

ADULT PARTICIPATION SPORTS AS CULTURAL CAPITAL

A Test of Bourdieu's Theory of the Field of Sports

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Abstract This study extends recent tests of Bourdieu's theory of sports as cultural capital using data from the 1998 US National Health Interview Survey (NHIS) on adult Americans' frequency and intensity of participation in 15 sports. Most of the previous tests of Bourdieu's theory have been limited to general measures of sport participation, and have provided general support for the thesis that sports operate as cultural capital. The NHIS data allow inferences about the principles of distinction dividing social classes in the field of participatory sports. More extensive tests of the 'prole' and 'omnivore' theses are also presented. The analysis shows that many sports are highly class exclusive and that the principles of exclusion fit closely with Bourdieu's theory of the *relational structure of the field* of adult participation sports. The dominant classes use strenuous aerobic sports, moderate levels of weight-training, and competitive sports that restrict direct physical domination and/or are aerobically strenuous, in order to draw boundaries between themselves and the middle and lower classes. Competitiveness and demonstrating the 'will to win' within 'civilized' constraints on physical domination appear to be an important secondary principle of distinction. The evidence also supports a gendered 'ascetic vs luxury' divide between the culturally and economically weighted fractions of the dominant class. There is strong support for the cultural omnivore thesis, but the 'prole' thesis is not supported. These findings are also congruent with both Lareau's description of the upper middle class cultural logic of 'concerted cultivation' and Lamont's findings with regard to upper-middle-class boundary-making around 'self-actualization' and 'moral character'.

Key words • adult participation sports • cultural capital • field • individualization • social class

Pierre Bourdieu's efforts to expose the ways that ruling groups maintain their dominance by establishing exclusive styles of life, dispositions, world views, and cultural institutions has been the inspiration for a growing number of studies on sport participation. His groundbreaking work on sport demonstrated how different classes and class fractions embody (often unconsciously) their points of honor and schemes of evaluation in their sporting practices and how the dominant classes use sports, done in rarified ways and at exclusive venues, in order to distance themselves from others (Bourdieu, 1978, 1984, 1988). Sociologists of sport seeking to systematically test Bourdieu's theories have focused on demonstrating that sport operates as a type of *cultural capital*. This article extends the recent conceptual and empirical work in this area by testing Bourdieu's theory of sport as cultural capital using US adult sport participation data drawn from the

1998 National Health Interview Survey conducted by the National Center for Health Statistics (US Department of Health and Human Services).

Cultural Capital and the Modern Mode of Domination

Bourdieu posited concepts that facilitated thinking against the hegemonic theories of 'modernization', theories that reduce social development to frameworks such as 'from particularism to universalism,' 'toward increasing functional differentiation,' 'from ascription to achievement,' and 'from irrational to rational action.' Bourdieu's array of concepts that includes 'field,' 'mode of domination,' 'habitus,' 'cultural capital' and 'symbolic capital' were designed to recognize the modern *mode of domination* that modernists of various stripes (and some postmodernists) exclude from their thought. He developed a theory of class development and reproduction that addresses the tendency of Marxian approaches to reduce class to economic relations, and which do not adequately incorporate the historic developments of greater individualization and institutional differentiation, the longer chains of interdependence in 'advanced' societies, and the dynamics of cultural and other non-economic forms of monopolization and exclusion.

Sociologists who have taken up Bourdieu's theory have tended to focus on how sports operate as 'cultural capital' (White and McTeer, 1990; Lamont, 1992; Laberge, 1995; Taks et al., 1994, 1995; Holt, 1998; White and Wilson, 1999; Thrane, 2001; Wilson, 2002; Curtis et al., 2003; see also Defrance, 1995; Scheerder et al., 2002). (Seminal studies adapting Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital to American educational and cultural institutions include: Lareau, 1989; Lamont et al., 1996; Holt, 1997.) In their seminal essay, Lamont and Lareau (1988: 153) defined cultural capital as 'institutionalized, i.e., widely shared, high status cultural signals (attitudes, preferences, formal knowledge, behaviors, goods and credentials) used for cultural and social exclusion.' This working definition of cultural capital is used here, but in order to avoid viewing it in overly individualistic ways (Tilly, 1999) — such as reducing Bourdieu's theory to a radical status attainment model — sporting capital must be located in the larger socio-historical processes of the rationalization of class exclusion (Murphy, 1988), and work to construct an analysis of sport as a differentiated and contested field of practices.

The concept 'cultural capital' was posited to challenge 'human capital,' a concept designed, consciously or unconsciously, to present society as a meritocratic system of autonomous individuals who vary in their economically marketable skills and dispositions. Cultural capital makes explicit the social processes of reproducing race and class privileges and exclusions in societies that are far along in the historic process of *individualizing exclusion*, a process that entails the development of institutions that carry out class and race exclusions in impersonal and individualizing ways (Murphy, 1988; Bourdieu, 1996a). The 'individualization of exclusion' should be seen as a long-term 'blind' process that is closely related to Elias's 'civilizing process' (Elias and Dunning, 1986; Elias, 1994; Dunning, 1999). Individualized exclusion is carried out most universally in modern systems of formal education which grade, label, track and credential each

of us with the force of a universally recognized authority which recognizes socially structured linguistic, bodily, and mental abilities and dispositions as personally achieved knowledge and abilities, and personal qualities such as 'intelligence,' 'creativity,' and 'character.' It is in producing and circulating the latter that sports plays such an important role.

'Cultural capital' lays bare the socially denied facts that differences in the distribution of knowledge, abilities, tastes and dispositions are grounded in the leisure and freedom from the pressures of necessity possessed by the dominant classes, the silent transmission to their children of a culturally dominant system of tastes and dispositions, and the dominant classes' symbolic power to establish their cultural repertoires and tastes as universal or most legitimate. From this general view, cultural capital is economic capital put to use by the dominant classes to distance themselves from the dominated classes and maintain their exclusive access to the most valued and valuable resources, positions, activities and institutions.

Thus, cultural capital processes involve evaluating people *as* autonomous individuals, but *for* dominant class cultural knowledge, beliefs and dispositions that are transmitted, often unconsciously, within the home, the family, and exclusive social networks and organizations. Possession of a dominant class and race culture increases one's chances of success, but does not guarantee it, thus providing space for all the ideologies of individual merit. Fixed as these games are, they do allow those who are less endowed some chances to move up and they do require that those in the dominant classes 'apply' themselves to the games of acquiring capital in its various forms and putting it to 'good' use.

