

Social Class, Habitus, and Physical Culture

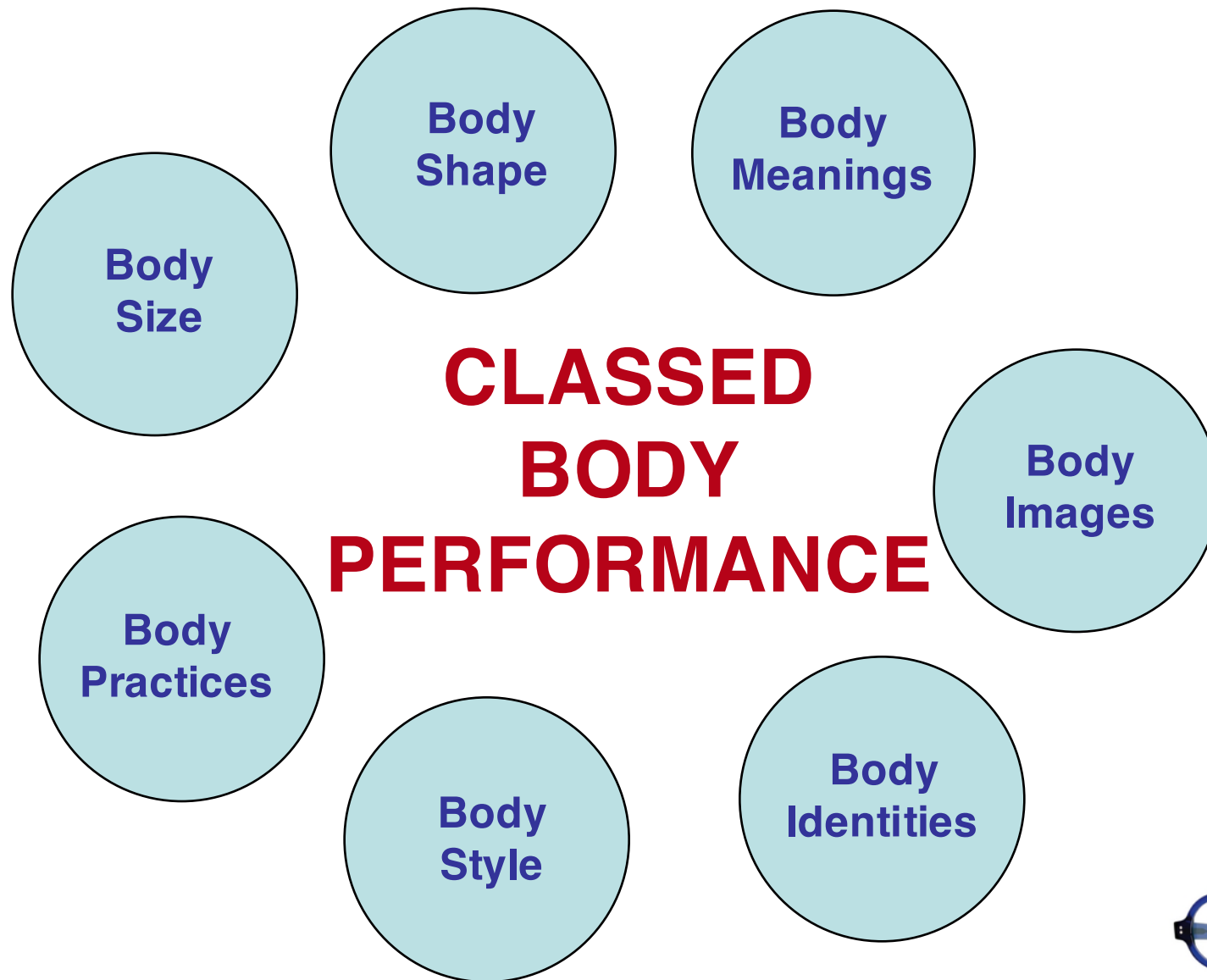
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Physical Cultural Studies Program
Department of Kinesiology



This topic focuses on the manner in which social class relations, experiences, identities, and bodies are constructed through sport and physical culture.

Put another way, the focus is on the manner in which social class is constructed /performed/ (re)produced through sport and physical culture.

The class based nature of sport culture leads to the establishment of very different bodily conventions/expectations for different class groupings.



Theme 1:

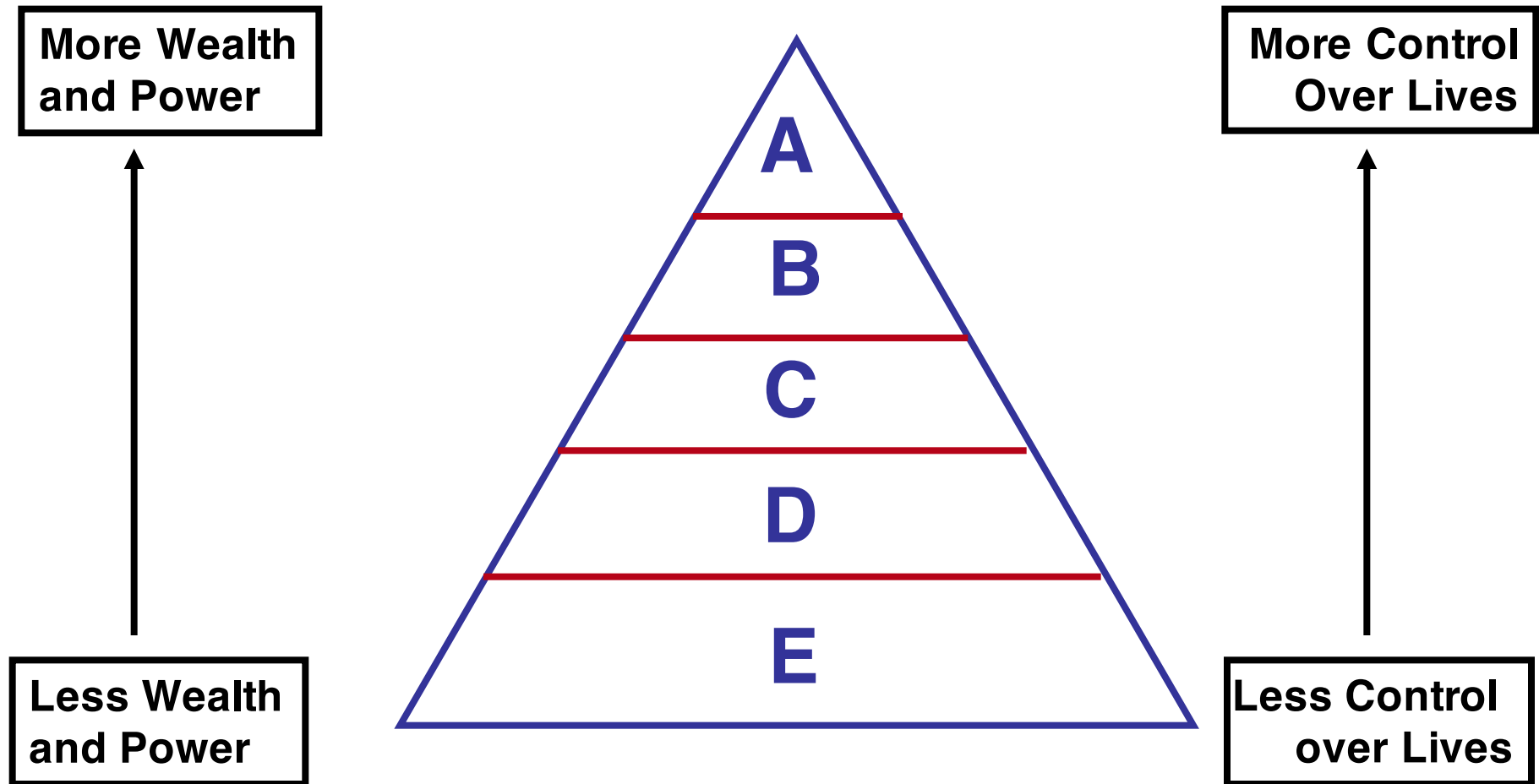
Social Class Matters

Whether we realize it or not, most societies are divided up **(STRATIFIED)** into various groups **(SOCIAL CLASSES)** according to their access to specific forms of wealth **(FINANCE)** and influence **(POWER)**.



America would seem to be no different...

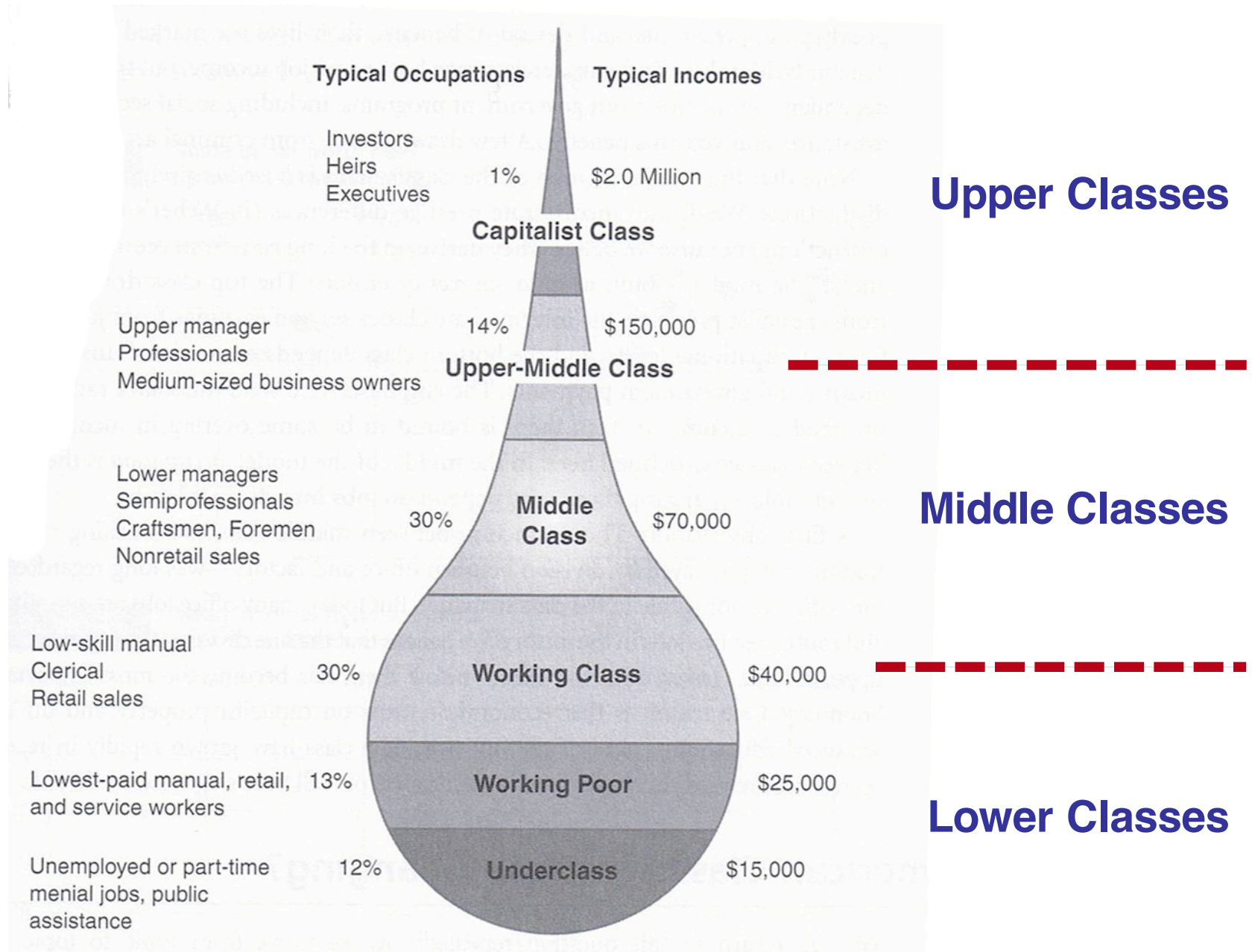
Social Stratification of American Society



Gilbert and Kahl (1990) Model of Class Stratification

Capitalist	1%
Upper Middle	14%
Middle Working }	60%
Working Poor Underclass }	25%

U.S. Social Class Structure



Source: Gilbert & Kahl Model of the U.S. Class Structure

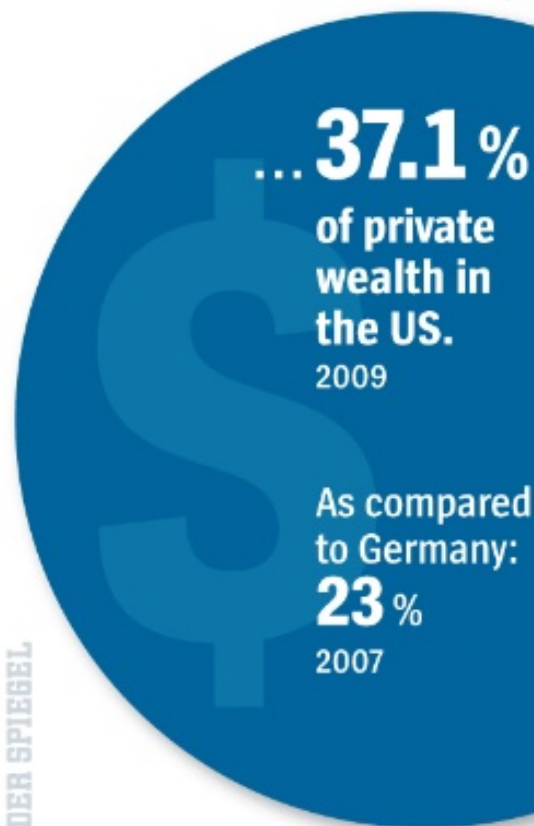
U.S. Distribution of Income/Wealth

American Disparities

The richest **1%** of the population owns...



The bottom **80%** of the population owns...



... 12.3%

As compared to Germany:
19.9%

Nets Assets

Change between 1983 and 2007

For richest 1%
of households

For bottom 40%
of households

+103%

-63%

Incomes

Change between 1982 and 2006

Top Earners
The richest 1% of taxpayers

Low Earners
The bottom 40% of taxpayers

+127%

+7%

**Social class location—and
associated class lifestyles—are an
important influence upon, and
predictor of, almost every facet of
our lives...**

LIFE CHANCES

and

LIFE EXPERIENCES

“For our purposes, a **social class** can be thought of as a **group of people** whose members are characterized by **relative similarities**” of:



- **wealth**
- **income**
- **occupation**
- **education**
- **culture and lifestyle**
- **social network**
- **spatial location**

Sage, G. H. (1998). *Power and ideology in American sport: A critical perspective* (Second ed.) (pp. 36). Champaign: Human Kinetics.

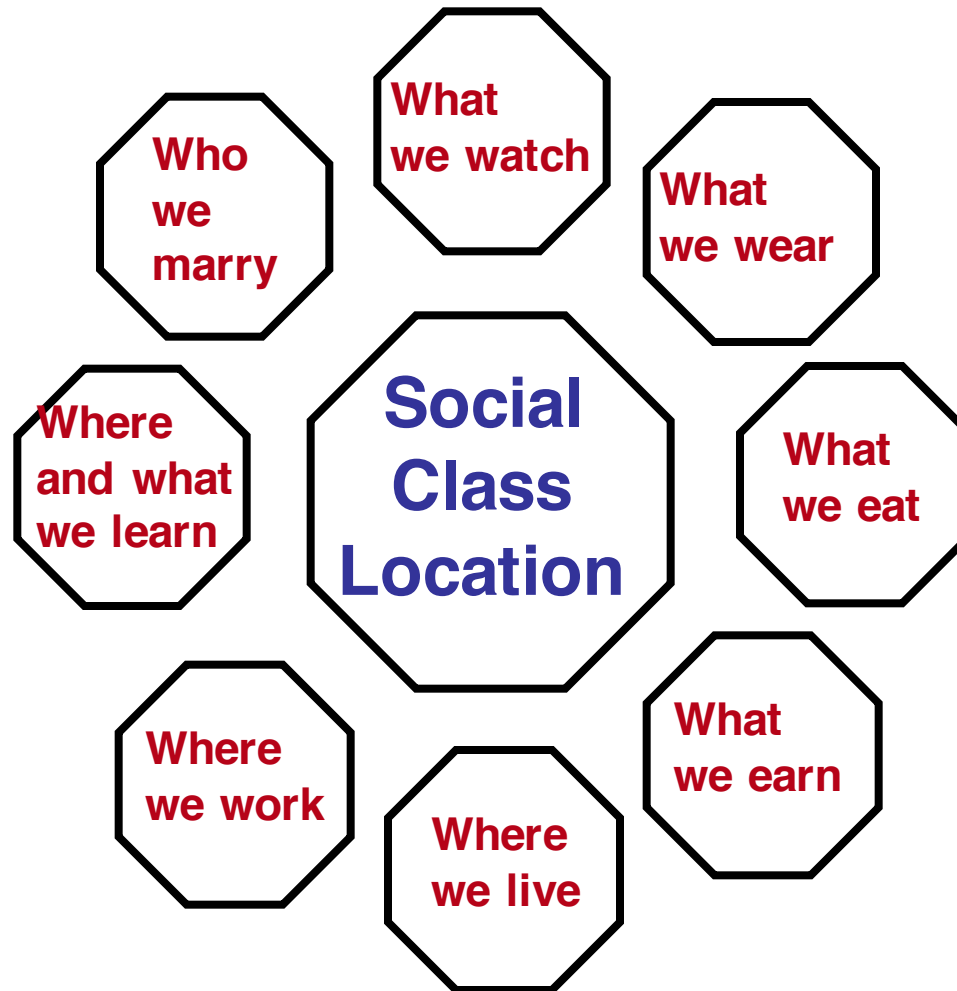
“People Like Us: Social Class in America”



Which social class grouping do you come from I?

