident.") scientific analysis of the social world has tended to reflect the patriarchal order. Bourdieu's theoretical insights not only force one to recognize the error of taking doxa experiences as a basis for scientific research, but offer at the same time, a method, a model accounting for subjective experiences within the total picture of objective relations. By conceptualizing the sex-gender system as operating within a total 'system of objective relations' and investigating the relational properties of this system using the concepts and logic of Bourdieu's theoretical framework, we may be able to grasp more fully the structural processes in society and the structural

processes of the mind which contribute to the perpetuation of this system.

But it must be remembered that the 'system of objective relations' and the concept 'habitus' are theoretical constructs invented for the express purpose of facilitating scientific discourse of social reality. The following remarks by Bourdieu seem to sum up the essence and value of his theoretical framework as a conceptual tool for scientific research. Bourdieu writes:

...one must remember that, ultimately, objective relations do not exist and do not really realize themselves except in and through the system of dispositions of the agents, produced by the internalization of objective conditions. Between the system of objective regularities and the system of directly observable conducts a mediation always intervenes which is nothing else but the *habitus*, geometrical locus of determinisms and of an individual determination, of calculable probabilities and of lived-through hopes, of objective future and subjective plans. Thus the *habitus* of class as a system of organic and mental dispositions and of unconscious schemes of thought, preception and action is what allows the generation, with the well-founded illusion of the creation of unforeseeable novelty or of free improvisation, of all thoughts, all perceptions and actions in conformity with objective regularities, because it has itself been generated within and by conditions objectively defined by these regularities.

Bourdieu, 1968:705-706

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07·07· 89

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