From this brief summary, it should be clear that educational credentials are a central form of cultural capital — the universally recognized symbol/exchange value of one's cultural and moral excellence. Thus, acquired credentials have rightly become the primary measure of accumulated cultural capital, but Bourdieu was also deeply interested in 'extracurricular' culture such as the arts, music, and sports, and how the knowledge, tastes, and dispositions formed in these class practices are (mis)recognized as 'intelligence,' 'creativity,' and 'character' in formalized institutions such as schools and bureaucratic organizations.

Sport and Cultural Capital

Curtis et al. (2003) suggested that researchers should begin to explain how the exclusionary effects of sport operate as different *forms* of capital (cultural, social, and bodily). This is an important goal, but perhaps a more pressing issue is to understand the exclusionary principles, the *types* of cultural exclusion, that are operating in the field of sports and how those relate to the larger 'field of power.'

Bourdieu's studies of cultural fields provide a fourfold typology of cultural capital that begins with asceticism and luxury as the elementary forms of cultural distancing. In the field of culture the two opposing principles are:

. . . luxury, as the manifestation of distance from necessity, or asceticism, as self-imposed constraint, two contrasting ways of defying nature, need, appetite, desire; . . . the unbridled

squandering which only highlights the privations of ordinary existence, and the ostentatious freedom of gratuitous expense or the austerity of elective restriction. (Bourdieu, 1984: 254–5, emphasis in the original)

These two principles can take either ‘elementary’ or ‘aristocratic’ forms. Aristocratic forms *restrain and aesthetizicize* asceticism or luxury by limiting the excesses or immature enthusiasm for either principle and integrating them more deeply into the habitus, thus increasing the ease, restraint and authority with which the principles are applied. Using Bourdieu’s theory we would expect those whose assets heavy with cultural capital to be drawn to more ascetic bodily practices and those with more economic capital to be drawn to sports that straightforwardly represent wealth, status, and power, and to use sports to embody and display personal qualities like drive, a will to win, grace under pressure, and sportsmanship that are often recognized as ‘character.’ Although most sports can be approached in an ascetic manner, the so-called ‘fitness’ sports that emphasize working and sacrificing to reshape the body and ethos, and to increase one’s energy and ‘health,’ most closely fit the ascetic principle. Competitive sports that entail the straightforward pursuit and display of dominance and status, especially sports that require great cost and provide opportunities for displaying wealth and status, fit the luxury principle.

We would also expect that the dominant class fractions will be drawn to or develop ‘aristocratic’ forms of sport participation to draw boundaries between their lifestyles and those of the lower middle classes. Among ascetic sports a key dividing line should be between sports that emphasize beauty and strength vs sports that pursue more abstract and restrained goals of ‘health’ and inner control of the body (cultivating the body for its own sake). Among luxury sports, the dividing lines should appear in quantitative terms of how much wealth and status are being displayed, and/or the dominant class sports should restrain the level of direct physical contact and violence between competitors (restraining straightforward domination and drawing the line of civilized/uncivilized exercises of power). Similarly, we might expect the dominant class to practice ‘hegemonic restraint’ when it comes to pursuing physical strength since they relate to the dominated classes as mature, civilized power to brute, uncontrolled strength:

The fact that, in their relationship to the dominant classes, the dominated classes attribute to themselves strength in the sense of labour power and fighting strength — physical strength and also strength of character, courage, manliness — does not prevent the dominant groups from similarly conceiving the relationship in terms of the scheme strong/weak; but they reduce the strength which the dominated (or the young, or women) ascribe to themselves to brute strength, passion and instinct, a blind, unpredictable force of nature, the unreasoning violence of desire, and they attribute to themselves spiritual and intellectual strength, a self-control that predisposes them to control others, a strength of soul or spirit which allows them to conceive their relationship to the dominated — the ‘masses’, women, the young — as that of the soul to the body, understanding to sensibility, culture to nature. (Bourdieu, 1984: 479)

Finally, while I expect to find that relatively autonomous lifestyle clusters form around each of the two main principles of cultural distancing, I also expect that those possessing high levels of both economic and cultural capital to draw on

both forms of cultural distancing to develop their exclusive lifestyle and related social networks. That is, the dominant fraction of the dominant classes unites the opposing principles of exclusion around a single principle that Lareau (2003) labels ‘concerted cultivation,’ the disposition to view one’s self as a project to be continuously improved and developed and to, guided by their sense of distinction, continuously scan the horizon for institutionally recognized opportunities for personal improvement and enrichment.¹

‘Concerted cultivation’ closely fits Michele Lamont’s (1992; see also Lamont, 2000) findings on the boundary-making strategies of the upper middle class (roughly Bourdieu’s dominant classes) in the US. In her study of the French and American upper middle classes, based on semi-structured interviews aimed at inductively eliciting symbolic status boundaries, Lamont found that ‘self-actualization’ was a central means of drawing cultural and moral boundaries. Self-actualization is the disposition to be ‘fully engaged’ in life, to take up ‘improving’ activities, and to be repulsed by ‘passive’ activities such as watching television. Lamont found that some upper-middle-class interviewees strongly linked self-actualization to exercise and staying fit. Her interviewees also emphasized moral character as a crucial line of distinction, and equated it with ambition, dynamism, competitiveness, and reaching one’s potential (competence).

The level and forms of tensions between the cultural and economic fractions of the dominant classes are historically variable. Bourdieu (1996b) argues that, for historical reasons related to the development of somewhat autonomous fields of culture in capitalist societies, the division between the two cultural principles of hierarchy is relatively universal in highly differentiated and individualized capitalist societies, but that aestheticized asceticism has more autonomy when the symbolic power of economic capital faces strong challenges. The United States is presently in a period of relative ‘one-dimensionality,’ or declining autonomy for the cultural fields.

After the democratizing movements of the 1960s and 1970s, the reassertion of the ‘tyranny of markets’ in both state and civil society and the rise of neoliberalism as a powerful organizing ideology, have both shifted the overall balance of symbolic power towards economic forms of capital. As the symbolic power of autonomous cultural practices weaken, its institutional structures become less autonomous. This can be seen in the declining support for universal education and the growing tendency for the dominant classes to value higher education more exclusively for the pragmatic reasons of securing exclusive occupations. In the field of adult participatory sport the decline in the power of autonomous cultural principles can be seen in the decline in projects to aestheticize healthy sports such as running, bicycling, hiking, etc., and the ‘muscularizing’ and rationalizing of fitness sports. Another important sign of the declining autonomy of cultural principles of hierarchy in the field of sport is the greater emphasis on elementary asceticism that is more closely tied to the economic scales of value. That is, as participatory sport loses autonomy from economic values, it is increasingly (but not completely) reduced to the logic of winning, increasing personal performance, and embodying and displaying the ‘work ethic.’