See Video Clip 1

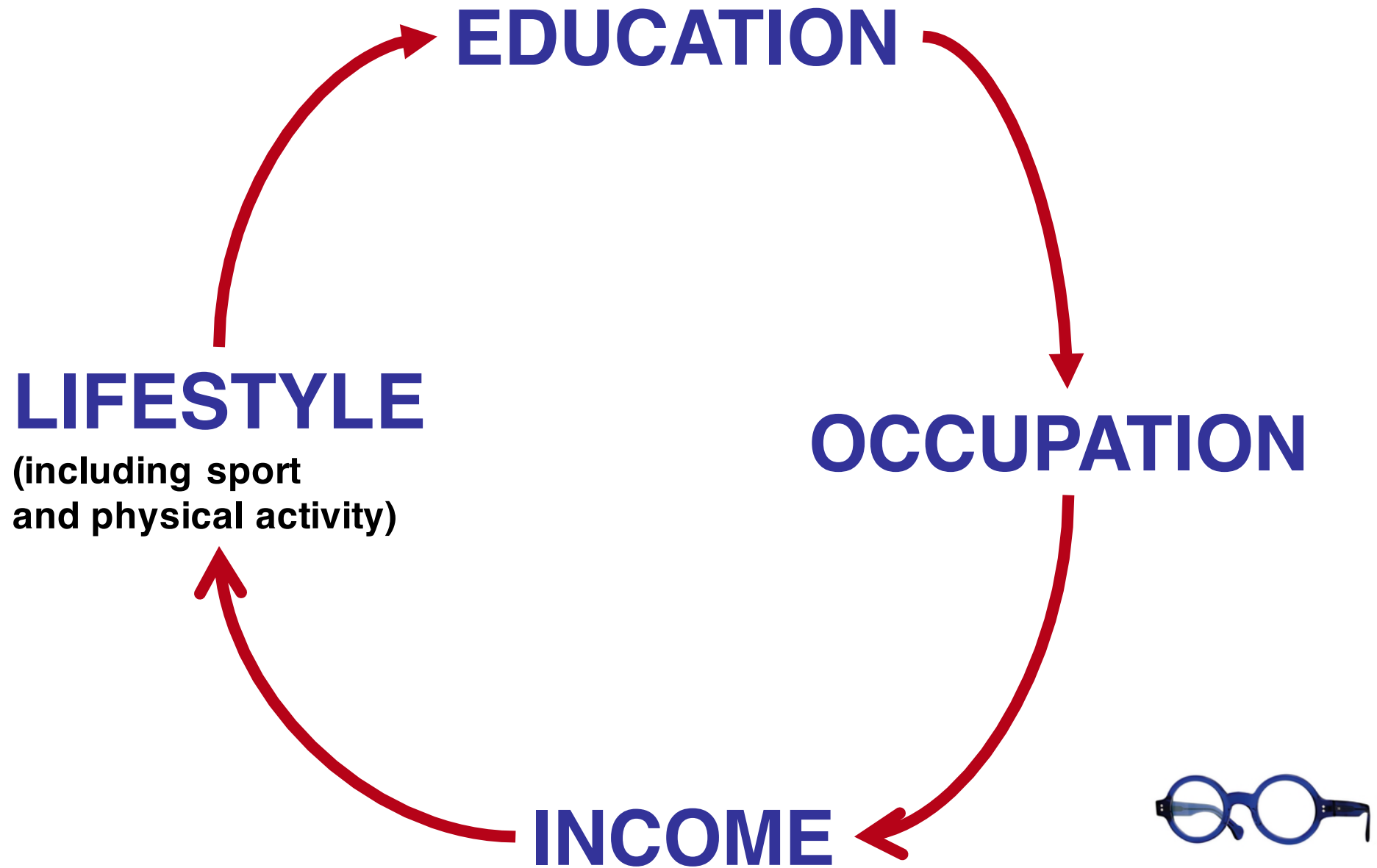
Social Class Location and Lifestyle



**Social classes and class differences
tend to be reproductive:**

**SOCIAL CLASSES ARE
REPRODUCED IN THE
LIVES/LIFESTYLES OF THEIR
OFFSPRING, AND THEIR
OFFSPRING...**

The Cycle of Class Reproduction



Social class groupings are identified with specific **LIFESTYLES**– are an **ASSEMBLAGE** or “set of consumption and other living patterns” (Green & Potvin, 2004)–through which members of **SOCIAL CLASS GROUPINGS PERFORM/EMBODY** their social class membership, and **DIFFERENTIATE** themselves from other social class/lifestyle groupings.

Source: Green, L. W., & Potvin, L. (2004). Education, health promotion, and social and lifestyle determinants of health and disease. In R. Detels, J. McEwen, R. Beaglehole & H. Tanaka (Eds.), Oxford Textbook of Public Health. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Which social class grouping do you come from II?

ZIP Code Look-up

[About ZIP Code Look-up](#)

Enter 5 digit zipcode:

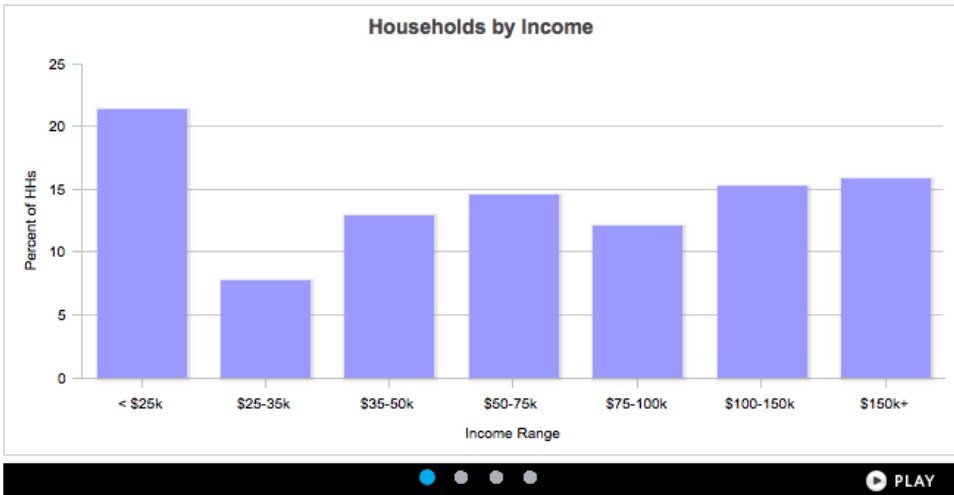
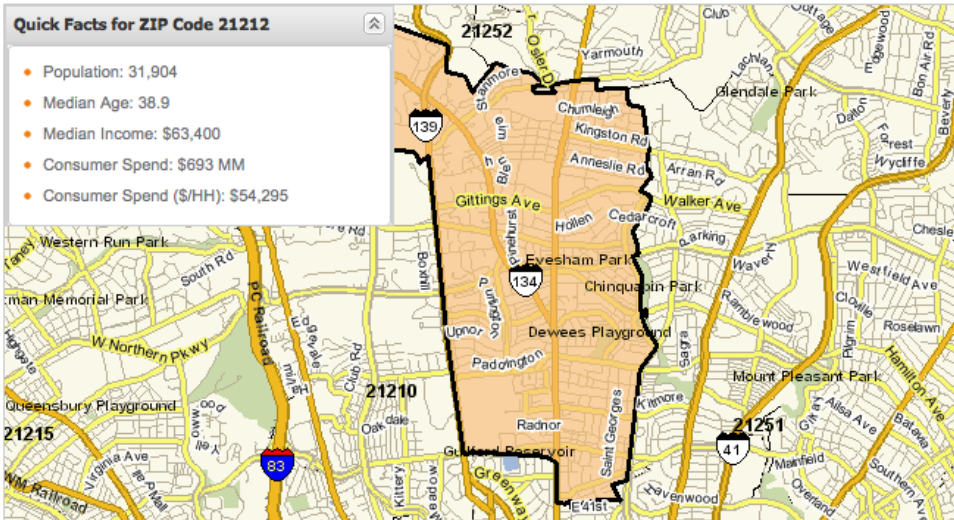
Enter the security code* :

PRIZM® **P\$YCLE®** **ConneXions®**

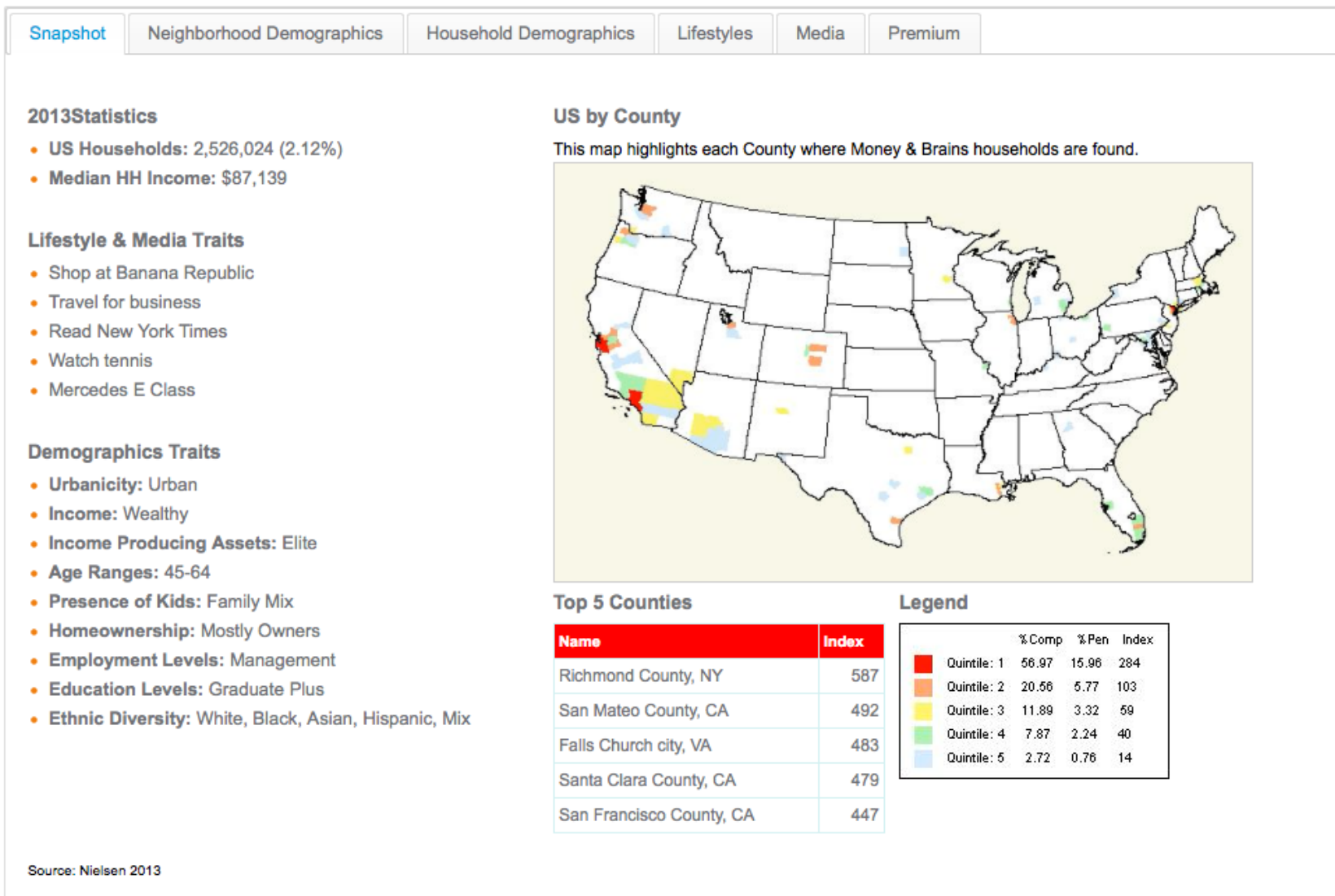
The most common segments for ZIP Code 21212, Baltimore, MD are:

- 29 American Dreams**
Upper Mid Middle Age Family Mix
- 61 City Roots**
Downscale Mature Mostly w/o Kids
- 40 Close-In Couples**
Lower Mid Older Mostly w/o Kids
- 07 Money & Brains**
Wealthy Older Family Mix
- 31 Urban Achievers**
Lower Mid Younger Mostly w/o Kids

Click on the segment name for more detail.
Please Note: Segments are listed in alphabetical order by segment name. You must [log in](#) to view segments in order of their predominant concentration of households within the selected ZIP Code.



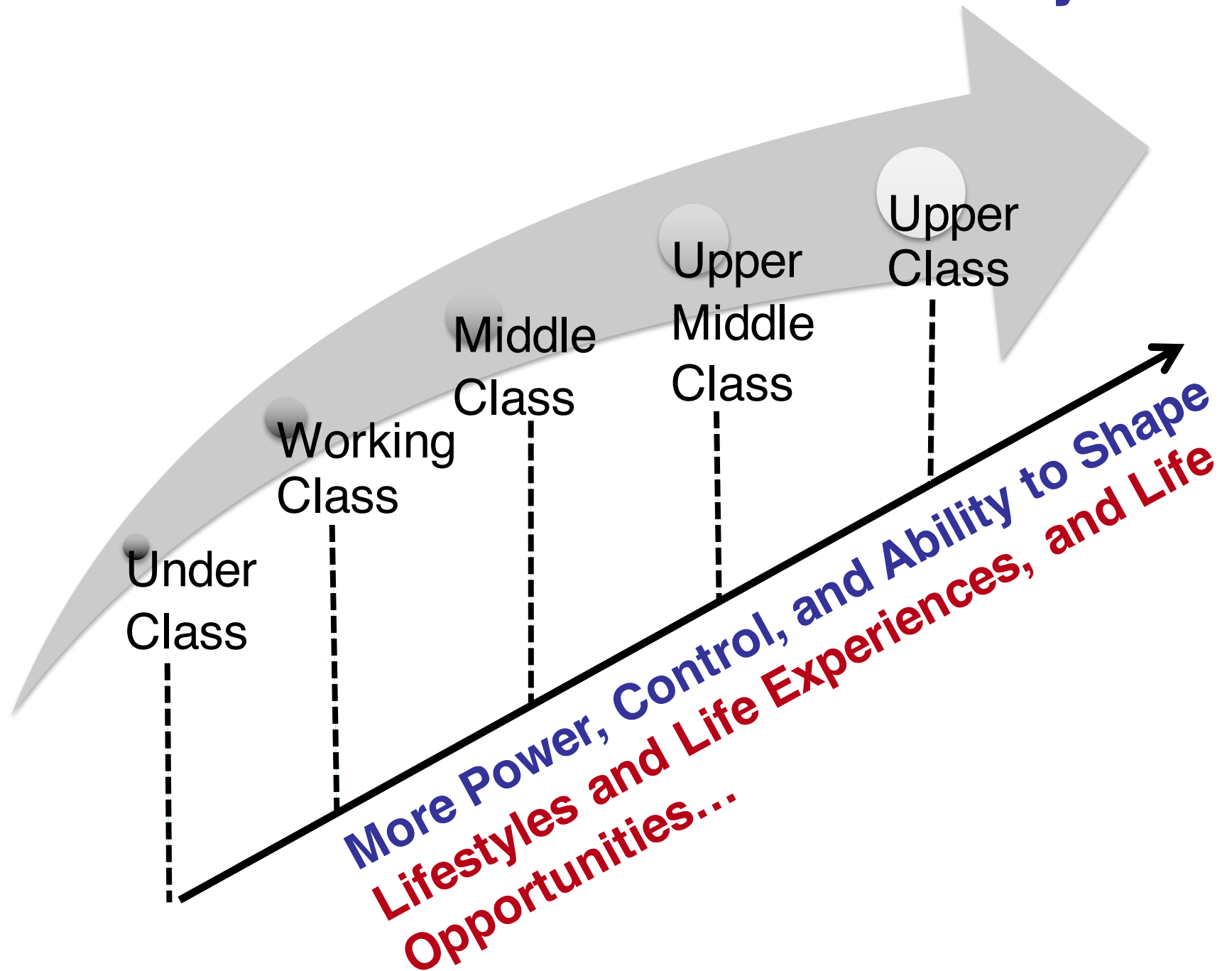
<http://www.nielsen.com/us/en/nielsen-solutions/segmentation-strategy.html>



Wealthy Older Family Mix

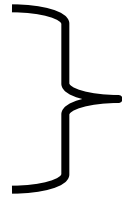
The residents of Money & Brains seem to have it all: high incomes, advanced degrees, and sophisticated tastes to match their credentials. Many of these city dwellers are married couples with few children who live in fashionable homes on small, manicured lots.

Social Gradient of Classed Lifestyles



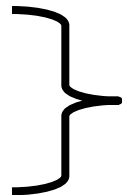
The Social Hierarchy and Classed Lifestyle Cultures

**Capitalist
Upper Middle**



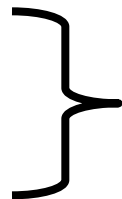
Cultures of Privilege
(effortless exhibition)

**Middle
Working**



Cultures of Promotion
(aspirant elevation)

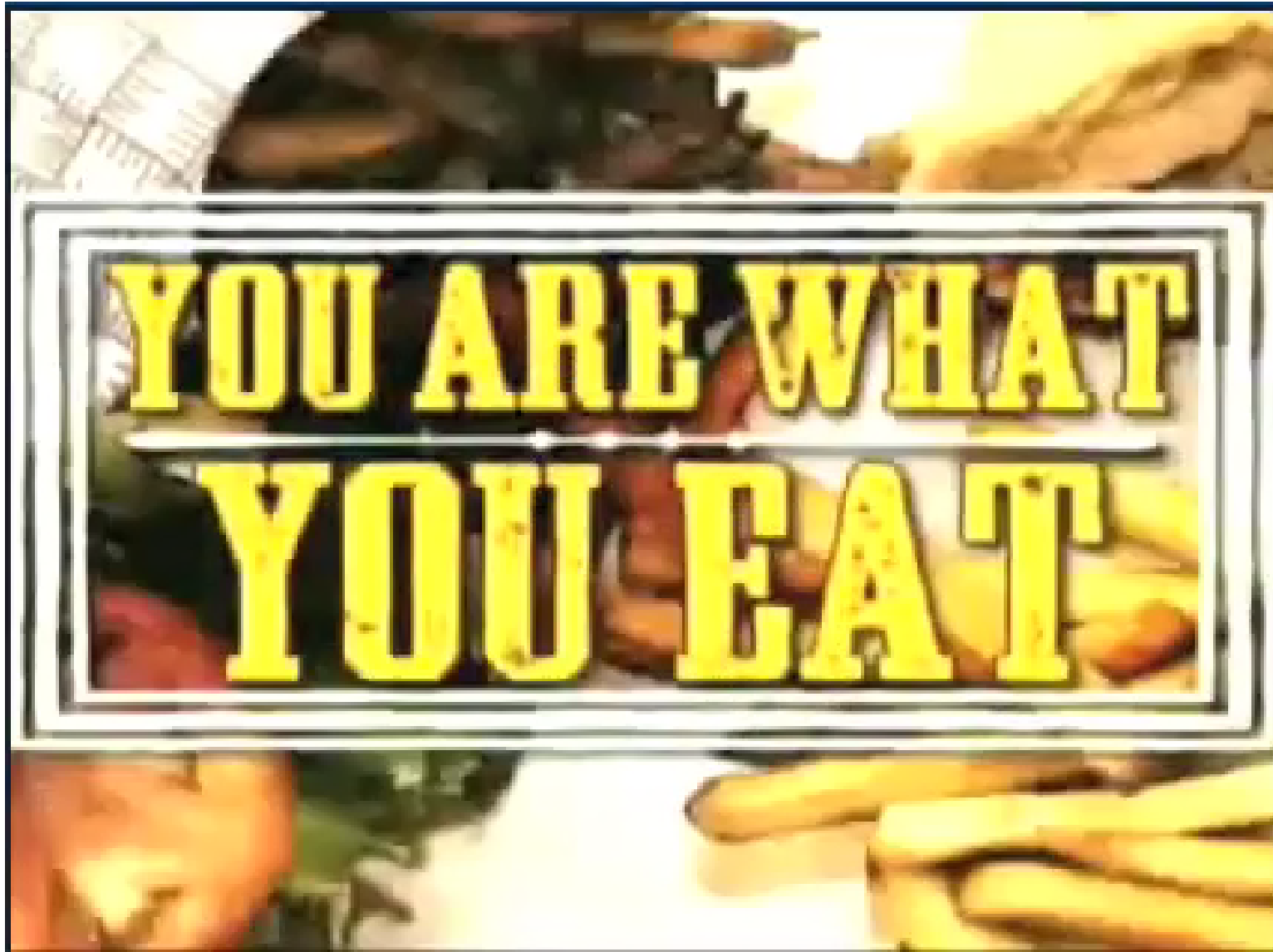
**Working Poor
Underclass**



Cultures of Poverty
(subsistence existence)

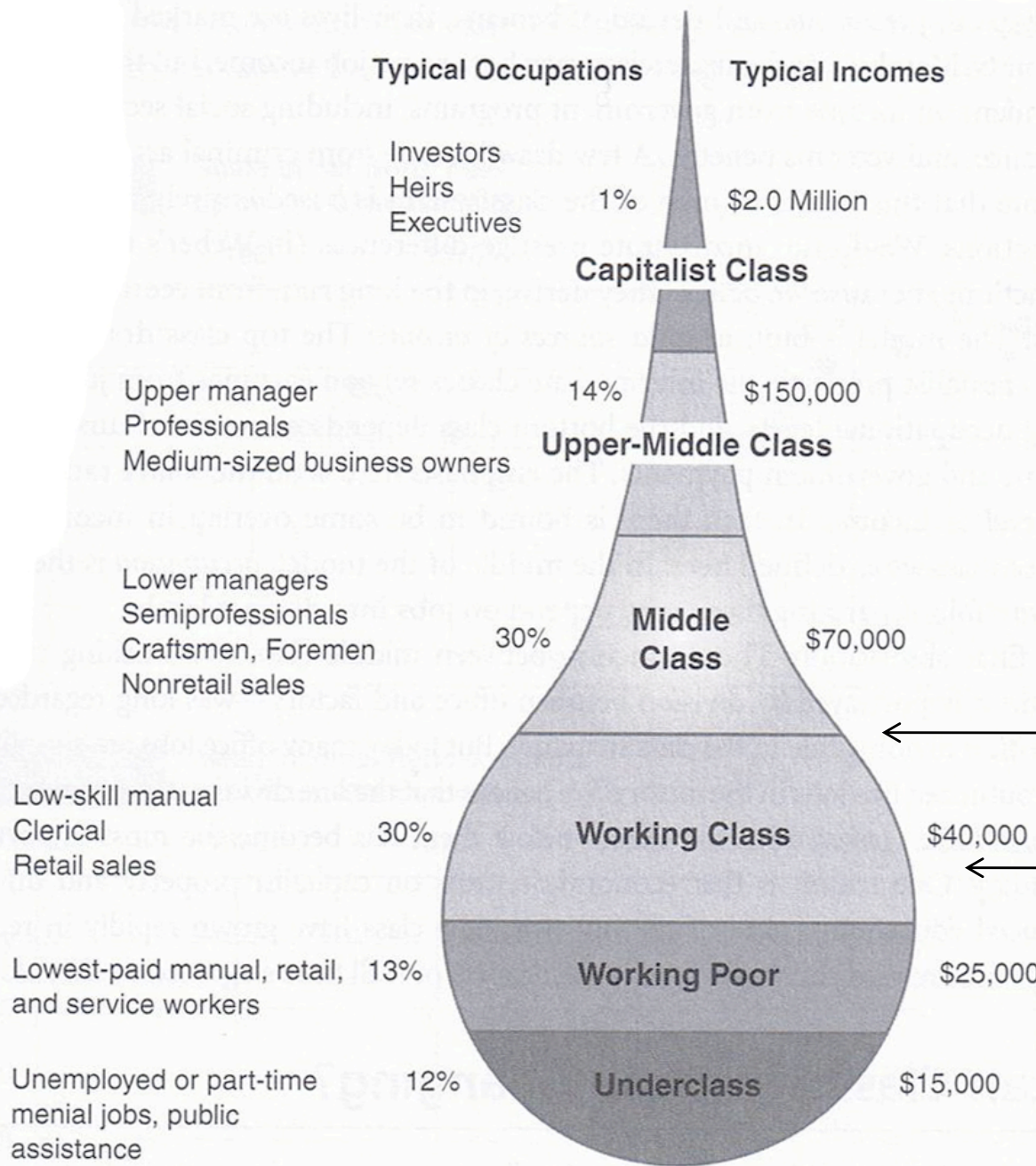


A Tale of Two Cities: One “Fat”, One “Fit”



See Video Clip 2

Median Family Income by Town



Burlington, VT:
\$54,000

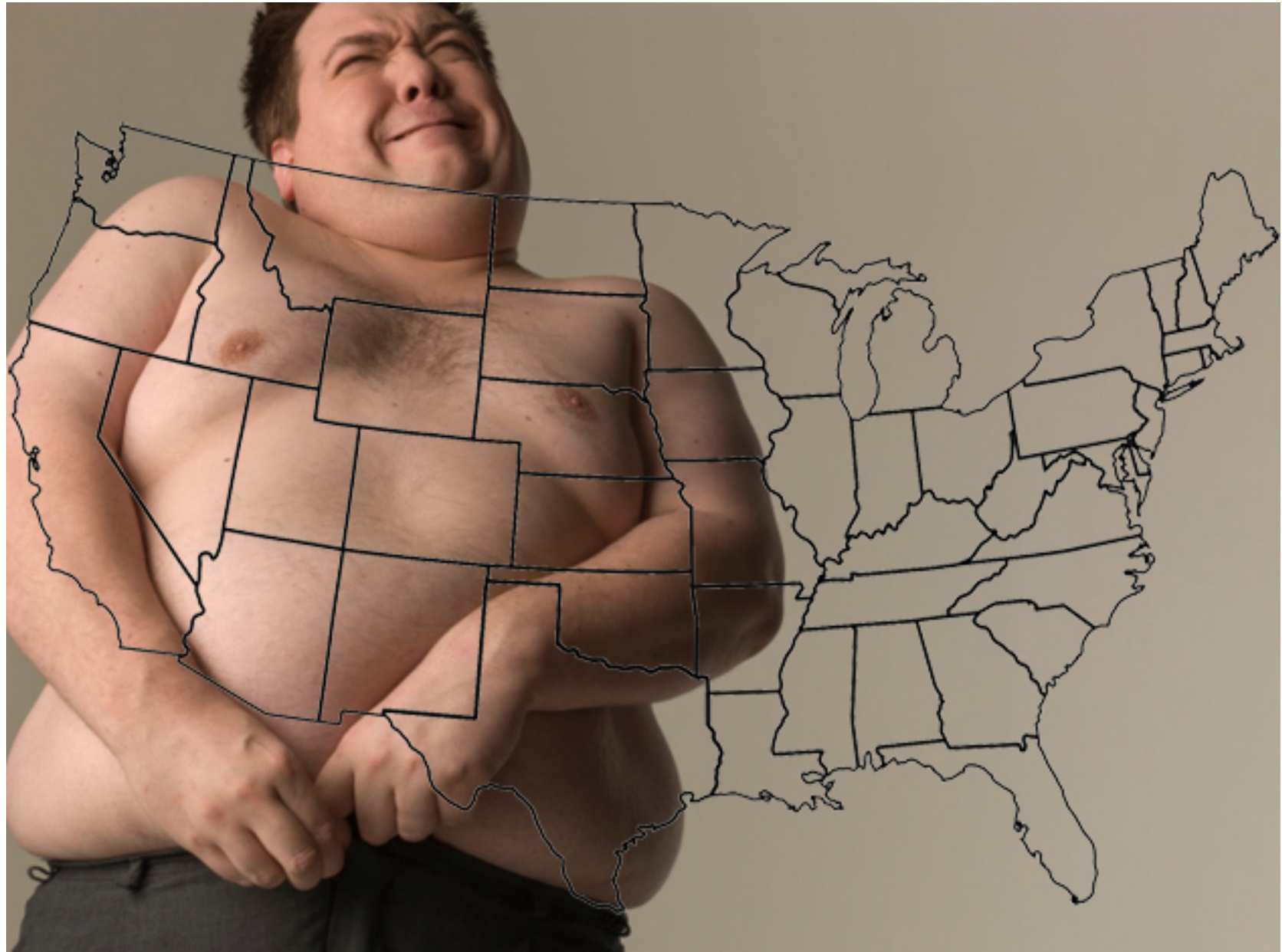
Huntington, WV:
\$39,000
(72% of Burlington income)



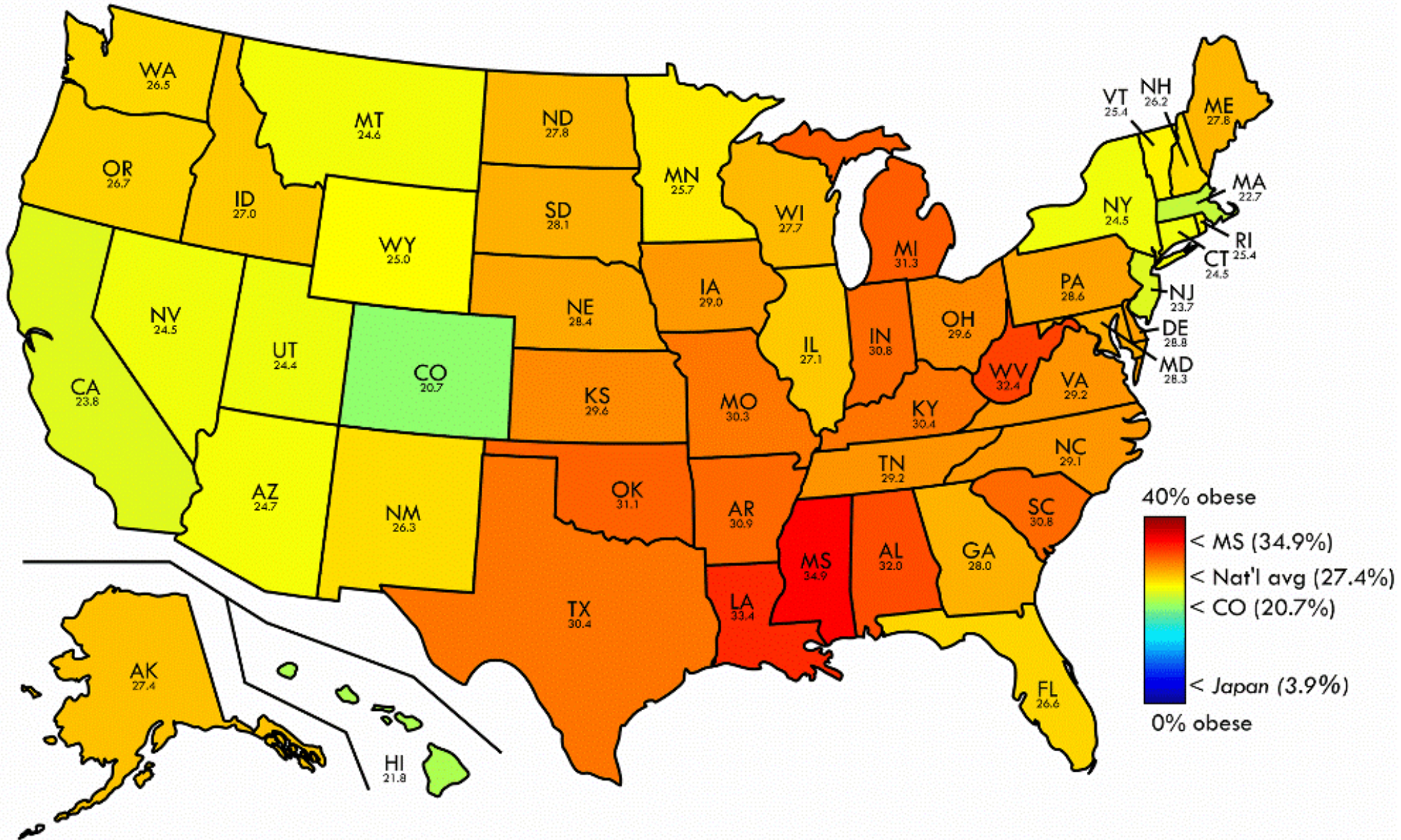
As evidenced in the
Huntington/Burlington comparison:

Generally speaking, lower SES
(socioeconomic status) groups display
less affluent, less nutritionally rich, less
active, and as a result, “**less healthy
LIFESTYLES**” than their higher SES
equivalents.

The Obesity Crisis: A Class Crisis?



Obesity in the US: 2012



Theme 2:

Sport, Physical Culture, and Social Class

**Social class
differences clearly
impact upon levels and
practices of physical
activity and sporting
participation...**

**Higher SES
Grouping**



**Lower SES
Grouping**

**Higher Leisure Time
Physical Activity Rates**



**Lower Leisure Time
Physical Activity Rates**

SES = SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

**Higher SES
Grouping**



**Lower SES
Grouping**

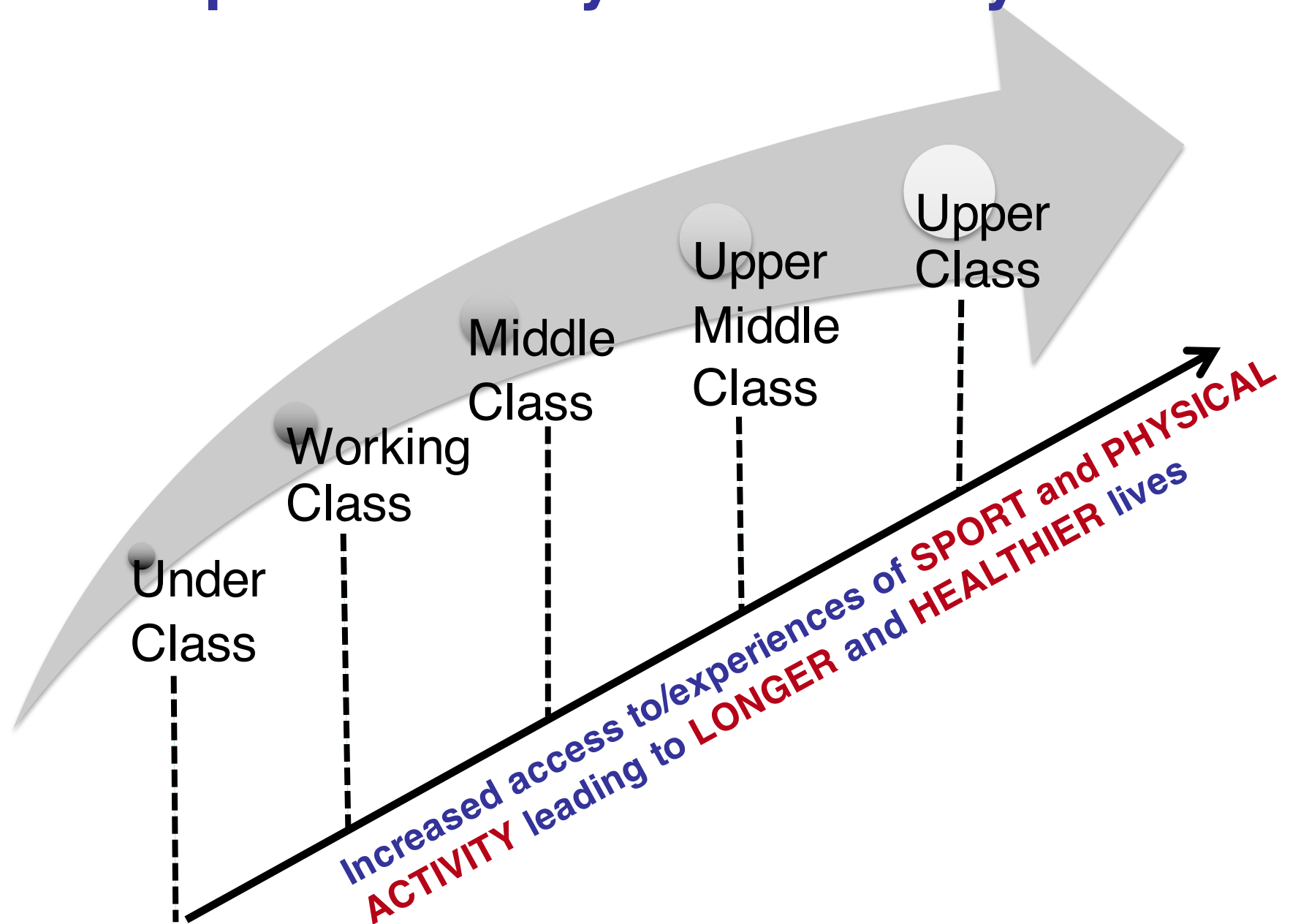
**Higher Involvement in
Organized Sport**



**Lower Involvement in
Organized Sport**

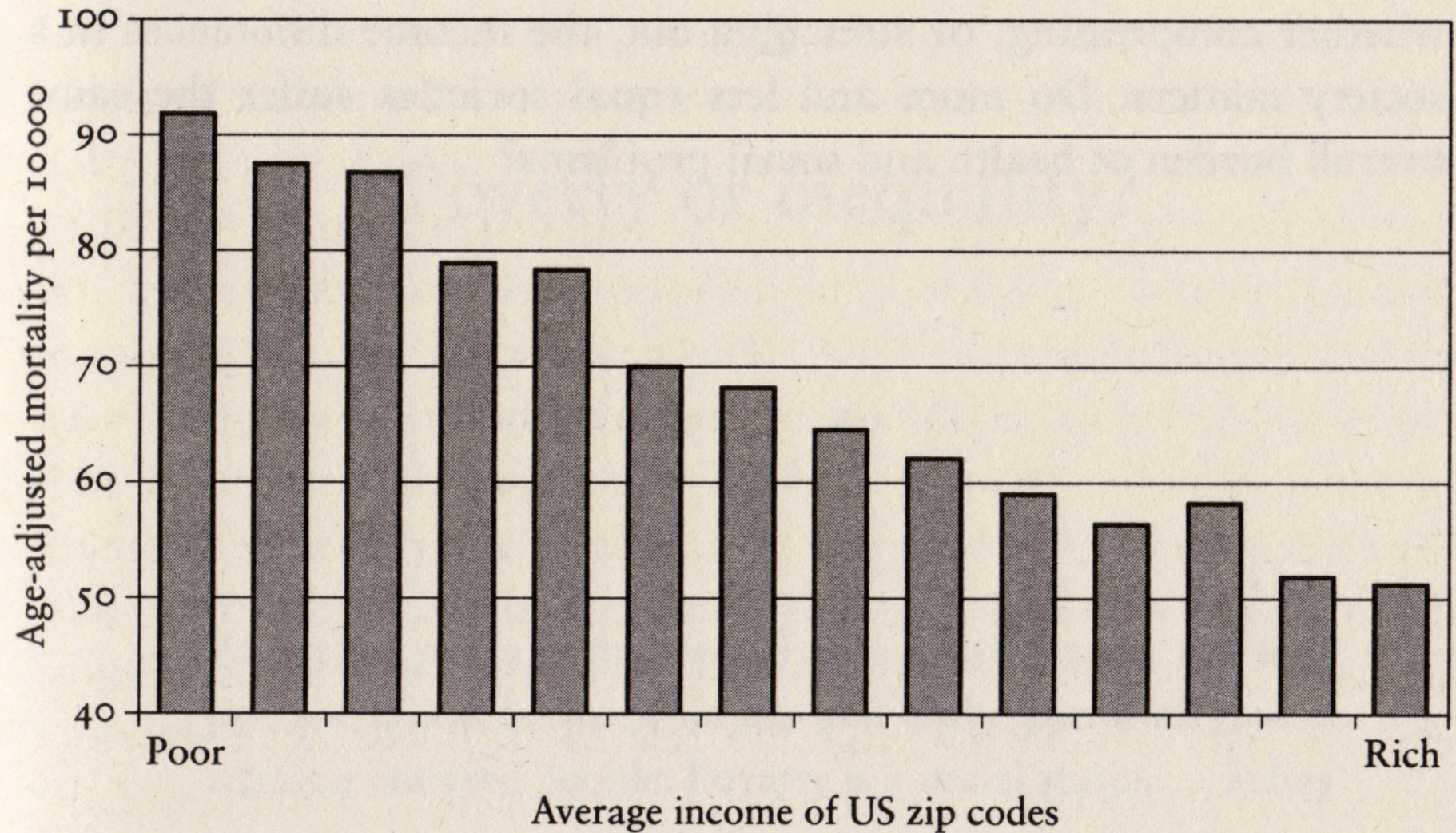
SES = SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

U.S.A.'s Sport and Physical Activity Gradient?