Research on Sport and Cultural Capital

When social scientists and others who do not study sports are informed that adult sport participation is strongly associated with social class they are frequently inclined to reduce this class inequality to economic barriers, focusing on sports such as golf played at exclusive clubs. Taks et al. (1995) shattered this economic reductionism by demonstrating that the monetary cost of playing sports is only weakly associated with the class status of the sports, as measured by the modal 'socio-professional' status of the participants. For example, golf is among the most expensive sports and its participants have high socio-professional status, while bowling and bodybuilding may also rank high in cost, but much lower in socio-professional status. Clearly cost barriers and conspicuous consumption are not the only principles of distinction operating in the field of sports.

White and Wilson (1999) initiated an important line of analysis that compares the relative weight of economic and cultural capital in explaining adult sport involvement. They found that attending a professional or amateur sport event in Canada is substantially correlated with education (cultural capital) even after controlling for income and other important social structural variables. The logic of their analysis of this finding is twofold. On the one hand it demonstrates, from a different angle than Taks et al., that economic barriers are not as central as is often presumed. On the other hand, the association between both economic and cultural capital, and sporting practices is evidence that sports are part of the exclusive lifestyle clusters of the economically and culturally dominant classes. That education is associated with sporting practices, independent of income and other controls, is thus interpreted as evidence that sports operate as cultural capital or a cultural means of maintaining class status distinctions. However, the nature of these cultural barriers was left largely unexplained.

Their interpretation is supported by a 1990 survey of adult Americans which found that, compared to non-fans, sports fans combine their interest in sports with higher rates of participation in a broad range of social and cultural activities:

Sports fans have a more active social life than nonfans do: they are more likely to eat out at expensive restaurants, rent movie cassettes, entertain at home, and buy paperback books. They are even more likely to work on crossword puzzles. And fans are more likely than nonfans to say they are interested in sex, politics, music, and religion. The only subject that nonfans are more interested in is reading. (Kate, 1992: 12)

Although we must approach these survey results with caution because no controls were used, and some of the cultural practices listed are themselves highly socially differentiated, they reflect both the 'omnivore' thesis about US cultural capital processes recently developed by sociologists of culture, and an observation about divisions within the dominant classes made by Bourdieu in his first attempt to map the field of sports in 'modern' societies.

The 'cultural omnivore' thesis argues that, in the US, the dominant classes have responded to democratic challenges to elite snobbery by developing more cosmopolitan tastes, which sustain an exclusive lifestyle by combining higher-brow cultural practices with middlebrow and even lowbrow practices (Peterson and Kern, 1996; Peterson, 1997). The complex structural causes and develop-

ments of the shift from highbrow to omnivore strategies are beyond the scope of this article, but if the omnivore strategy is widespread among the dominant classes then we would expect those with high levels of economic and cultural capital to not only dominate some sports, but also be well represented in the 'middlebrow' sports.² In the context of widespread dominant class omnivorosity, middlebrow sports ought to have a clear boundary between the middle and lower classes, but a weaker or non-existent boundary between the middle and upper middle classes.

The negative relationship between sports fandom and reading noted by Kate raises an important puzzle for the empirical analysis of sport as cultural capital. The field of sport appears to go against the intellectualist and aesthetic aspects of many high cultural and higher educational activities. Does sport represent the lowbrow side of the body vs mind, mass vs elite distinctions that are institutionalized in modern culture forms and, if it does, how could sport be used to draw culturally exclusive boundaries? A key to answering this puzzle may lie in Bourdieu's conception of *gendered* intra-class distinctions within the dominant classes:

Glorification of sport as the training ground of character, etc. always implies a certain anti-intellectualism. When one remembers that the dominant fractions of the dominant class always tend to conceive their relationship to the dominated fraction — 'intellectuals,' 'artists,' 'professors' — in terms of the opposition between male and female, the virile and the effeminate . . . one understands one of the most important implications of the exaltation of sport . . . (Bourdieu, 1978: 826)

Given this, and Bourdieu's claim that there is a homologous relationship between various cultural fields, there will be a gendered division in the field of sporting practices within the dominant classes, between those whose assets are more cultural (dominated fraction) and those whose capital is primarily economic (dominant fraction). This study provides the first systematic test of this hypothesis in the US (cf. Howell and McKenzie, 1987).

Using data from the National Opinion Research Center's 1993 General Social Survey in the US, Wilson (2002) found that attending a game and playing a sport sometime in the last year were both positively correlated with cultural and economic capital even after a broad range of controls were introduced. The correlations were of similar strength for both economic and cultural capital. This extended White and Wilson's analysis to the US and to adult participatory sports. He also found that 'attending a car or motorcycle race' in the last year had no significant relationship with income, but that those with the highest levels of education had among the lowest attendance rates. Wilson concluded that while, in general, sports operate as cultural capital, there are also some 'prole' (short for proletarian) sports that institutionalize values, relations to the body, and audiences that those with high cultural capital are repelled by and avoid.

Wilson only presented evidence on auto racing, but he identified weightlifting, bowling and contact sports as 'prole' sports that the dominant classes avoid, citing as the underlying principle of distinction Bourdieu's (1984) finding that the dominant classes cultivate the body 'for its own sake' while the 'popular' (working classes and lower middle classes) treat the body as an instrument used

towards some other end (as in giving up or sacrificing one's body).³ This study includes many more sports (e.g. basketball, bowling, (American) football, soccer and weightlifting), thus providing a more thorough test of the 'prole' sport hypothesis for adult participation sports. Although I hypothesized substantial variation in the class makeup of various sports, participatory sports as a whole embody the principle of concerted cultivation that is hegemonic in the dominant classes. Thus, I expect to find few, if any, prole sports among adult participatory sports.

Thrane (2001) extended White and Wilson's model to Denmark, Norway and Sweden, and found that sport spectatorship was higher among the higher income groups, but level of education had mixed effects on attending sporting events. In Norway the effect of education was slightly positive, in Denmark education had no effect on sport spectatorship, and in Sweden the most highly educated group was slightly less likely to attend a sporting event than the lowest education group. However, sport participation was positively associated with sport spectatorship, as was *moderate* participation in other high culture activities. Thrane's study is notable for broadening the range of countries studied, but also for measuring cultural capital as consuming high cultural activities such as attending classical music concerts, museums and theatre.

Educational credentials measure cultural capital as a formally recognized possession, but cultural capital is also institutionalized at the level of relatively durable dispositions and schemes of perception and evaluation that are formed by living in particular conditions of existence — schemes that incline the leading classes in 'advanced' societies to approach the world with strong dispositions for self-development, and a high degree of individuality, detachment and role distance that serves them well in their efforts to achieve in modern bureaucratic organizations (the 'field of power'). In cultural fields, Bourdieu describes this habitus or worldview, which involves a culturally specific relation to one's body, as the 'pure aesthetic,' an ethic that privileges the 'taste of reflection' over the 'taste of sense' and is thus predisposed to construct a form of aesthetic distancing in all areas of life.