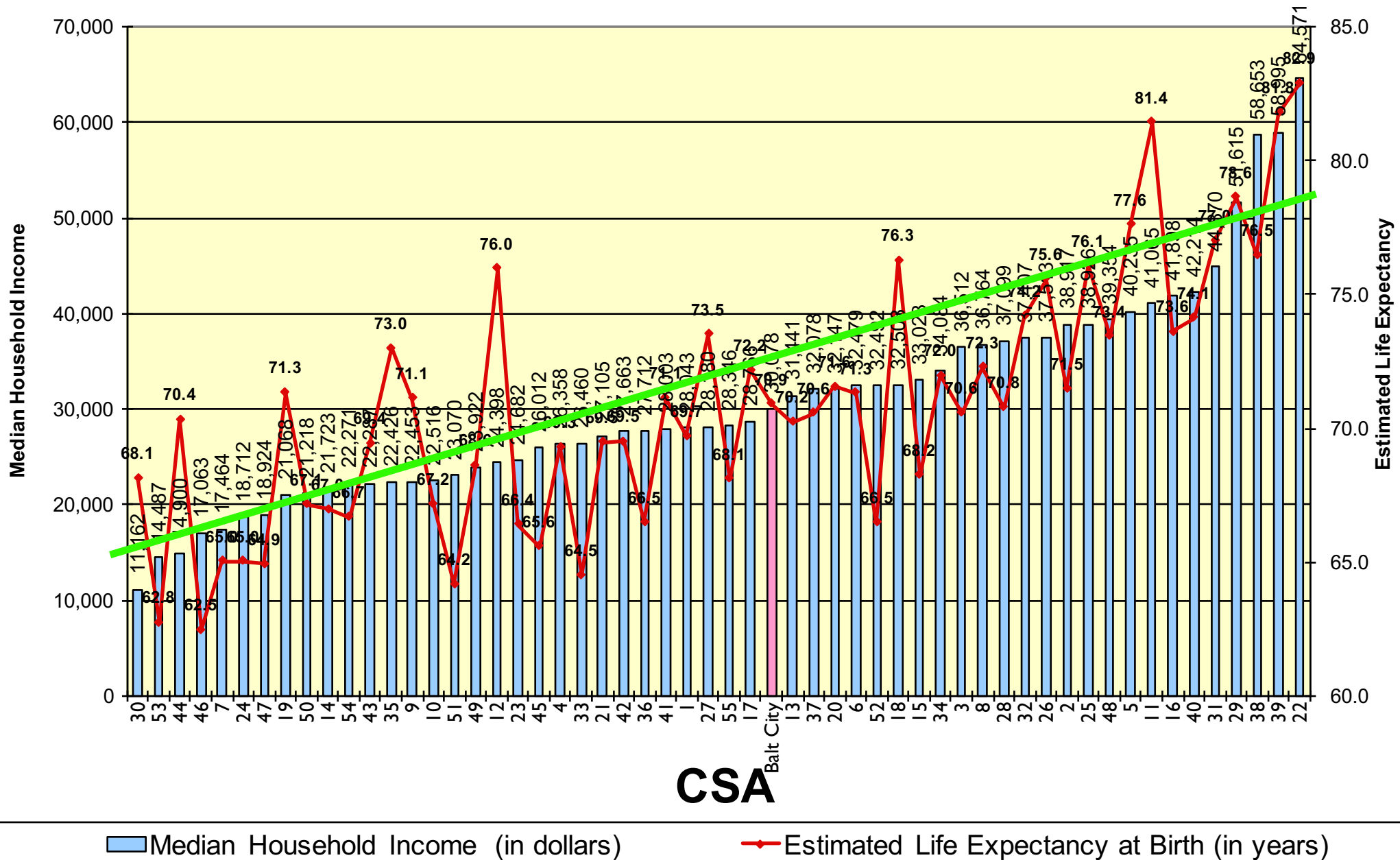
Source: Marmot, M. (2004). The status syndrome: How social standing affects our health and longevity. New York: Owl Books.

Mortality by Zip Code Average Income

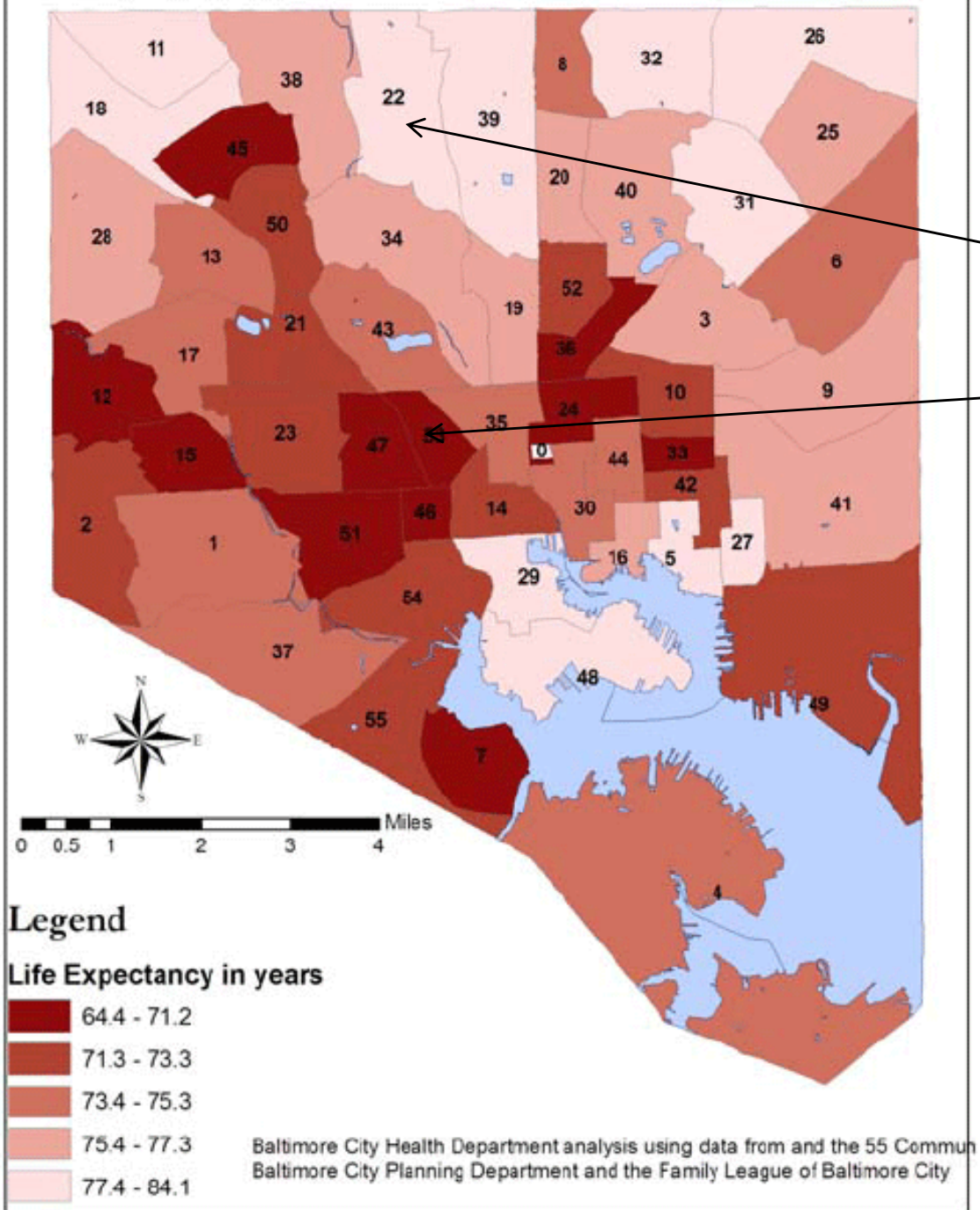


Source: Wilkinson, R., & Pickett, K. (2009). *The spirit level: Why more equal societies almost always do better*. London: Allen Lane.

Median Household Income by CSA with Estimated Life Expectancy



Life Expectancy in Years by Community Statistical Area, Baltimore City, 2002-2006



A Tale of Two Cities: Life Expectancy

Roland Park: 82.9 years

Hollins Market: 62.5 years

**Source: Linsky, A. (2008, October 16.) . 20-year life gap separates city's poorest, wealthy.
*Baltimore Sun.***

A Tale of Two (Baltimore) Classed Lifestyle Cultures?:

In West Baltimore's impoverished Hollins Market neighborhood, where the average life expectancy is about **63 years**, residents shared beers and cigarettes on their front steps at midday yesterday while pedestrians using canes gingerly avoided two dead rats on the street.



1. Lower Classes: The Under-Privileged and Under-Served

Source: Linsky, A. (2008, October 16.) . 20-year life gap separates city's poorest, wealthy. *Baltimore Sun*.

A Tale of Two (Baltimore) Classed Lifestyle Cultures?:



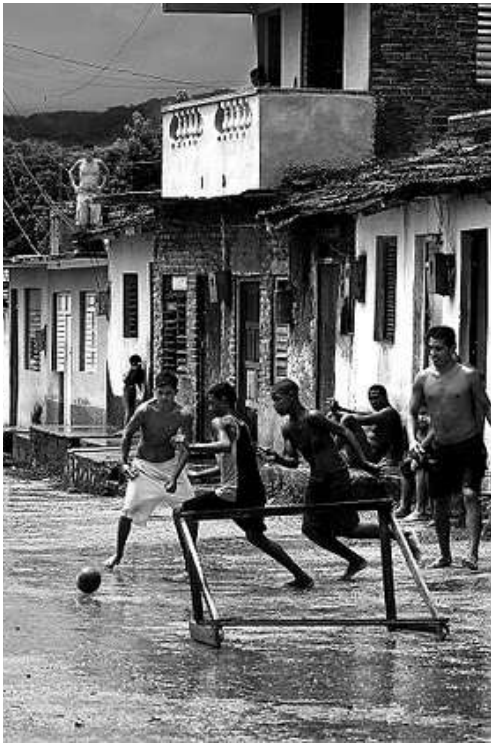
Across town in wealthy Roland Park, where residents live on average to be **83**, the scene predictably changed. One gray-haired woman rushed to swimming lessons, while a family rode past on bikes and a man with an iPod jogged nearby.

2. Middle and Upper Classes: The Privileged and Served

Source: Linsky, A. (2008, October 16.) . 20-year life gap separates city's poorest, wealthy. *Baltimore Sun*.

Sport as **Embodied** Social Class Hierarchy I

Social class groupings tend to participate in **different sporting/physical activities**, through which they derive a sense of **GROUP DIFFERENTIATION** and **IDENTITY**.



Culture of Poverty:
Culture of Working Poor/
Underclass Activity

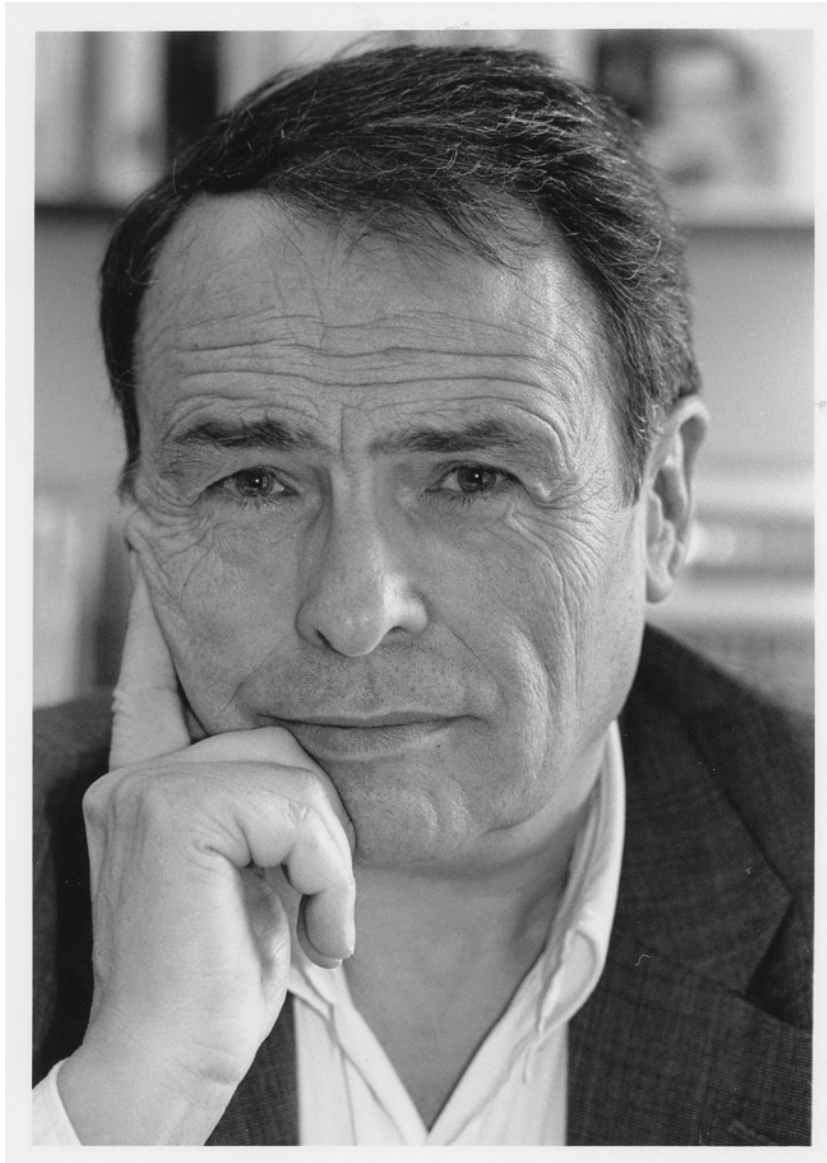


Culture of Promotion:
Working/Middle
Class Activity

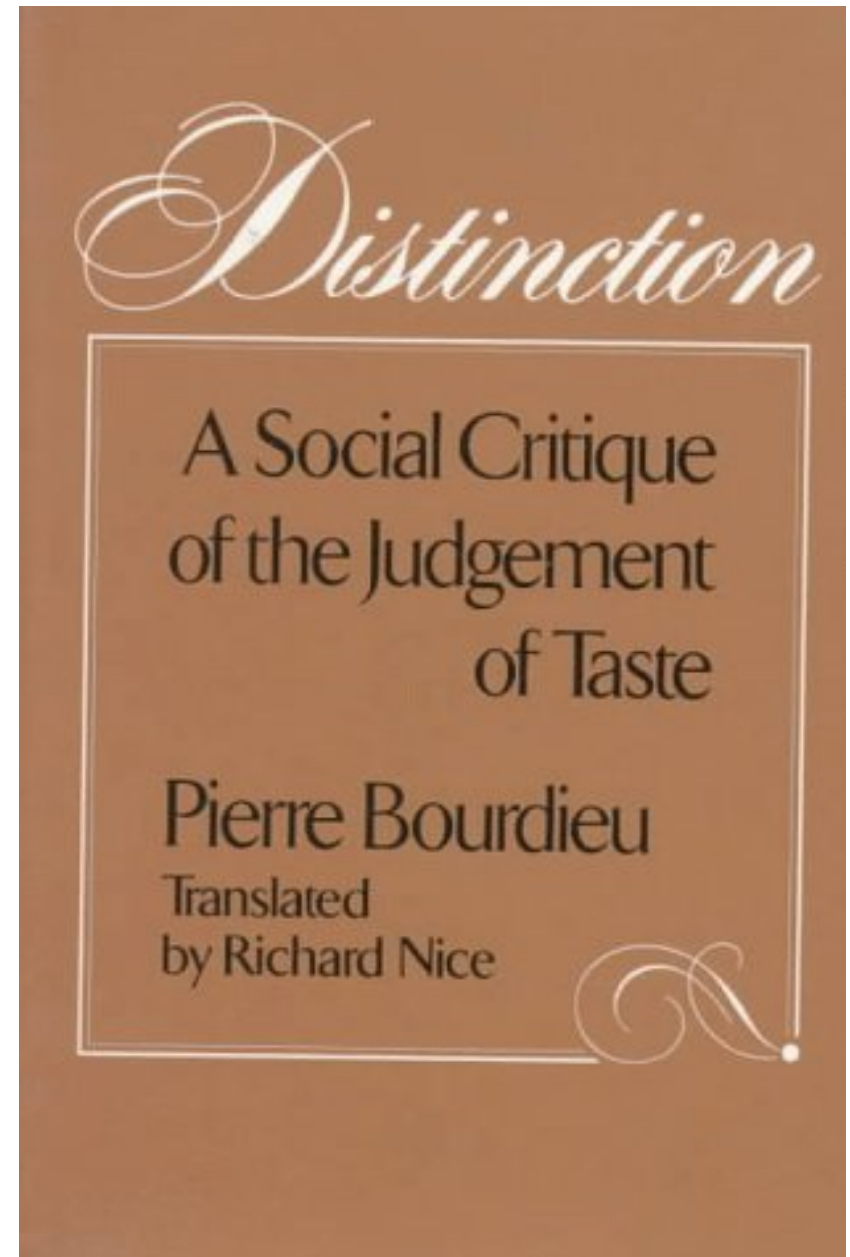


Culture of Privilege:
Capitalist/Upper Middle
Class Activity

Explaining the Social Class Distribution of Sport

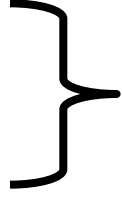
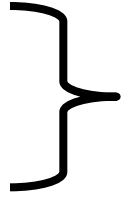
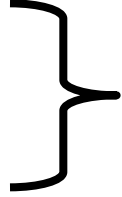


Pierre Bourdieu:
French Cultural Sociologist



1960s-1970s France:

Pierre Bourdieu's Sporting Classification

Upper Class		Sailing, ski-ing, golf, tennis, fencing, riding
Middle Class		Walking, jogging, yoga, hiking, climbing
Working Class		Boxing, wrestling, body building, rugby

21st century America: KNES 287's Sporting Classification

Capitalist
Upper Middle }

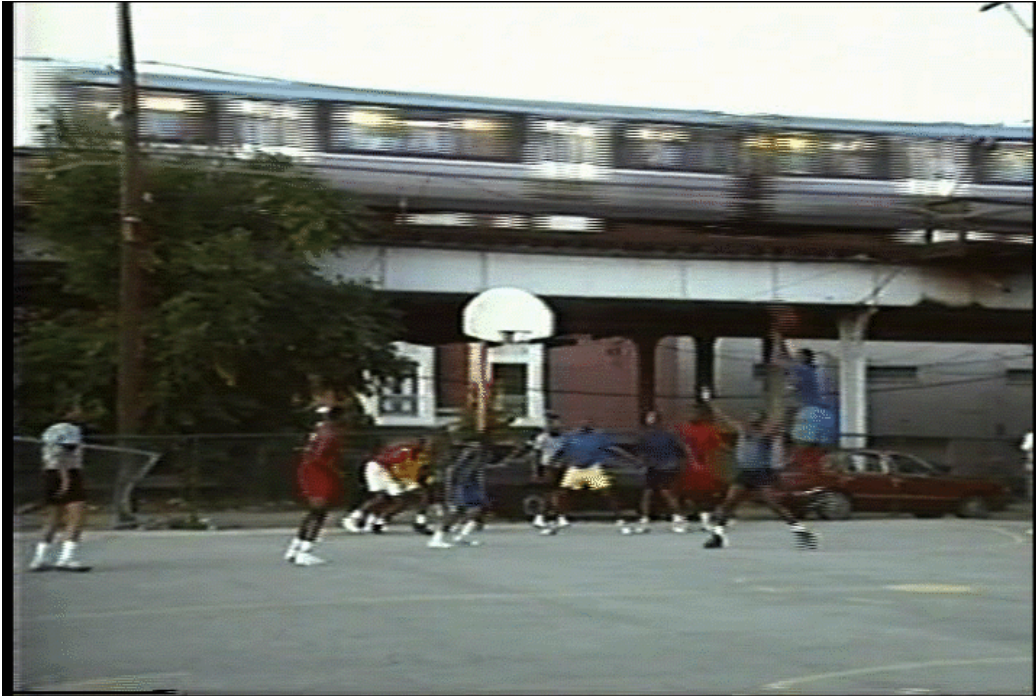
Middle
Working }

Working Poor
Underclass }

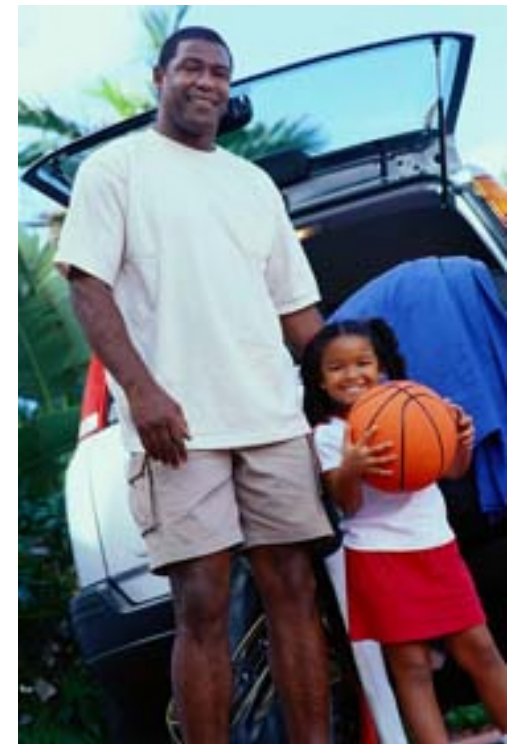
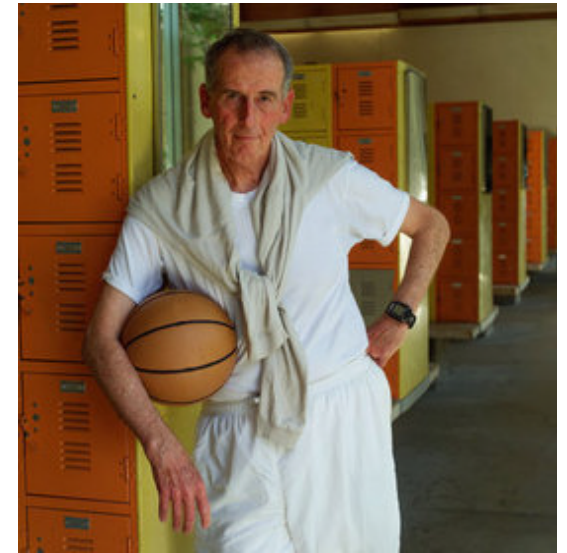
WHY SHOULD THIS BE THE CASE?