Some researchers, focusing on cultural capital as the disposition for aesthetic distancing, operationalize it as the consumption and appreciation of high culture and art. A major goal of this line of research is to demonstrate that those with a taste for the fine arts, theater, and classical music are more highly evaluated in schools than their knowledge of the formal curriculum would earn them. This line of analysis, also pioneered by Bourdieu (1984, 1996b), attempts to demonstrate that such culturally specific taste is part of the hidden curriculum in schools, especially as individuals move up the educational hierarchy. In his seminal study, DiMaggio (1982) showed that controlling for test scores on standardized exams, girls from two US high schools who were more involved in the high arts earn higher grades in English, a subject that allows the greatest scope for the hidden evaluative schemes to operate.⁴

Following DiMaggio, Thrane (2001) also tested the hypothesis that consumption of high culture is associated with attending sporting events. As he notes, this tests more directly for whether sports attendance is part of the lifestyle clusters of those who consume high culture.⁵ He found that in all three countries,

consumption of high culture was associated with attending sporting events, but that it was moderate levels of high culture consumption that had the strongest association with sport attendance. Thrane considers the possibility that this more curvilinear relationship is simply a time issue (high levels of high culture involvement leave little time for sport), but it is possible that his findings are uncovering the same tension between the dominant and dominated fractions of the dominant classes mentioned previously. That is, in the field of culture, sports attendance is on the side of those whose balance of capitals is weighted toward economic capital, the same side where investments in 'classical' high culture are greater than those of the dominated classes but also more modest than those with the highest levels of cultural investments and credentials.

Quantitative studies of sport as cultural capital have to date focused on making a *prima facie* case that sport is operating as cultural capital; but how sport is used in this way is left largely unexplored theoretically and empirically. As others have noted, this gap is to a great extent the result of the kinds of survey data available which frequently have *very* general questions on sport behavior such as, 'In the last 12 months did you participate in any sports activity such as softball, basketball, swimming, golf, bowling, skiing or tennis?'⁶ There is a need to systematically analyze a variety of sporting practices simultaneously, in order to better map adult sports as an ongoing *field* of competition to establish the legitimate and most valued sporting practices and uses of the body.

This study addresses the need by considering adult participation in a wide range of sporting practices and mapping the distribution of adult sporting practices in the United States by volume and structure of cultural and economic capital. This permits an understanding of adult participatory sports as a *field* of competition to institute legitimate sport and legitimate uses of the body, and helps to see which sporting practices operate as cultural capital and which do not. Uncovering these patterns allows us to infer more clearly the exclusionary principles or schemes of evaluation that are operating in the field of adult participatory sport. This more relational analysis will also provide a more solid footing for building on the cross-national comparative work that Thrane initiated. This study also heeds Laberge's (1995) call to integrate gender into our understanding of sport as cultural capital.

Hypotheses from Bourdieu's Theory of Cultural Domination

- 1) Fitness sports are used by the dominant classes to draw distinctions between themselves and the middle and lower classes. Thus, fitness sports will be practiced more often and more strenuously by those with high levels of cultural and economic capital than those with middle or lower levels of capital.
- 2) Within the dominant classes the distribution of fitness sports will reflect a gendered class divide between the culturally and economically dominant classes. Fitness sport participation will be stronger among the culturally dominant class fraction than among the economically dominant fraction.
- 3) The dominant classes use competitive sports that restrain violence and physical domination to draw distinctions between themselves and the middle and lower classes.

- 4) Reflecting the gendered class divide, participation in other competitive sports will be higher among the economically dominant class fraction than among the culturally dominant fraction.
- 5) Some competitive sports will have the social structure of middlebrow sports with high rates of cultural omnivores among the dominant classes; that is, the dominant classes will participate at rates similar to the middle classes and the primary line of distinction will be between the middle classes and the lower classes.
- 6) Moderate levels of weight-training are used by the dominant classes to draw distinctions between themselves and the middle and lower classes.
- 7) There will be no prole sports among the adult participatory sports.

Data and Methods

In order to analyze the field of adult participation sport in the US, data are drawn from the 1998 National Health Interview Survey (NHIS) conducted by the National Center for Health Statistics. The NHIS surveyed 32,240 randomly selected US adults in face-to-face interviews about their participation in 21 sport and physical activities over the prior two weeks, the average duration of that participation, and how much their heart and lungs were worked during the activity.⁷ This study considers 15 of the activities, excluding gardening because it is not a sport, and five sports whose participation rates were too low to conduct meaningful analyses.⁸ In order to focus the analysis on adults who have had the opportunity to complete university, only those at least 25 years old were included. Also eliminated from analysis were those 80 years of age or older because of their low levels of participation. Because of other missing data (e.g. almost 16% of the sample did not provide usable income information) the actual sample size for most regression models was about 22,500.⁹ This is still a quite large sample that permitted analyses on many sports with low participation rates.

It should be noted that the measures of sport participation in the NHIS data reveal differences in sport, frequency, duration, and intensity, but there are no measures of the social makeup of the sport locations and other participants, or the style of participation. Therefore, the substantial evidence of class exclusion that we find in the NHIS survey should be seen as *conservative* measures of the degree of actual levels of exclusion and class differences.

Sport Participation and the Volume and Structure of Capital

Table 1 shows the volume and structure of the capital of participants in each of the 15 sports. Total family income and educational attainment were used to measure economic and cultural capital respectively. To measure the influence of the structure of capital on sport participation, nine categories were constructed by dividing both formal education and total family income into high, medium and low categories and then cross-classifying them. High economic capital was defined as having a family income of US\$65,000 per year or more. Of the adults

aged 25–79, 27.5 percent were in this category. High cultural capital was defined as having a four-year university degree or higher, which constituted 25.5 percent of the sample. These represent the top one-fourth of both the education and income distributions, which matches Bourdieu's 'dominant classes.' Low economic capital was defined as having a family income of under US\$25,000, which made up 29.0 percent of the sample. Low cultural capital was defined as having a General Education Diploma or not finishing high school, a category that made up 19.2 percent of the sample.