Sport as **Embodied** Social Class Hierarchy II

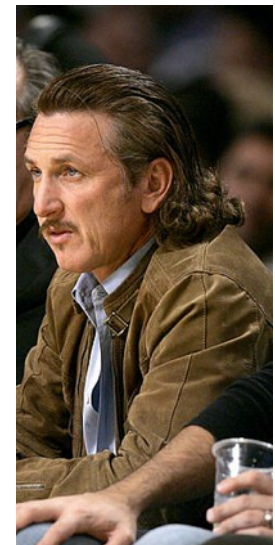
When the sporting events are the same, social class groupings tend to display **different motivations and forms of involvement.**



Lower Class Basketball: Culture of Poverty?



Middle Class Basketball: Culture of Promotion?



Upper Class Basketball: Culture of Privilege?

Theme 3:

Capitals and Social Class Differences in Sport/Physical Activity Participation

CLASS CULTURES and CAPITAL

**“material conditions of existence
defined by distance from necessity,
by the freedoms or facilities
stemming from possession of capital”**

Source: Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste* (p. 177). Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

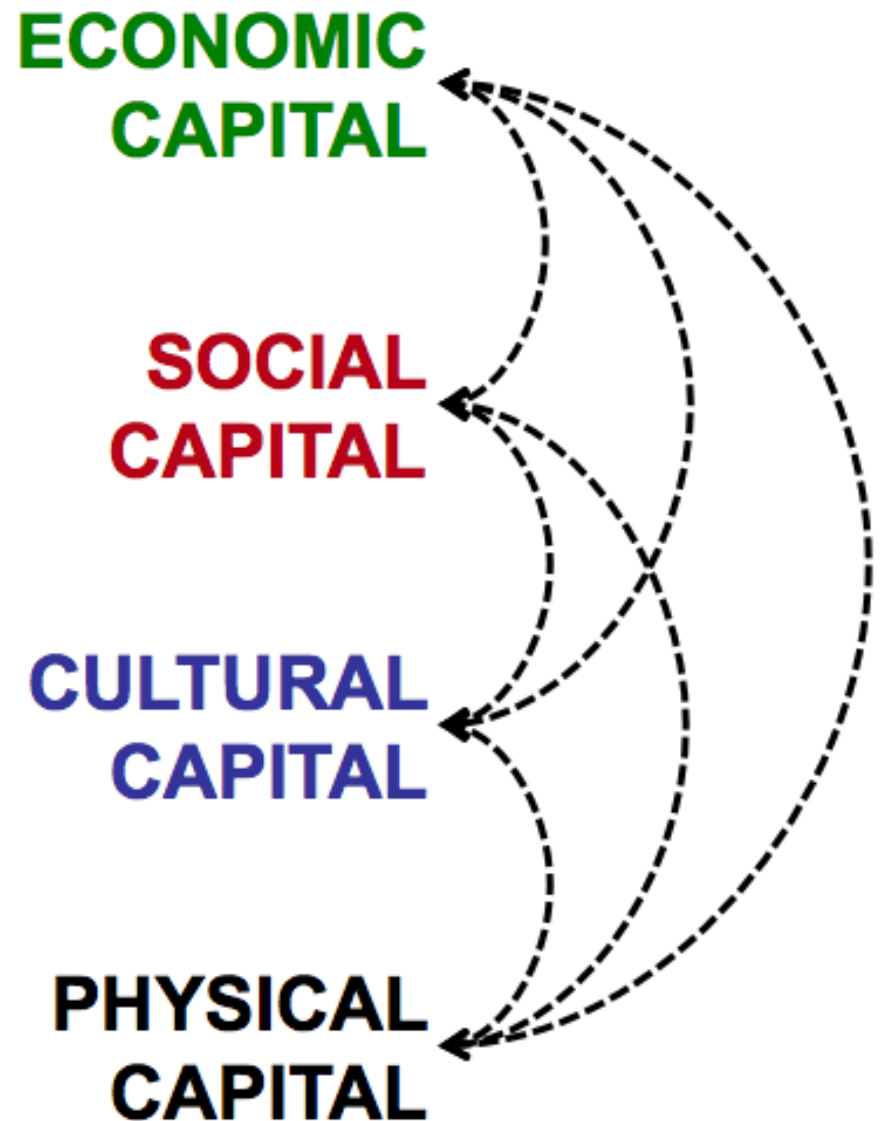
The interrelationships between capitals are multiple and complex:

ECONOMIC CAPITAL
(financial/time resources)

SOCIAL CAPITAL
(social status, connections, and networks)

CULTURAL CAPITAL
(learned norms and values)

PHYSICAL CAPITAL
(embodied form of capitals)



While the INTERPLAY of capital is key for shaping all aspects of CLASS-BASED experience. It is particularly relevant to the CLASS DETERMINANTS of SPORT/PHYSICAL ACTIVITY.

In other words, an individual's POSSESSION, and ability to CREATE/CONVERT the various forms of CAPITAL plays an important role in DETERMINING THEIR SOCIAL CLASS STATUS, and hence their SPORT/PHYSICAL ACTIVITY-BASED LIFESTYLE

Economic Capital

(Financial and Time Resources)

“Economic power is first and foremost a power to keep economic necessity at arm’s length”

Source: Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste* (p. 55). Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

NECESSITY:

1. The need to engage in **WAGE-LABOR RELATIONS** to **PRODUCE** the **ECONOMIC CAPITAL** required to **MAINTAIN** the existence of the self/family unit (available time resources)
2. The need to **UTILIZE** the produced **ECONOMIC CAPITAL** for the **MAINTENANCE** of the self/family unit (available financial resources)

**Economic capital [EC] can
thus be CONVERTED into:**

-TIME

-PRODUCTS and SERVICES

**The more EC you possess, the more
leisure-time physical activity
products/services you have access to...**

The Issue of NECESSITY



Experience of Necessity



Distance from Necessity

Many middle/upper class people (with more access to EC) possess more **CONTROL** over important facets of their lives. Many of these are health promoting facets, such as the ability:

- to craft a multi-faceted healthy lifestyle
- to live in a health promoting neighborhood
- to buy healthy and nutritious food
- to pay for medical services and insurance plans
- to purchase sporting/physical activity opportunities, services, and experiences

Economic Barriers to Activity?

(Baltimore median household income: \$30,078)

Private Health/Fitness Club Annual Memberships

Bally's: \$300-\$420 (\$25-\$35 per month)

Gold's Gym: \$420 (\$35 per month)

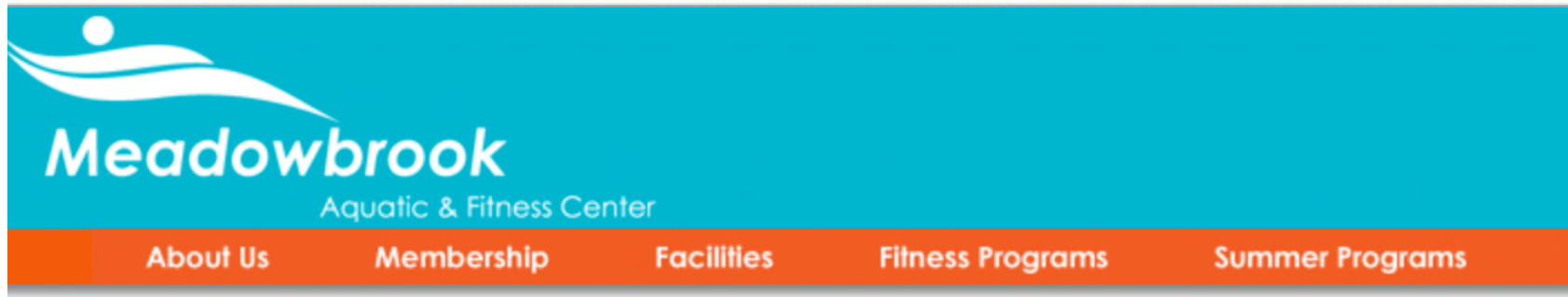
Curves: \$468 (\$39 per month)

Brick Bodies: \$480 (\$40 per month)

Merritt Athletic Club: \$540-\$1020

(\$45-\$85 per month)

Neo-Liberal Swimming Culture I



Welcome to Meadowbrook



Annual Membership Rates: 2015

Individual: \$77 per month: \$924 Family: \$129 per month: \$1,548

**PRIVATIZED AND MARKET REGULATED
PHYSICAL CULTURE PROVISION AND EXPERIENCE**

Basking Ridge Country Club

2013 Membership Rates & Privileges

No Monthly Dining/Event Assessments Apply, No Initiation Fee or Bond Required

CLASS MEMBERSHIPS

Weekday \$5,250

Unlimited golf Tuesday through Friday ONLY. Greens fees included. Tee times may be made 7 days in advance. Includes unlimited use of practice facilities-Weekends Included

House \$4,800

Unlimited golf six days a week. Tee times may be made 7 days in advance. Weekend privileges begin at 10 AM. House Greens Fees are \$50 during the week and \$70 on weekends. Includes unlimited use of practice facilities

Twilight \$2,950

Unlimited golf Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday after 2 PM*. Greens fees included. Tee times may be made 7 days in advance. Includes unlimited use of practice facilities-Weekends Included.*Fall privileges begin at noon

Associate \$2,950

Available to persons between the ages of 23-29. Unlimited golf six days a week, greens fees included. Tee times may be made 7 days in advance.

Junior \$1,800

Available to ages of 14-22. Unlimited golf six days a week, greens fees included. Privileges begin at 2PM on weekends and holidays and must be accompanied by an adult on weekends and holidays. Includes unlimited use of practice facilities-Weekends Included & No Restrictions.

Child \$ 750

Available to member's children 13 years of age and under. Golf six days a week, subject to rules and regulations. Greens fees included. Must be accompanied by adult at all times and Privileges begin at 3PM. Includes unlimited use of practice facilities-Weekends Included & No Time Restrictions

PREMIUM MEMBERSHIPS

NEW! Introductory

Professional's Membership \$5400.00

(Affordably Designed for ages 30-37)

Unlimited golf six days a week, greens fees included. Tee times may be made 7 days in advance. Unlimited use of practice facilities.

All Premium Memberships include unlimited golf six days a week, greens fees, computer handicapping, and Swim Club privileges (dependants can be added on). Tee times may be made 14 days in advance.

Premium Individual \$7,850

Couple Golf and Swim \$11,250

Family Golf and Swim \$12,000

Corporate Premium

Entitled to the same privileges as individual premium members, Inclusive of complimentary bag storage, private lockers, and 4 guest passes per corporate member.

Including 2 individuals \$15,050

Including 3 individuals \$22,350

Including 4 individuals \$29,500

Additional Services Available to Members:

Club Storage (includes tax) \$ 133.75

Computer Handicapping \$ 37.45

Private Locker (includes tax) \$ 133.75

Carts (per person, plus tax) \$ 24.00

Guest Fees*:

Weekday \$ 70.00

Weekend \$ 90.00

*Some Restrictions Apply, fees subject to change.

10% Senior Discount

Available to All Categories for Players 65 and Over.

(Not applicable toward call membership dues)

* Membership Rates do not reflect
7% New Jersey State Sales Tax



Many working class people (with less access to EC related resources) rely on publically funded local parks and recreation facilities for their physical activity experiences.



Neo-Liberal Swimming Culture II



**THE RETRENCHMENT OF PUBLICLY FUNDED
PROVISION FOR HEALTH AND RECREATION**

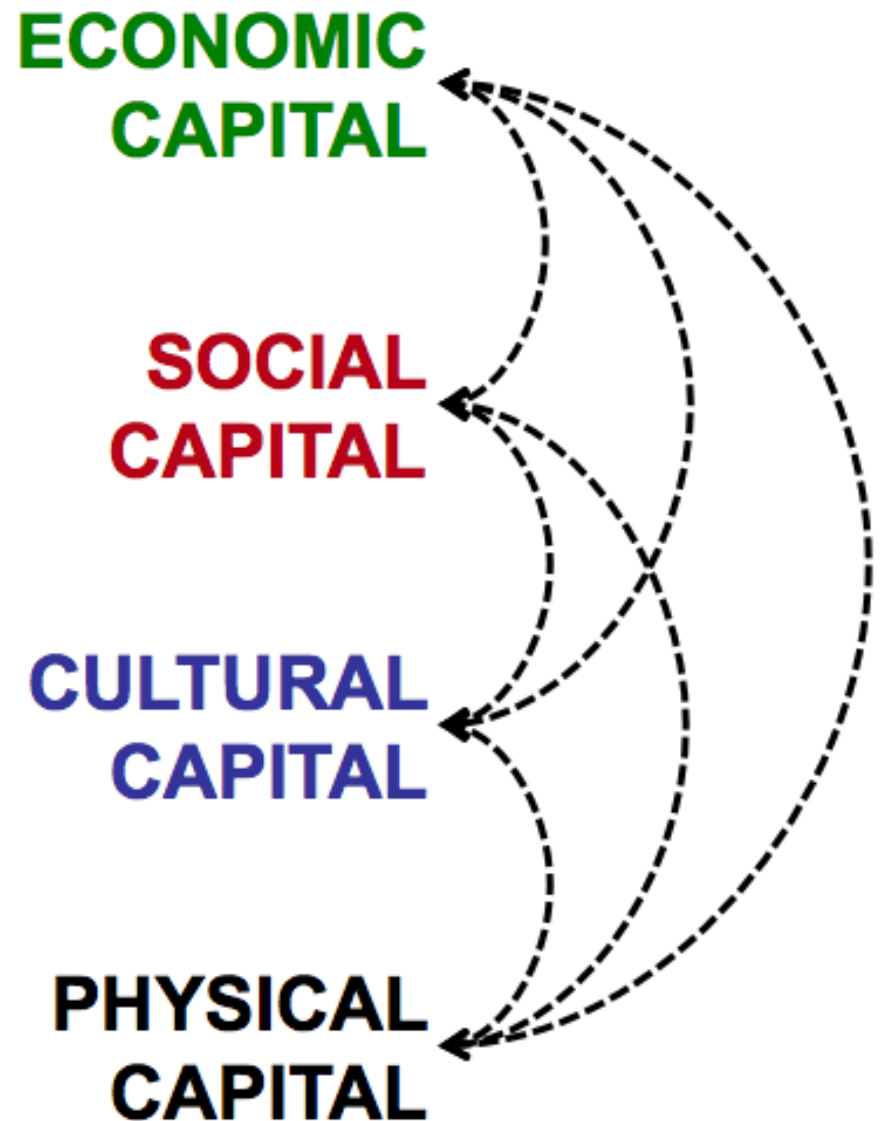
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PHYSICAL CAPITAL
(embodied form of capitals)



Social Capital

(Social Status, Connections, and Networks)

Social capital combines the quantity and quality of social relationships (e.g., the size, density, and influence of social networks)

Social Capital [Networks] and Physical Culture



The more **economic capital** you have, the greater the quantity and quality your **social capital** is likely to be.

The Sport-Social Capital Interrelationship

Participation in sport and physical activity is greater amongst people with higher levels of SOCIAL CAPITAL.

Similarly, participation in sport and physical activity contributes to greater levels of SOCIAL CAPITAL.

Creating Social Capital

Business Women and Golf



Cami Berher & Company

Leadership through the game of golf

704-277-5741

home e-news contact login

→ Business Golf → Instruction → News & Events → Company Profile → Shop

For Women Only

Special Events

7/8/2009 [Taking up golf is as easy as 1-2-3!](#)

LPGA.com News

[Anna Nordqvist in the Sand and Surf](#)

Mon, 22 Mar 2010 21:25:51 GMT

“Golf is the perfect work/life balance sport and creates connectiveness in our lives:

- A career tool for breaking the grass ceiling AND the glass ceiling. Get noticed.
- Recreation/Fitness – promotes health and lifestyle balance
- Family – golf is the game of a lifetime. Spend quality time with family and friends”

Source: www.camiberher.com/for_women_only.asp

Cultural Capital

(Learned Norms and Values)

Dominant Sport/Physical Activity Norm/Value:

The neo-liberal ideology of HEALTHISM:

- 1. The fit and healthy are morally, physically, and socially responsible and virtuous**
- 2. The unfit and unhealthy are morally, physically, and socially irresponsible and degenerate**

Social capital, and its associated networks and relationships, is closely tied to the learning of norms and values, hence the acquisition/expression of cultural capital.

HEALTHISM (Individualist Argument)

“a belief that health [*and fitness*] can be achieved unproblematically through individual effort and discipline, directed mainly at regulating the size and shape of the body”

Source: Kirk, D., & Colquhoun, D. (1989). Healthism and physical education. British Journal of Sociology of Education, 10(4), 419.

SOCIAL DETERMINISM (Structural Argument)

“The context of people’s lives determine their health, and so blaming individuals for having poor health or crediting them for good health is inappropriate. Individuals are unlikely to be able to directly control many of the determinants of health”.

Source: World Health Organization (n.d.). The determinants of health. <http://www.who.int/hia/evidence/doh/en/>

Today's physically active and healthy individual is the embodiment of the dominant ideology: HEALTHISM.



Her/his BODY is thus a marker of individual responsibility, and moral fortitude, reinforcing the individualistic ideology of neo-liberalism.

The “Heroes and Villains” of Healthism



**Morally Responsible
and Socially Virtuous Bodies**



**Morally Irresponsible
And Socially Degenerate Bodies**

According to Adam Drewnowski, director of the Center for Public Health Nutrition at the University of Washington:

"Our remedies are very middle class...They tell you, Seek a healthy diet and exercise. Well, if you're working two jobs and living in a trailer, you're in no mood to get home and make a salad."

Source: Cullen, L.T. (2004, June 7). Not too rich or too thin: Is a healthy diet hard on the wallet? *Time Magazine*.

Physical Capital

(Embodied Form of Capitals)

Physical capital: “refers to the development of bodies in ways which are recognized as possessing value in social fields.” (Shilling, 2012, p. 135)

Source: Shilling, C. (1993). *The body and social theory*. London: Sage.

The interplay of **economic social**, and cultural capital, leads to the creation of bodies from which physical capital is derived, and can subsequently be used.

The Mainstream “Social Field”



**HIGH PHYSICAL CAPITAL:
Morally Responsible
and Socially Virtuous Bodies**



**LOW PHYSICAL CAPITAL:
Morally Irresponsible
And Socially Degenerate Bodies**

“the good body is indicative of the subjection of self to regimes of discipline...to practice healthy behaviour is to improve one’s ‘physical capital’ (Bourdieu, 1984) and therefore enhance one’s social and moral worth.” (Hughes, 2000, p. 21)

Source: Hughes, B. (2000) Medicalized bodies, in: P. Hancock, B. Hughes, L. Jagger, K. Paterson, R. Russell, E. TulleWinton and M. Tylerr The Body, Culture and Society: An Introduction, pp. 12–28 (Buckingham: Open University Press).

The Mainstream “Social Field”



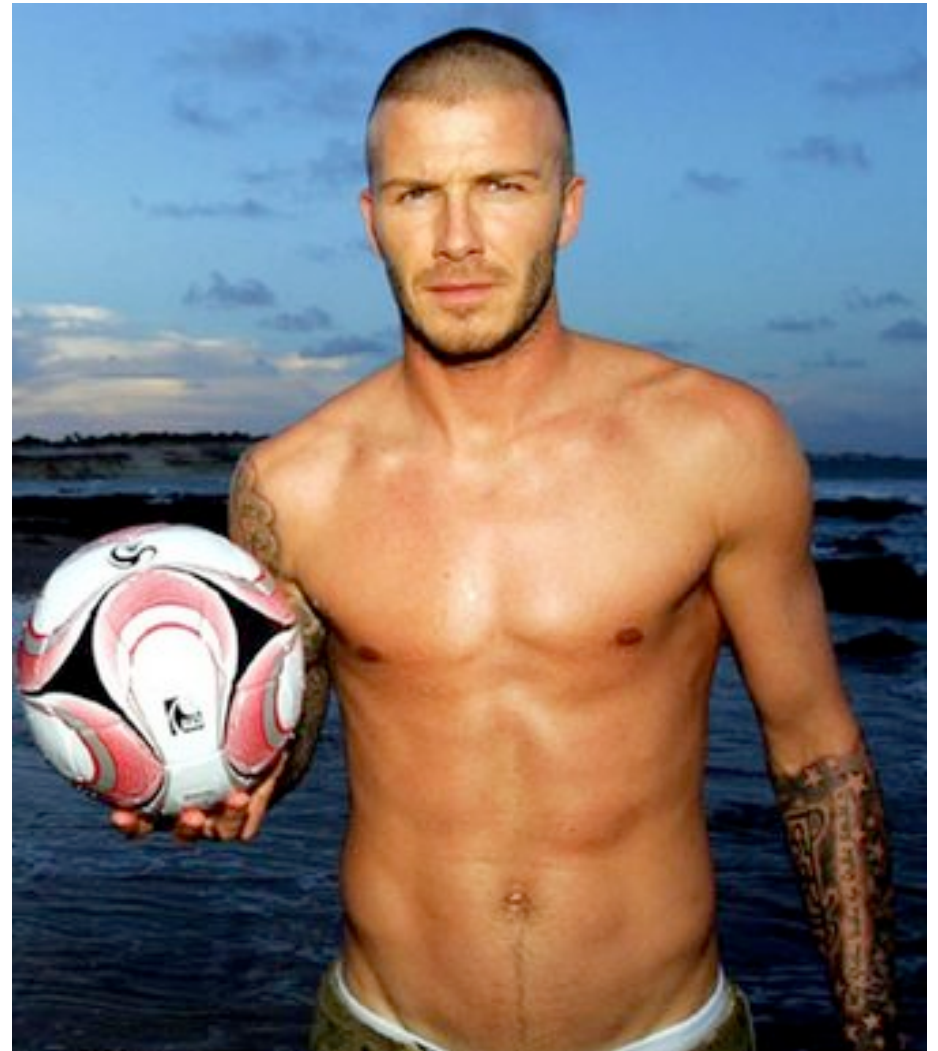
HIGH PHYSICAL CAPITAL:
Morally Responsible
and Socially Virtuous Bodies

LOW PHYSICAL CAPITAL:
Morally Irresponsible
And Socially Degenerate Bodies

An Alternative “Social Field”: Body Building

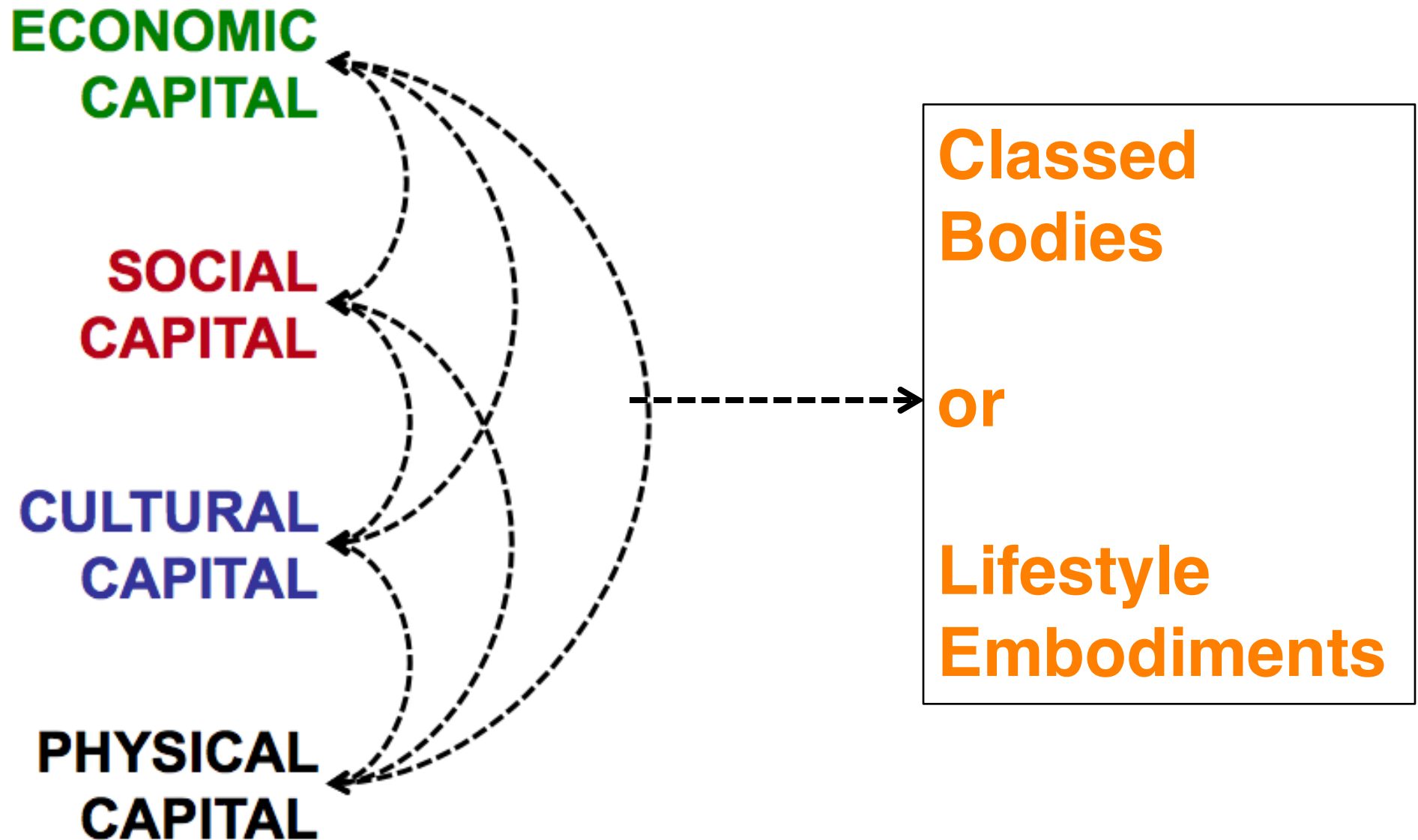


HIGH PHYSICAL CAPITAL:
High Social and Moral Worth



LOW PHYSICAL CAPITAL:
Low Social and Moral Worth

The interrelationships between capitals are responsible for our classed bodies:



In general terms, and certainly while not always the case, **BODIES** (and their expressions of physical capital) can be indicators of **SOCIAL CLASS** location, and associated **CLASS LIFESTYLES** (as created from the interplay of **CAPITAL** resources).



Theme 4:

Class Habitus and Embodied Lifestyle Cultures: The Lower Classes



**Social
Class**

HEXIS
(Lifestyle
Embodiment)

Bourdieu's concept of:

HABITUS

Plays an important role in the differential distribution and experience of sport forms across the social class groupings.



**Social
Class**

Capitals

**Class
HABITUS**
(Tastes and
Preferences)

HEXIS
(Lifestyle
Embodiment)

“a **habitus** is a system of lasting unconscious **dispositions** and acquired schemes of thought and action, perception, and appreciation, based on individuals’ **integrated social experiences** under specific sets of objective social conditions (e.g. **socialization into a given class**).”

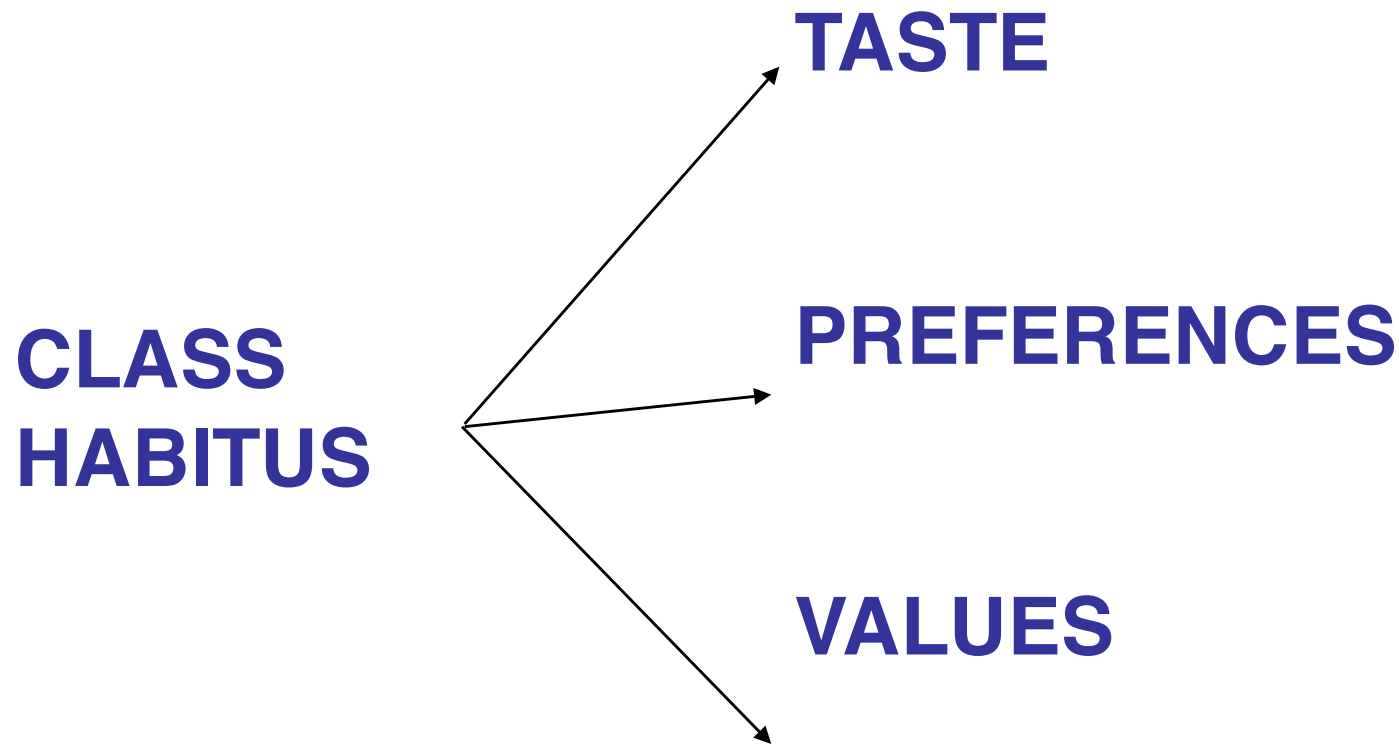
Source: Booth, D., & Loy, J. (1999). Sport, status, style. *Sport History Review*, 30, 5.



HABITUS is the socially-learned, but largely unconscious, general formula of **CLASSED** lifestyle that guides and individuals tastes, preferences, values in **all spheres** of their existence.

In the simplest terms, HABITUS refers to our:

**SEEMINGLY NATURAL (BUT ACTUALLY SOCIALLY
LEARNED) PREFERENCES**

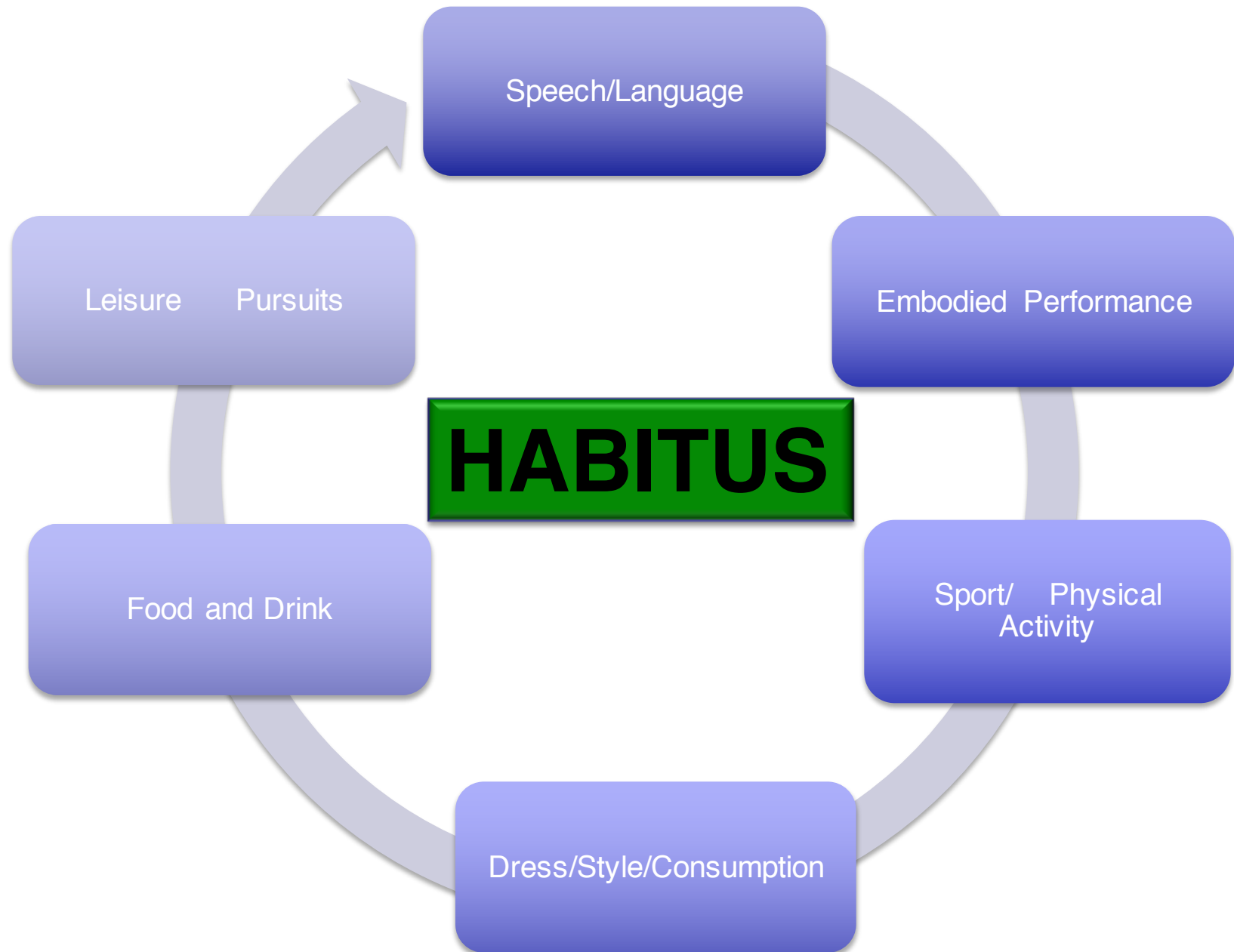


Derives from our experience of being socialized in, and through, a **particular** class location.



The (Rapidly) Learned Class **Habitus**

Healthy Lifestyle Practices/*Choices*



Agency and Constraint

“Habitus is, thus, a matter of socialisation and the adaptation of the individual’s ambitions and actions to the social circumstances in which they live...

...Thus habitus expresses the idea that people make choices, but their choices are always constrained and influenced by the resources and social identity of the actor”

Source: Korp, P. (2008). The symbolic power of "healthy lifestyles". *Health Sociology Review*, 17, 19.

According to Bourdieu, **HABITUS** is enacted through embodied through lifestyles or **HEXIS** (what the **CLASSED BODY** does, how it acts, how it is used, how it is dressed/adorned). As such,

"the body is the most indisputable materialization of class taste"

Source: Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste* (p. 190). Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

HEXIS (embodied lifestyle) refers to the ways in which the habitus become expressed/materialized through the BODY:

“as the concept of 'bodily hexis' implies, taste is literally embodied, being inscribed onto the body and manifest in its size, volume, demeanour, ways of eating and drinking, spitting, speaking, manners, gestures and so on.”