Cross-classifying created three dominant class categories: high cultural-high economic category (hereinafter HC-HE), a high cultural-medium economic (hereinafter HC-ME), and a medium cultural-high economic (hereinafter MC-HE). These categories constituted 13.4, 9.6, and 12.9 percent of the sample respectively. In the statistical tests presented here, their levels of sport participation are compared with the medium cultural-medium economic group (hereinafter MC-ME) and the low cultural-low economic group (hereinafter LC-LE), which made up 27.3 and 11.7 percent of the sample respectively. These five class categories make up 74.9 percent of the weighted sample. The remaining four class categories were included in the statistical analyses, but they are not reported here.

Table 1 also presents the estimated odds ratios of logistic regressions for the three dominant class fractions and the middle class compared to the lower capital class (LC-LE), which is the reference category. Controls included gender, age, race, region, whether born in the US, city size, hours worked (and for those not employed, the primary reason for not working, such as keeping house, health problems, attending school or job layoff), marital status, and if the respondent had children under age 18 living with them. Participation in competitive sports was operationalized as playing one or more times for at least 30 minutes in the last two weeks. Participation in fitness and strengthening sports was operationalized as engaging in the sport four or more times for at least 30 minutes in the previous two weeks. Table 1 lists the sports in the order of their rates of participation (in parentheses).

To test the main hypotheses there are four dividing lines that are of interest:

- 1) Between the dominant classes and the lower class (HC-HE/LC-LE).
- 2) Between the dominant class and the middle class (HC-HE/MC-ME).
- 3) Between the middle class and the lower class (MC-ME/LC-LE)
- 4) Between the cultural and economic fractions of the dominant classes (HC-ME/MC-HE).

These tests were conducted by altering the reference category to obtain the relevant significance test. For example, to compare the cultural and economic fractions of the dominant classes the MC-HE class was made the reference category and compared with odds ratio and significance test of the HC-ME class.

Table 1 shows that 14 of the 15 sports are played more often by at least one of the high capital class fractions than by those in the low capital class. (American) football, the least played sport, is the only exception. There are no sports listed that the lower class plays more than any of the dominant class fractions. The most class exclusive sport is tennis, in which HC-HE respondents had an estimated odds ratio of playing that was 53.48 times those in the LC-LE

Table 1 Estimated Odds Ratios from Logistic Regressions for Class Fractions on Adult Sport Practices Controlling for Social Structural Variables: Reference Category is Low Cultural/Low Economic^a

Sport	Hi Cult/ Hi Econ	Hi Cult/ Med Econ	Med Cult/ Hi Econ	Med Cult/ Med Econ
Walk for exercise (19.8)	2.93***	2.22***	2.27***	1.62***
Weight-training (5.3)	4.27***	4.36***	3.73***	2.53***
Golf (5.2)	13.48***	8.75***	8.92***	5.41***
Basketball (3.5)	2.99***	2.88***	2.33***	2.07***
Running (2.9)	12.98***	7.84***	4.53***	4.05***
Bicycling (2.7)	1.96***	1.76**	1.84**	1.08
Bowling (2.7)	1.35	1.33	2.04***	2.00***
Baseball/softball (2.3)	2.87***	3.94***	3.58***	2.91***
Aerobics (2.1)	11.31***	11.07***	7.19***	6.20***
Swimming (1.3)	8.14***	7.97***	7.98***	4.56***
Tennis (1.3)	53.48***	24.33***	22.09***	10.97***
Volleyball (1.1)	2.53*	2.98**	2.20*	2.47*
Soccer (0.9)	1.44	1.76*	1.18	0.65
American football (0.8)	0.88	1.20	0.87	1.00
Stair-climbing (0.7)	4.75**	4.11**	3.11*	1.66
Fitness Index ^b (9.1)	6.08***	5.03***	3.65***	2.50***
Vigorous Fitness ^c Index (3.4)	22.48***	13.86***	10.22***	6.40***
Competitive Index ^d (13.6)	4.32***	3.27***	3.45***	2.44***

^a See text for class fraction definitions and control variables.

^b Did aerobics, running, swimming, stair-climbing, or bicycling four or more times in past two weeks for an average of 30 minutes.

^c Did aerobics, running, swimming, stair-climbing, or bicycling four or more times in past two weeks for an average of 30 minutes with large increase in heart rate and breathing.

^d Played golf, basketball, bowling, base/softball, tennis, volleyball, soccer, or American football one or more times for at least 30 minutes in past two weeks.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

category. Golf, running and aerobics are the other three most class exclusive sports, all with odds ratios of over 10 for at least one of the dominant class fractions. With the exception of walking, the least strenuous of the fitness sports, and bicycling, an important mode of transportation for many low income people, the fitness sports all have estimated odds ratios of over 5.5 between the HC-HE and the LC-LE classes. These are high rates of class exclusion and the odds ratios for many fitness sports are even higher at more frequent and more strenuous levels of participation. The vigorous fitness index captures this tendency. It measures those who engaged in high aerobic fitness sports (biking, running, stair climbing, swimming, and aerobics) at least four times in the previous two weeks, and during which they had 'large' increases in their heart and breathing rates. The odds ratio for the HC-HE class compared to the LC-LE class is a very high 22.48.

In contrast to the fitness sports, the level of exclusivity in competitive sports is more varied. While golf and tennis are among the most class exclusive sports, the other six competitive sports are considerably less exclusive than most of the fitness sports. Only baseball/softball has an odds ratio over 3.0 for one of the high

Table 2 Estimated Odds Ratios from Logistic Regressions for Class Fractions on Adult Sport Practices Controlling for Social Structural Variables: Reference Category is Medium Cultural/Medium Economic^a

Sport	Hi Cult/ Hi Econ	Hi Cult/ Med Econ	Med Cult/ Hi Econ	Low Cult/ Low Econ
Walk for exercise	1.81***	1.37***	1.40***	0.62***
Golf	2.49***	1.62***	1.65***	0.18***
Basketball	1.44**	1.39**	1.12	0.48***
Weight-training	1.69***	1.73***	1.47***	0.40***
Running	3.21***	1.94***	1.12	0.25***
Bicycling	1.81***	1.63***	1.70**	0.93
Bowling	0.68**	0.66**	1.02	0.50***
Baseball/softball	0.99	1.36*	1.23	0.34***
Aerobics	1.82***	1.78***	1.16	0.16***
Swimming	1.78***	1.75**	1.75**	0.22***
Tennis	4.87***	2.23***	2.01***	0.91***
Volleyball	1.02	1.20	0.89	0.40*
Soccer	2.20***	2.70***	1.81*	1.53
American football	0.88	1.20	0.87	1.00
Stair-climbing	2.85***	2.47***	1.87*	0.61
Fitness Index ^b	2.42***	2.01***	1.46***	0.40***
Vigorous fitness Index ^c	3.51***	2.16***	1.60***	0.16***
Competitive Index ^d	1.77***	1.34***	1.41***	0.41***

^a See text for class fraction definitions and control variables.