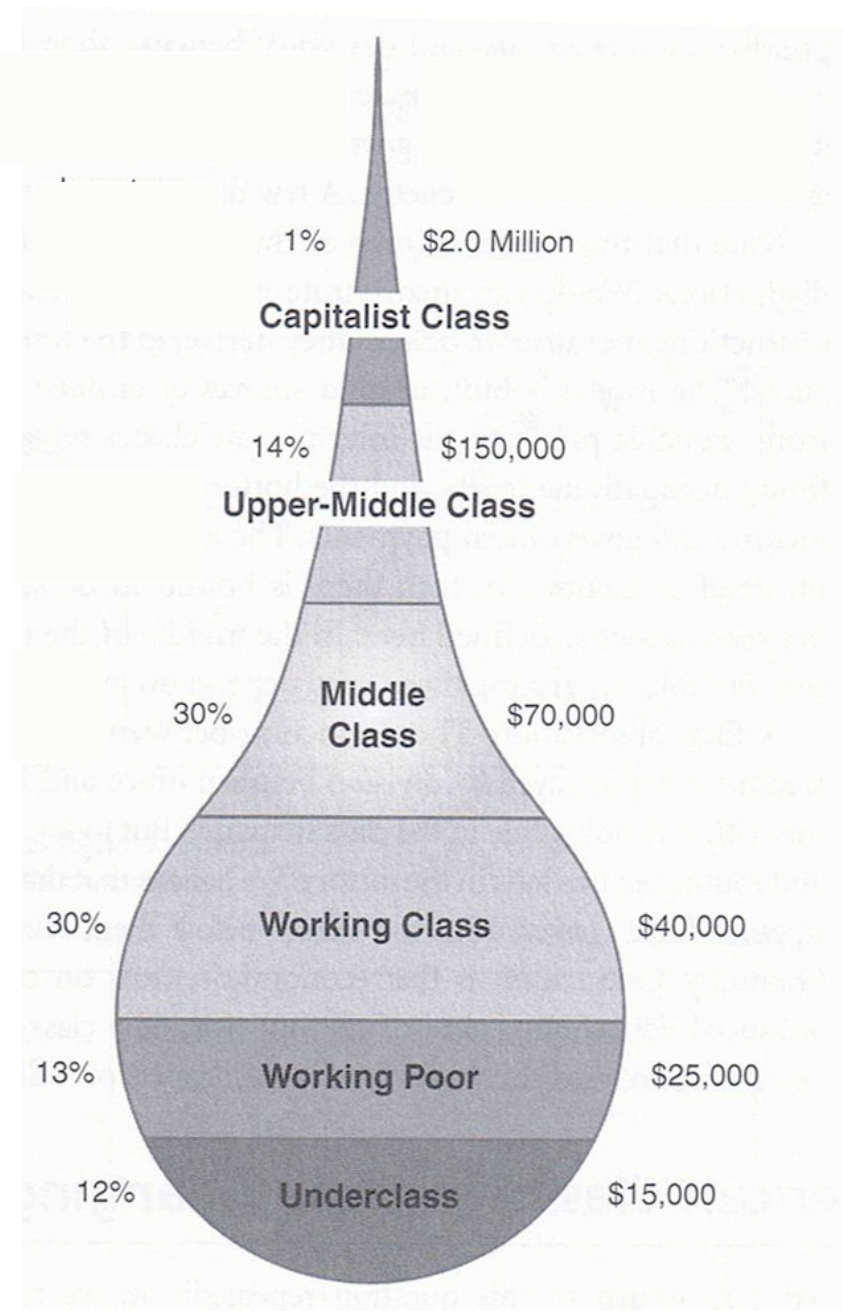
Source: Williams, S. J. (1995). Theorising class, health and lifestyles: Can Bourdieu help us? Sociology of Health & Illness, 17(5), 591.

According to Bourdieu, the **differing habitus** of the social classes are based on very different **BODY/PHYSICAL CULTURES**.

The social classes display distinctively different:

ATTITUDES TOWARD
EXPERIENCES OF
EXPECTATIONS OF
RELATIONSHIPS WITH

THEIR BODIES...

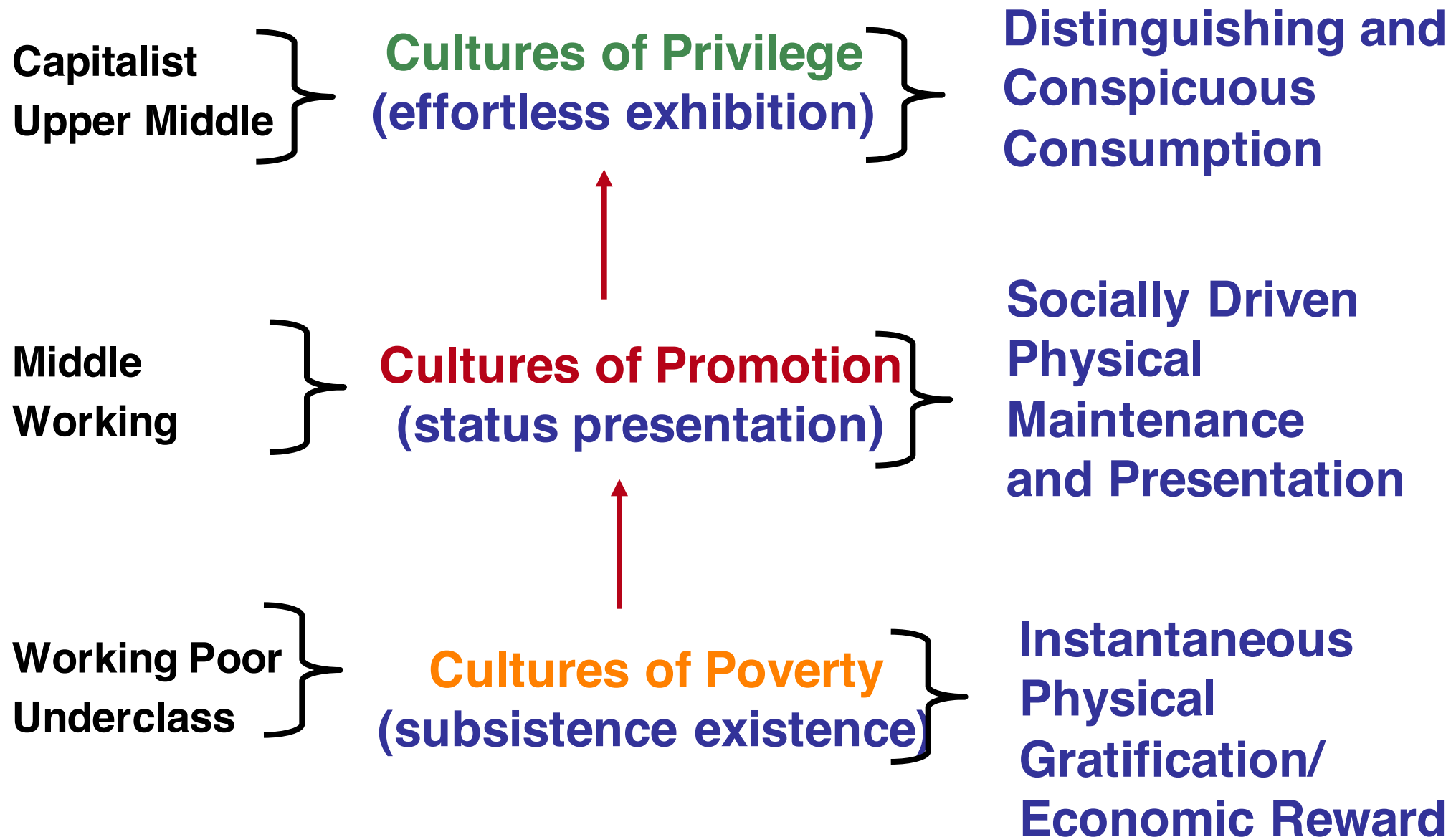


The different CLASS CULTURES are effectively different PHYSICAL/BODY CULTURES (different habitus/hexis) also.

The members of a specific class grouping tend to be INCLINED/DISPOSED TOWARD specific physical activity practices rather than others.

And/or they display very different MOTIVATIONS for involvement in physical activity.

The Social Hierarchy and Classed PHYSICAL/BODY Cultures



1. Lower Class **Habitus/Hexis**



-Class culture centered
on **subsistence
existence**

-Living for the present

-Often **physically
demanding occupations**



In Bourdieu's terms, the **class habitus** works in an **active manner**, as people develop a preferences for:

“what is available to them”...a...“taste for what they are anyway condemned to”

Source: Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste* (pp. 175, 178). Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

The Lower Class **Habitus is
associated with a:**

“taste of necessity”

**(a preference for those cultural products and
practices which are readily available to those with
restricted sources of capital)**

**Source: Bourdieu, P. (1984). Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of
taste. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.**

A
FORTISSIMOFILMS
PRESENTATION

Super Size Me (2004)

See Video Clip 4

Huntington, WV?: “Taste of Necessity”



The “taste of necessity” (Bourdieu, 1984): **SPORT and PHYSICAL ACTIVITY**



Shopping Cart Basketball



Street Football

Preferences driven by restricted availability of sport/physical activity resources and opportunities.

Lower Class **Habitus**/Lifestyle Practices

“**rough** lives mean...**rough**, unrefined pleasures”

“pursuit and expression of **toughness**”

Instrumental relation to the body:

Body used as **instrument** of **pleasure** or for **profit**

Source: Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Lower Class Habitus: Instrumental Relationship with the Body I

The working classes tend to use their bodies as a functioning **OBJECT**, to be fuelled as cheaply and efficiently as possible.



710 Calories
45% daily fat
90% daily sodium
High in protein

1lb food

Cost: \$??.??

Lower Class Habitus:

Instrumental Relationship with the Body II

The working class body is oftentimes used as a source of **DIVERSIONARY AND INSTANTANEOUS RELEASE.**



Lower Class Habitus: Instrumental Relationship with the Body III

“the working classes tend to be attracted to those sporting activities which cultivate physical strength...the demand a high investment of energy or even pain...and which sometimes endanger the body itself”



**Australia v
New Zealand
Rugby League**

Source: Williams, S. J. (1995). Theorising class, health and lifestyles: Can Bourdieu help us? Sociology of Health & Illness, 17(5), 595.

“pursuit and expression of toughness”



Source: Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Lower Class Habitus: Instrumental Relationship with the Body IV



Body used as an
instrument for
profit:

**“recognised route
to wealth and fame
for working class”**

Source: Bourdieu, P. (1984).
*Distinction: A social critique of the
judgement of taste*. Cambridge:
Harvard University Press.

“Don’t nobody be out there fighting with an MBA.”



Wacquant, L. J. D. (1992). The social logic of boxing in black Chicago: Toward a sociology of pugilism. *Sociology of Sport Journal*, 9(3), 221-254.

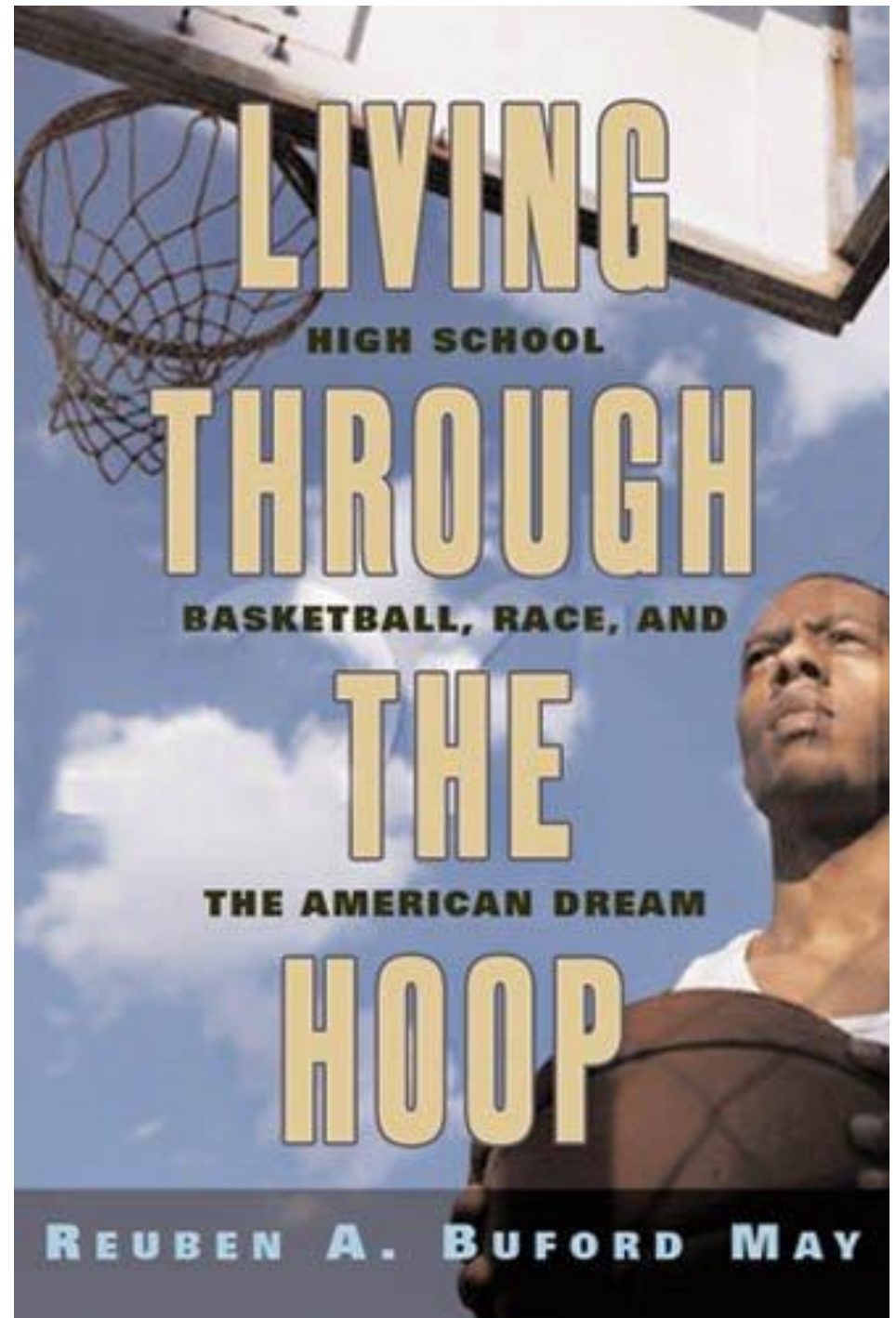
Ok, some MBAs might...but why?



[See Video Clip 5](#)

The **CONVERSION** of **PHYSICAL** into **ECONOMIC CAPITAL**

Pursuing the
CONVERSION
of PHYSICAL
CAPITAL into
ECONOMIC
CAPITAL



Theme 5:

Class Habitus and Embodied Lifestyle Cultures: The Middle Classes

2. Middle Class **Habitus/Hexis**



- Competitive class culture centered on **social presentation, advancement, and status**



- Long term social advancement through investments in/for the future

- Often **relatively sedentary occupations**



Middle Class **Habitus**/Lifestyle Practices

Training the body to meet the class based
“**social norms of self-presentation**”

“Investing in the **present for future physical benefits**”

Status oriented relation to the body:

Crafting the body for well-being and social acceptance

Source: Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

**The active body as a form of
conspicuous consumption
through which social class
status/membership is
expressed and displayed to
self and others.**

Burlington, VT: “Meeting Social Norms of Self-Presentation”?



Middle Class Habitus:

Promotional Relationship with the Body I

The middle classes tend to use their bodies as a PROJECT used to EXPRESS and ADVANCE their SOCIAL STATUS.

BODILY HEALTH and the PERCEPTION of BODILY HEALTH, thus comes to play a crucial role in this process.

Middle Class Habitus: Promotional Relationship with the Body II

**FOOD for HEALTH MAINTENANCE and
SOCIAL DISTINCTION/PROMOTION.**



Middle Class Habitus:

Promotional Relationship with the Body III

Physical Activity aimed at enhancing the holistic functioning (HEALTH) of the entire individual.



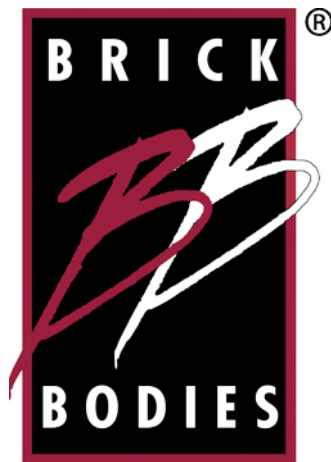
HEALTH INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX (HIC)

Virtually all aspects of the health and wellness sector have been transformed into for-profit industries.

Such as:



**Primary
Healthcare**



**Preventive
Healthcare I**



**Preventive
Healthcare II**



Cosmetic Surgery

Middle Class Habitus:

Promotional Relationship with the Body IV

Physical Activity aimed at enhancing the PHYSIQUE/aesthetic appeal and therefore the social acceptance of the body.



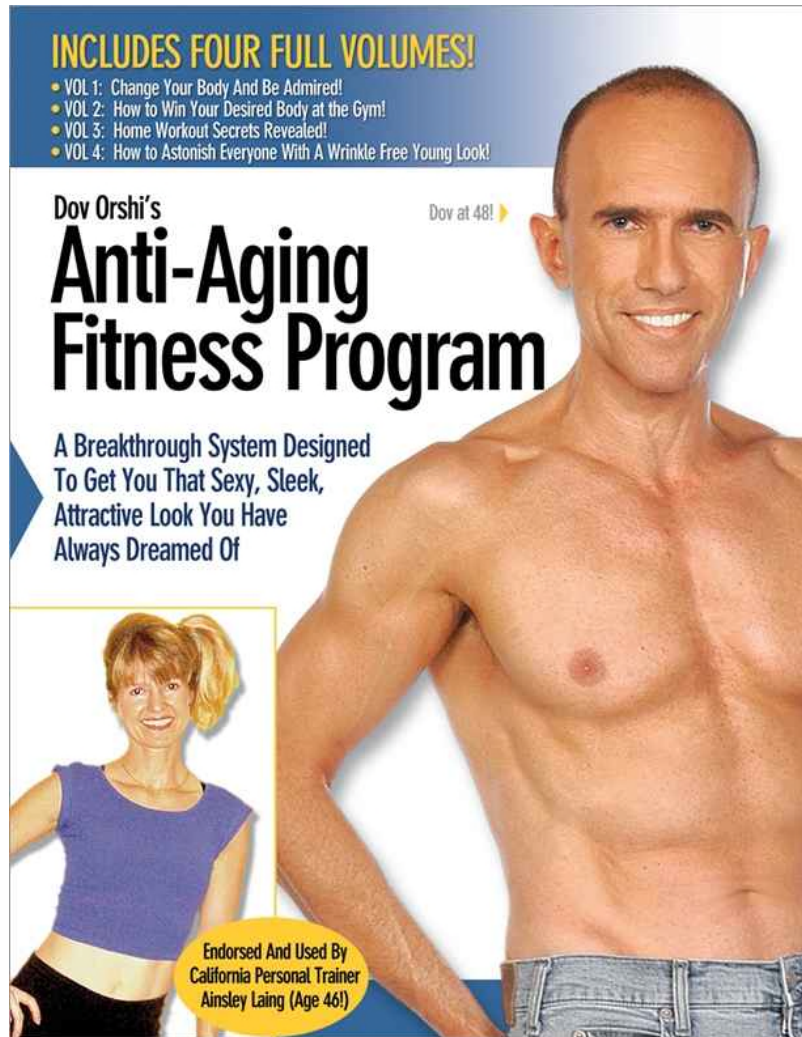
What Bourdieu (1978, p. 838) referred to as the “body for others”

"Lemon, rich 50 is middle class 38, ok?"



**Jack Donaghy (Alec Baldwin) to Liz Lemon (Tina Fey).
30 Rock, NBC, "Reunion", December 4, 2008**

“The right body symbolizes a whole set of
moral virtues”



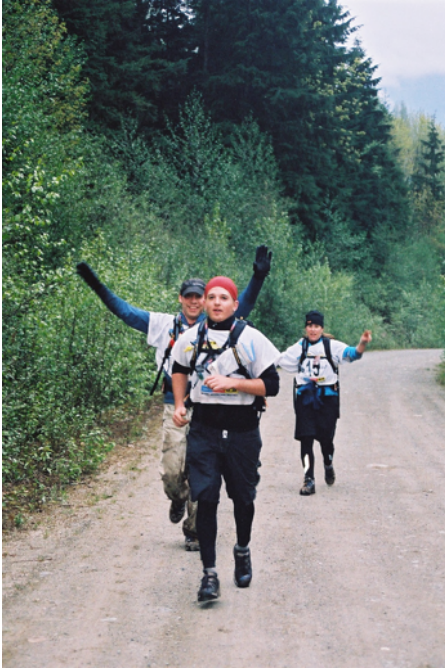
Source: Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

“physical health maintenance for **social profit**”



Source: Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

“intrinsic long term rewards from physical and psychological self-betterment”



Source: Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.



FEAR of FALLING

The Inner Life of the
Middle Class

Barbara
Ehrenreich

"Wise, humane and exhilarating...Brilliant
social analysis and intellectual history,
quite possibly the best on the subject since
Tocqueville's." —*Chicago Tribune*

The middle class **habitus** dictates that if children are not **fully involved--and successful--in multiple organized activities**, then they are **failing/negligent parents**.