^b Did aerobics, running, swimming, stair-climbing, or bicycling four or more times in past two weeks for an average of 30 minutes.

^c Did aerobics, running, swimming, stair-climbing, or bicycling four or more times in past two weeks for an average of 30 minutes with large increase in heart rate and breathing.

^d Played golf, basketball, bowling, base/softball, tennis, volleyball, soccer, or American football one or more times for at least 30 minutes in past two weeks.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

capital classes compared to the low capital class. Basketball and volleyball both have high capital to low capital class odds ratios over 2.5, and bowling, soccer and (American) football appear to have very little class exclusivity.

From Table 1 it appears that social class has quite strong associations with adult sport participation and that the fitness sports and several competitive sports may be used as cultural capital by the dominant classes to distinguish themselves from the middle and lower classes. However, the odds ratios and significance tests only compare dominant class and middle class respondents to lower class respondents. Table 2 presents the estimated odds ratios for logistic regressions that were identical to those in Table 1 except the reference category is set as MC-ME. This permits a test of the divisions in sport participation between the dominant classes and the middle class, and the middle class and the lower class.

Table 2 shows that for all of the fitness sports and weight-training, at least two of the three dominant class fractions have higher rates of participation than the middle classes. In the two fitness sports (running and aerobics) where a

dominant class fraction does not participate more than the middle class, it is the fraction weighted with more economic capital (MC-HE). Running and stair-climbing stand out as having the largest gaps between the dominant and the middle classes, with the odds ratios for the HC-HE class in relation to MC-ME class at 3.21 and 2.85 respectively, but all of the fitness sports except weight-training have at least one dominant class with an odds ratio over 1.75.

The fitness and strenuous fitness indexes provide more comprehensive measures and demonstrate that there are substantial gaps between the dominant and middle classes, with HC-HE to MC-ME odds ratios of 2.43 and 3.51 respectively. Again, we see the class gap increasing with more strenuous levels of activity. Nevertheless, many of the participation gaps between the dominant and middle classes are smaller than those between the middle and lower classes. Taken together the class structural patterns in fitness sport participation strongly support the first hypothesis, and are consistent with a model of class distinction in (and through) fitness sports, with many more upward aspiring members in the middle class than in the lower classes adopting the practices.

The pattern for competitive sports is even more varied when both the dominant/middle and the middle/lower class boundaries are brought into view. Tennis, golf and to a lesser extent basketball fit the dominant class distinction model found in the fitness sports. Golf and tennis both restrain violence and physical domination to a considerable degree, and their strong association with the dominant classes supports the third hypothesis. However, basketball is often a contact team sport and needs further explanation. Based on observation and experience, basketball appears to attract more dominant class men (87.1% of adult players are men), many of whom have a high level of competitive drive, partly because it is viewed as a good workout. By comparison, softball/baseball and volleyball, which fit the middlebrow with omnivorous dominant classes pattern posited in the fifth hypothesis, are less physically strenuous. Bowling seems to be even further away from basketball along this continuum of strenuousness and intensity, and it is the one sport that is distinctly middle-class dominated. Two of the three dominant class fractions bowl less frequently than the middle class, and the estimated odds of lower class members bowling is only half that of the middle class.

It is noteworthy and consistent with the second hypothesis that the dominant class fraction with relatively more cultural capital plays basketball more than the middle class, and the fraction with more economic capital bowls as much as the middle class. That is, the ascetic vs luxury principle of distinction between the cultural and economic fractions of the dominant classes appears to be operating in adult competitive sports with the culturally dominant fraction emphasizing strenuousness in their competitive games. This is further supported by the pattern found in soccer, another competitive sport where you can 'get a good workout' and that the dominant classes play more than the middle class. Soccer is also played more by Hispanics (odds ratio = 1.87), who are disproportionately located in the lower class. This may explain why the lower class plays soccer more than the middle class, although this relationship is not statistically significant ($p = .116$).

Like golf and tennis, the patterns in weight-training fit the dominant classes' tendency to establish distinctions by restraining physical domination in their

sporting practices. Weight-training is about building strength, a traditionally or stereotypically masculine and working-class trait. It is a practice that grew substantially in the 1980s and 1990s, and there are apparently more women and upper-middle-class people integrating strength-building into their body regimens and self-identities. Many of these are interested in building muscle 'tone' and use weight-training as part of a 'balanced' conditioning program. The issues and dilemmas for women strength-builders have been widely discussed in a number of sources, but the upper middle class also avoids excessive displays of strength. For many upper-middle-class men, bodybuilder-type bodies appear too vulgar, represent an overemphasis on the body (vanity and wasting time), and suggest overcompensation for a wounded manhood.

The dominant classes' 'hegemonic restraint' was tested for in weight-training by comparing the odds ratios of the HC-HE class in Tables 1 and 2 to models that changed the dependent variable from lifting four times for 30 minutes to lifting four times for 60 minutes. Table 2 shows that the odds ratio for the HC-HE class compared to the MC-ME class is 1.69, and this difference is significant at $p = .001$. This finding is contrary to research that locates weight-training as a 'prole' sport (Wilson, 2002).¹⁰ However, with weight-training set at 60 minutes or more, the same HC-HE to MC-ME odds ratio declines to 1.12 and is not significant even at .05. Interestingly, and consistent with the overall picture of the field developed in this article, the odds ratio for the HC-ME class declines more modestly to 1.42, and the odds ratio for the MC-HE class actually increases slightly to 1.55. As predicted, it appears that the most class exclusive approach to strength-building is one that moderately incorporates strength into a sporting lifestyle, and this restraint is more associated with cultural capital than economic capital. As Bourdieu's theory predicts, the dominant classes draw boundaries by restraining or refining practices (from strength to tone and conditioning) that are associated with the lower classes.

The second and fourth hypotheses address divisions within the dominant classes, predicting that the HC-ME class will participate in strenuous fitness sports more than the MC-HE class, and the latter will participate more in competitive sports. The second hypothesis was supported by logistic regression models (available from the author upon request) that set the MC-HE class as the reference category, and generated estimated odds ratios and significance tests for the HC-ME class. Weightlifting, aerobics and running were all practiced more by the HC-ME class, with running having the highest odds ratio of 1.71. The fitness and vigorous fitness indexes were both more strongly associated with the HC-ME class, which had statistically significant odds ratios of 1.38 and 1.35 respectively in relation to the MC-HE class.¹¹

The greater influence of cultural capital on participation in fitness sports is even more remarkable when we note that lack of money is a serious barrier to participation in many of the activities. Minimal government support for fitness and recreation centers in the US means that aerobics, swimming, stair-climbing, weightlifting, and even running and biking are often done at fitness clubs and gyms that charge substantial fees, or in home gyms that require extra space and considerable cost.

Among the competitive sports, only bowling was played more often by the

MC-HE class, with a 1.53 odds ratio in relation to the HC-ME class. Thus, the fourth hypothesis was not well supported. However, if the fourth hypothesis is modified to conform with the principle of strenuousness discussed above, bowling may be expected to be the competitive sport more strongly associated with the MC-HE class than the HC-ME class. Basketball and soccer might therefore be the sports in which the reverse was the case. While both of these sports are played more by the HC-ME class (odds ratios of 1.47 and 1.49 respectively); neither had significant HC-ME/MC-HE differences. However, an index of playing soccer or basketball shows that the HC-ME class had played one of those two sports more than the MC-HE class ($p = .043$). Thus, the fourth hypothesis must be rejected; but if adult competitive sports are reconceptualized as an autonomous subfield, the same principle of distinction as fitness sports is evident between the cultural and economic class fractions.

Tables 1 and 2 provide little support for the prole sport hypothesis. There are no sports that the lower class plays more than the dominant classes. Bowling is the only sport that is played more by the middle class and it is possible that the sport has 'proletarian' connotations that cause some in the dominant classes to avoid it. On the other hand, even when 'lower class' is redefined to include the two low-medium capital groups, making it 27.2 percent of the weighted sample, the dominant class fractions all bowl as often as the lower class. This suggests that it is best seen as a middlebrow sport with fewer dominant class omnivores, perhaps because it is less strenuous.

Before examining the gendered nature of class divisions within adult participatory sports, the results to this point may be summarized as follows:

- 1) The dominant classes appear to use fitness sports to draw boundaries between themselves and the middle and lower classes. More strenuous aerobic activities are the most class exclusive fitness sports.
- 2) The culturally dominant class fraction participates more in fitness sports than the economically dominant fraction, thus reflecting the more general divide between asceticism and luxury as means of cultivating social distance.
- 3) The most class-exclusive competitive sports restrain direct physical domination, thus fitting the predicted gendered class distinction of civilized masculinity to brute masculine force.
- 4) Competitive sports per se are not more prevalent among the economically dominant class than the culturally dominant one, but the ascetic vs luxury divide appears to be operating to divide the culturally and economically dominant classes within competitive sports.
- 5) There is strong support for the cultural omnivore model of the dominant classes, with the dominant classes participating as much or more than the lower class in all of the 15 sports, and as much or more than the middle class in 14 of the 15 sports.
- 6) There do not appear to be any prole sports among the 15 sports tested.

Returning to the prediction in the second and fourth hypotheses of the fitness vs competitive sports division between the HC-ME and MC-HE class fractions, this is considered as a gendered class division, with the economically dominant class relating to the culturally dominant class as masculine to feminine. The

second hypothesis was supported with regard to fitness sports, but in competitive sports (fourth hypothesis) the distinction appears to be that the HC-ME class brings the value of (health producing) strenuous effort into its competitive sports play. The inclusion of gender/class fraction interaction terms in the fitness sports and competitive sport models refines and provides additional evidence of this gendered class divide.

With the fitness index as the dependent variable, the gender/class fraction interaction term was statistically significant ($p = .04$) for the MC-HE, but not the HC-ME group. Separate regressions for each gender showed that MC-HE men had a significantly lower odds ratio (3.07) than their female counterparts (4.21). Conversely, HC-ME men had a (non-significant) lower odds ratio (4.74) than their female counterparts (5.22).

With the competitive sport index as the dependent variable, adding the gender/class interaction terms reveals a mirror image of the fitness sports model. In separate regressions for each gender, women in the HC-ME fraction have a lower odds ratio (2.77) than their male counterparts (3.58), while MC-HE women have an odds ratio (3.58) that is almost identical to their male counterparts (3.49). In the full model, the gender/HC-ME interaction term is not significant ($p = .062$). If this difference was significant the findings would suggest that, on both sides of the gendered sporting divide (fitness vs competitive), the gender from the *outsider* dominant class fraction that does not match the gender of the activity, avoids or is less drawn to that activity. This is an intriguing possibility that future studies examining the gendered class divide might investigate. On balance there is substantial evidence, as predicted, of a gendered cultural vs economic capital divide within the field of adult participation sports.

Summary and Discussion

Previous studies argued that adult participatory and spectator sports operate as a form of cultural capital in several 'developed' countries. Using limited survey data, these studies developed the conceptual and analytic approach of interpreting the association between education and sports participation (when controlling for economic resources and other social structural variables) as evidence that sport is operating as cultural capital.

This study supports and extends previous studies by utilizing data from a large, nationally representative survey of US adults, that uses more valid and specific questions on sports participation than previous studies. These data permitted a test of Bourdieu's theory of sport as a relational structure or field of practices, specifying the sports that are most associated with different class fractions, inferring from these associations the different principles of cultural distancing that are operating, and testing his theory of the gendering of class divisions within the field of participatory sports. Two related hypotheses about dominant class sporting lifestyles were also tested: the 'prole' sport and 'omnivore' theses.

The results provide strong support for several of the key principles of cultural distancing derived from Bourdieu's theory of class status distinctions. The

dominant classes appear to use strenuous aerobic sports, moderate levels of weight-training, and competitive sports that restrain violence and direct physical domination to draw boundaries between themselves and the middle and lower classes. These data appear to indicate that electing to embrace a physically strenuous lifestyle is the primary principle of distinction for the dominant classes over the middle and lower classes. Thus, dominant class adults use participation in sports to draw boundaries by strenuously working on their bodies to produce disciplined, high performing and achieving selves. Engaging in strenuous sports is a practical, embodied way to maintain distance from the classes who are lazy 'couch potatoes' that 'let themselves go.' It appears that, in recent decades, 'fitness' has been redefined to incorporate a greater interest in strength-building, but that aerobic capacity, and the vitality that it implies, weighs more heavily in dominant class definitions of 'health' and 'fitness' that they identify with.

These findings are congruent with both Lareau's description of the upper-middle-class cultural logic of 'concerted cultivation' and Lamont's findings on upper-middle-class symbolic boundary-making around 'self-actualization' and 'moral character' (the latter defined as competitiveness, competence and dynamism).¹² This process of distinction and developing a distinctive lifestyle is often not conscious, and it is simultaneously a process for constructing positive self-identities which become increasingly important in societies whose exclusionary structures are highly individualized and where status competition is intensified and rationalized. If Elias and Scotson (1994/1965) and Wouters (1998) are correct, people who build positive self-identities around strenuous bodywork and competitive sport are simultaneously doing the emotional work of suppressing or sublimating the 'lazy,' 'letting go' parts of themselves so as to live up to their high performance self-identities.

Competitiveness, and expressing the 'will to win' within 'civilized' constraints on physical domination, appear to be an important secondary principle of distinction. The structure of the field of adult sport participation supports Bourdieu's thesis that the dominant classes relate to the lower classes as strong to weak where this opposition is defined as civilized self-control to uncontrolled strength, and that the dominant fraction of the dominant classes relate to the dominated fractions as male to female.

Thus, the physio-cultural dominance that the dominant classes achieve through participation sports is not the dominance of greater physical force and strength, which is perceived as uncivilized, but the dominance of cultivating a body and bodily hexis that displays vitality, 'moral character,' competitiveness, self-control and self-development.¹³ The evidence also suggests that, while in tension with the economically dominant classes, the high cultural capital classes bring the culture of embodying self-control and self-development through sports (the cultivated body) to the dominant classes as a whole.

Dominant class adults play a wide range of sports, including some that previous analysts identified as having 'prole' reputations, as much or more than the lower classes; and bowling is the only sport the middle classes participate in more than the dominant class. This supports the omnivore thesis that, under more democratic cultural conditions, the dominant classes engage in some highly exclusive activities and are well-represented in a broad range of other activities.

The evidence also supports a gendered ‘ascetic vs luxury’ divide between the culturally and economically dominated fractions of the dominant class. The culturally dominant category invests more energy in (feminine) fitness sports and the principle of strenuously working their bodies, and the economically dominant class invests comparatively more energy in (masculine) competitive sports. This difference is accentuated for the gender within each class fraction that matches the gendered code of their class fraction in the HC-ME/MC-HE relation (HC-ME women and MC-HE men).

As Curtis et al. (2003) point out, if the promise of Bourdieu’s critical theory of culture is to be achieved in sport studies there is a great deal of work to be done. A primary goal should be a greater emphasis on class boundary-making in the growing body of ethnographic and content analysis work on sports and the sports media, and synthesizing this work with theoretically driven quantitative studies of participation, spectatorship, and fandom. Also, new studies that apply to sports the semi-structured interview techniques pioneered by Michele Lamont, which inductively elicit agents’ discursive boundaries, should be seen as a necessary complement to large scale surveys that primarily measure behavior and social networks. Lamont’s work on class and racial boundaries has also been a model of the cross-national comparative work that is needed to flesh out our understanding of how global sporting processes influence ordinary people, and vice versa. In the area of survey research, long-term panel studies on a wide range of sports involvement are, of course, the Holy Grail for understanding cultural capital processes. But there are many more attainable goals that will contribute to making the case for funding this ideal study. In particular, more studies are needed that view agents ‘in the round,’ measuring a fuller range of their sporting lifestyles and how these mesh with other areas of cultural consumption as well as agents’ cultural and economic positions and trajectories. It is in these more detailed analyses that the power of Bourdieu’s theory, and the importance of sports, will become most apparent. Finally, integrating age or life course into our understanding of sport as cultural capital is a crucial line of research that has barely begun.

Notes

1. I view ‘concerted cultivation’ as closely related to the ‘omnivore’ strategy of cultural consumption discussed below.
2. Peterson and Kern locate the rise of the omnivore strategy as a 20th-century development, but Struna (1996) describes the emergence of a pattern of elite sporting behavior in the 18th century in the US that closely resembles the ‘omnivore.’
3. Holt (1998) offers an alternative description of the class distinctions in leisure: autotelic (practiced for its own sake) vs self-actualization and the ethic of improvement.
4. The gendered nature of this finding should be combined with research that suggests that participation in high school sports operates as a form of cultural capital for males, but not so much for females, with relatively long-term effects on income earning (Curtis et al., 2003).
5. While Thrane suggests that involvement in high culture activities is a more authentic definition of cultural capital, this would define cultural capital too narrowly. Questions of where high arts, theatre, etc. fit into exclusive lifestyles are clearly important for understanding processes of cultural exclusion. However, defining cultural capital as consumption of classical high culture, which figured more centrally in class reproduction strategies in the ‘modernist’ era, would reify

Bourdieu's theory. Bourdieu regularly warned against such reification by emphasizing the historical and relational context of his empirical findings. It would, for example, ignore the possibility that in some social contexts certain kinds of sporting practices may operate more effectively to produce status barriers and exclusive self-identities than the high arts do (Lamont, 1992).

6. This was the sole measure of sport participation in the 1993 General Social Survey used by Wilson (2002).
7. The survey is carried out over the entire year with 22.2% being completed in winter, 26.1% in spring, 26.3% in summer, and 25.5 in fall. Thus, the participation rates are not annual participation rates, but the seasonal bias is minimal. The advantage of this approach is that the shorter recall period substantially increases the validity of measures of frequency and intensity.
8. The excluded sports were racquetball, stretching and downhill, cross-country, and water-skiing.
9. The regression analyses were conducted using weighted data. Analyses were also conducted without the weights and these produced no substantive differences in test outcomes.
10. Klein (1993) found that the serious bodybuilders he studied were primarily of working-class origins.
11. This test was most sensitive to the cuts used to define middle economic and cultural capital. Because the income data in the NHIS is not continuous I could not make cuts in income at percentiles that exactly matched the educational categories. Thus, to add support for the hypothesis of gendered class divisions between dominant class fractions I tested models that substituted high cultural-low or medium economic and low or medium cultural-high economic for HC-ME and MC-HE respectively. The results were very similar with statistically significant odds ratios of 1.30 ($p < .001$) and 1.27 ($p = .037$) for fitness and strenuous fitness sports respectively.
12. As stated earlier I believe that in identifying 'concerted cultivation' Lareau focuses on the principle uniting the dominant classes vis-à-vis the dominated ones. Lamont looked for but found little division within the dominant classes and little cultural boundary making in the American upper middle class, a finding that was central to her claim that Bourdieu's analysis of cultural capital is not as applicable to the US. I believe that one reason Lamont did not uncover divisions in the dominant classes, such as those uncovered here, is that she relied heavily on discursive data gathered through face-to-face interviews. Under these conditions respondents were drawing more on legitimate cultural repertoires and ideologies, while this study relies on behavioral data that is better suited for uncovering less conscious and less explicitly defended cultural standards.
13. Note also that in the field of participatory sports middlebrow to highbrow conforms quite closely with young to old. The middle brow sports are predominantly sports that are often taken up as children and carried into or returned to in adulthood, whereas the fitness sports, tennis, and golf are more clearly 'adult' activities.

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