In this way, children become **embodied expressions** of their parent's **competitive lifestyle projects**, through which their social standing is asserted and expressed.

"This compelling, well-written book is a cautionary tale for parents who think that signing their children up for after-school activities and lessons is always in their best interest." —*The New York Times*

THE Over-Scheduled Child

Avoiding the
Hyper-Parenting
Trap



Alvin Rosenfeld, M.D., and Nicole Wise

WITH A FOREWORD BY DR. ROBERT COLES

“This parenting style can be loosely defined as one that attempts to **control everything in a child's environment with the aim of achieving a perfect outcome.**”

Thus many parents are bringing the middle class competitive capitalist ethos to bear upon their children's sporting aspirations and experiences...

...sometimes with questionable consequences.

The Competitive Parent Syndrome



See Video Clip 6

FAMILY CHILD-REARING DIFFERENCES and CLASS HABITUS

**Lower Class
Child-Rearing**



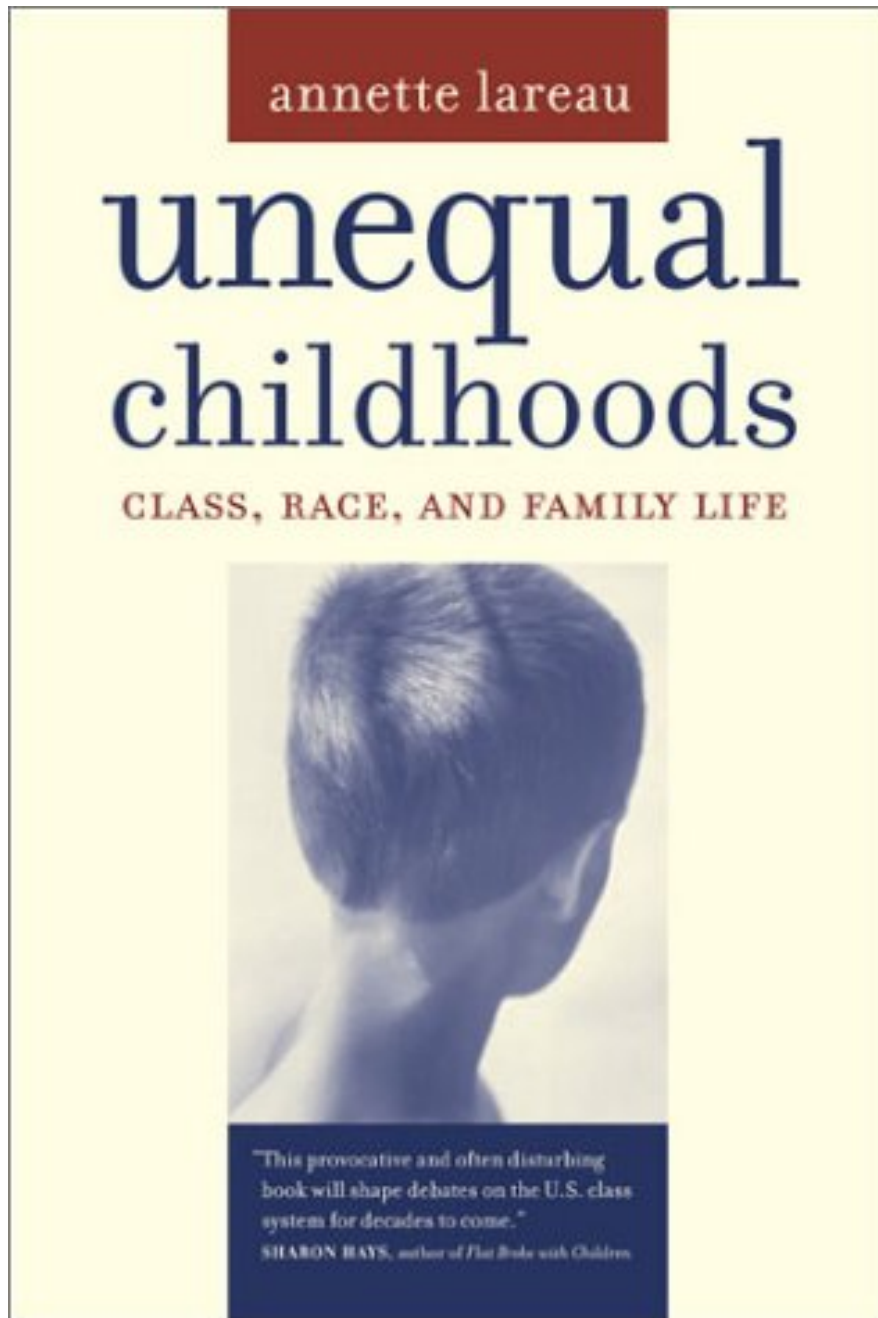
**“NATURAL
GROWTH”**

**Middle Class
Child-Rearing**



**“CONCERTED
CULTIVATION”**

Natural Growth	Concerted Cultivation
Autonomy provides independence and maturity	Control results in delayed maturity and independence
Opinions not valued within the adult world, broader self-worth questioned	Valued opinions lead to sense of self-worth/entitlement
Skills/experiences valued in immediate social network, but not necessarily convertible to other settings	Development of various skills/experiences converted into social, cultural, physical, economic capital
Learning the logics of immediate social network	Learning of the cultivating and controlling logics of educational and employment institutions
Not socialized into the cultivating and controlling logics of wider society	Seamless transition, and more likelihood of success, in the adult world



Clearly, concerted cultivation practices require considerable amounts of **ECONOMIC CAPITAL**.

The middle classes look to **invest** in their children in order to realize their development as productive and achieving adults.

The costs of this investment mean many working classes are **prevented from engaging in such rearing strategies**, even if they wanted to.

Source: Larreau, A. (2003). *Unequal childhoods: Class, race, and family*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

“NATURAL GROWTH”

(WORKING CLASS FAMILY HABITUS)

- **Clear boundary between adults and children**
- **More authoritarian, less democratic, power structure**
- **Children have more control over the nature of their leisure time activity**
- **Children have more autonomy over the social relationships they develop, and the social spaces they inhabit**

“CONCERTED CULTIVATION”

(MIDDLE CLASS FAMILY HABITUS)

- **Parents have more control and surveillance over, and involvement in, children’s lives**
- **Organized “adult-driven” activities dominate the leisure time of children in order to cultivate their individual advancement**
- **Children’s opinions and values are nurtured as part of individual development**
- **Family structure/routine geared to the advancement/cultivation of individual children**

Child-Rearing and Physical Activity I



“Natural Growth”



“Concerted Cultivation”

Child-Rearing and Physical Activity II



“Natural Growth”



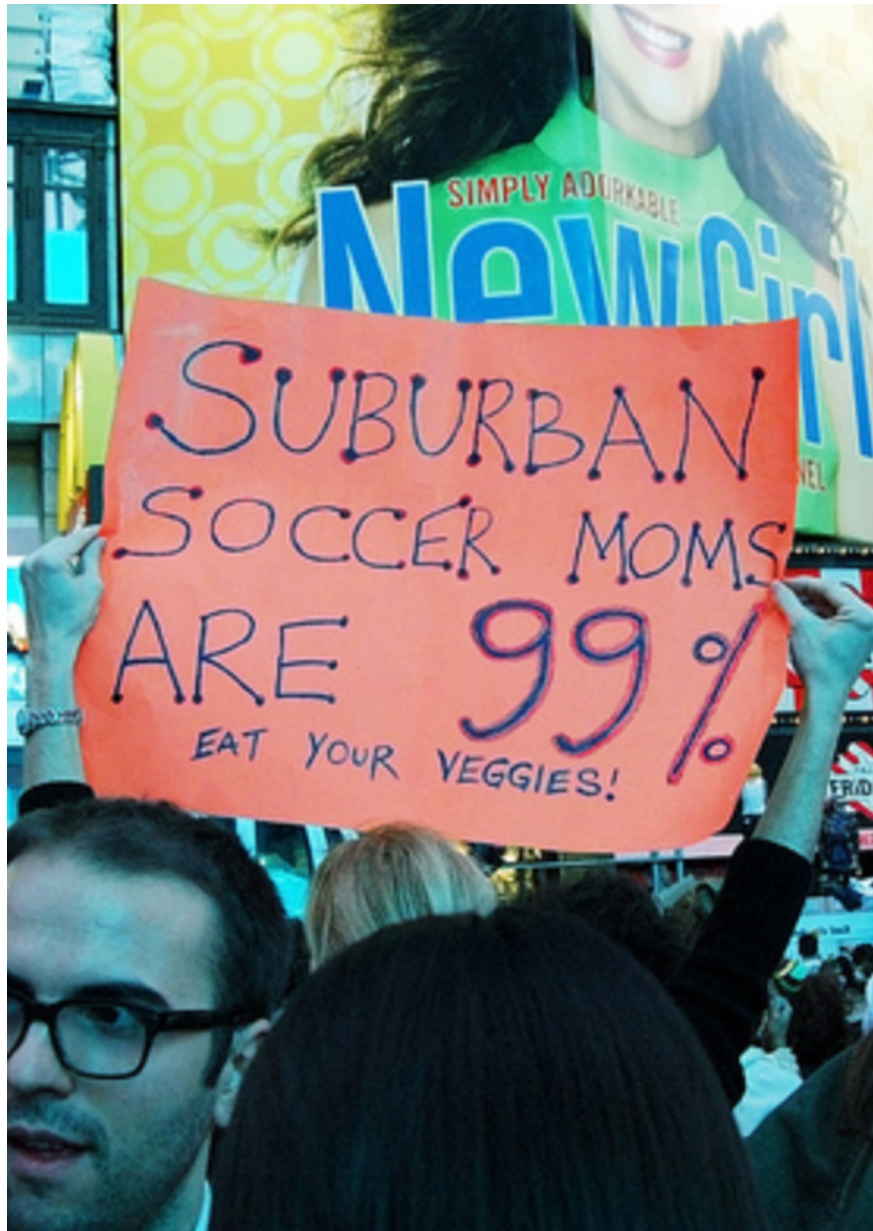
“Concerted Cultivation”

Cultivating Lifestyle Choices/Investing in Future Bodies

Margaret believed that her work to educate her daughter on a healthy lifestyle will ensure that:

“When I’m, gone, she will know the difference between good food and bad food, exercise and no exercise ... Those two things will be there, because I’ve planted them since they’re tiny.”

Source: DeLuca, J. (2010). Exercising social class privilege: Examining the practices and processes defining upper-middle class swimming club culture. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Department of Kinesiology, University of Maryland, College Park.



Occupy Wall Street Banner

“soccer in the U.S. is essentially a white, middle-class, suburban sport, just the opposite of the game’s demographics in most of the world”



Source: Hersh, P. (1990, June 3). Soccer in U.S. at crossroads: World Cup seen as last resort to stir fan sport. Chicago Tribune, pp. C1.



“investing in the **right** bodies”

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Investing in the *Right* Body: Suburban Soccer

“I think it provides overall higher aerobic exercise, conditioning, and coordination development than any of the other sports. I think **it does more for them than any other sport.**”

“I think it’s a **conditioning sport** and I think if you go out and do weights all day it’s not going to help you as much as going out and running all the time, and being able to run and keep moving.”

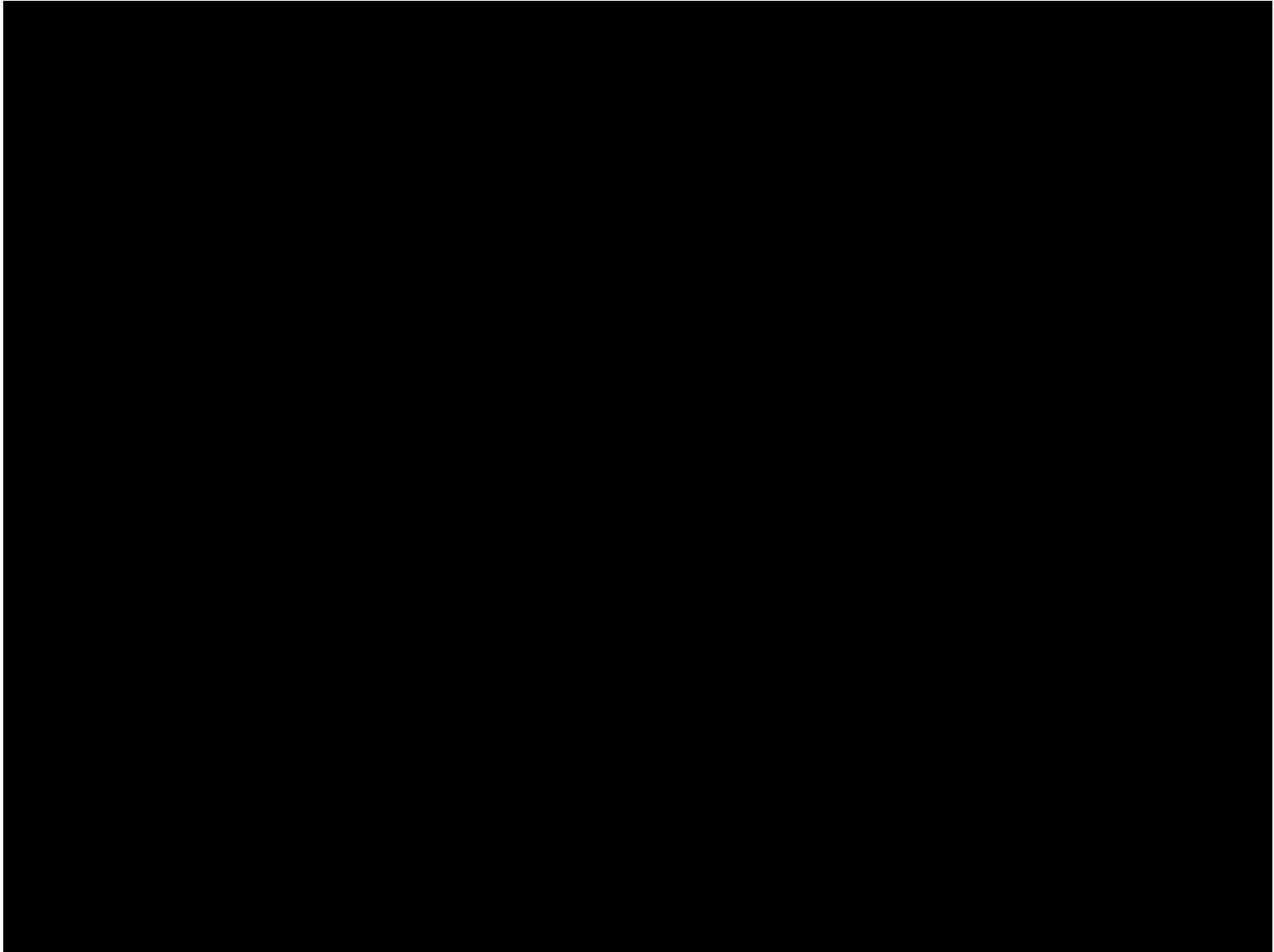
“I don’t think it’s a physical sport, but I think **it’s good for their bodies** other than physical contact sports.”

Good team work , and the coordination, and the aerobic workout, **it’s a wonderful sport.**”

“It is a lot of running and endurance. I like to be outside...**you do not see any fat kids here playing soccer.**”

Source: Andrews, D. L., Pitter, R., Zwick, D., & Ambrose, D. (1997). Soccer’s racial frontier: Sport and the segregated suburbanization of contemporary America. In G. Armstrong & R. Giulianotti (Eds.), *Entering the field: New perspectives on world football* (pp. 261-281). Oxford, England: Berg.

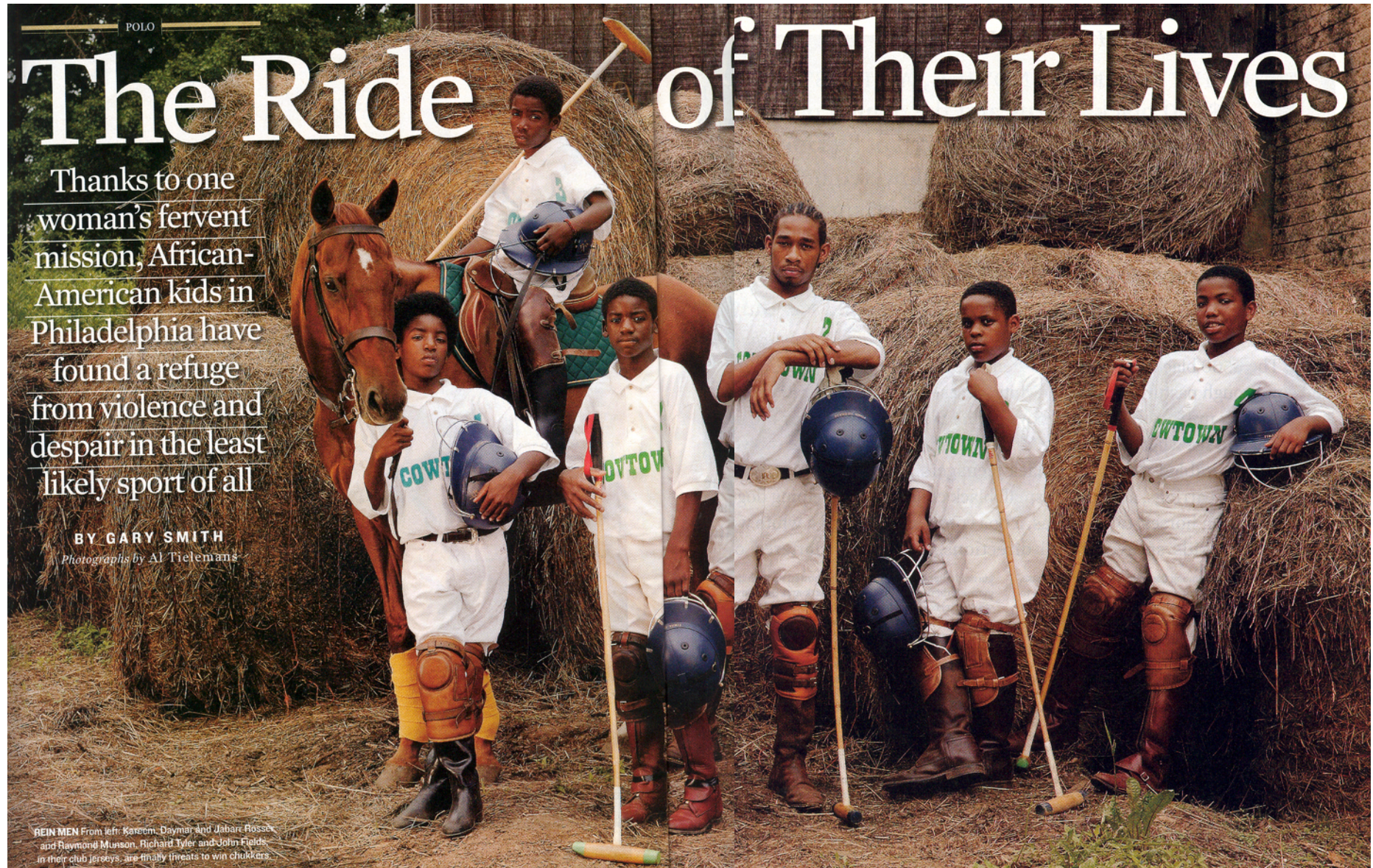
Competing Class **Habitus**/Lifestyle Cultures?



Middle Class Habitus v Working Class Habitus

See Video Clip 7

**The CONVERSION of
PHYSICAL into
SOCIAL, CULTURAL,
and perhaps
ECONOMIC CAPITAL**



POLO

The Ride of Their Lives

Thanks to one woman's fervent mission, African-American kids in Philadelphia have found a refuge from violence and despair in the least likely sport of all

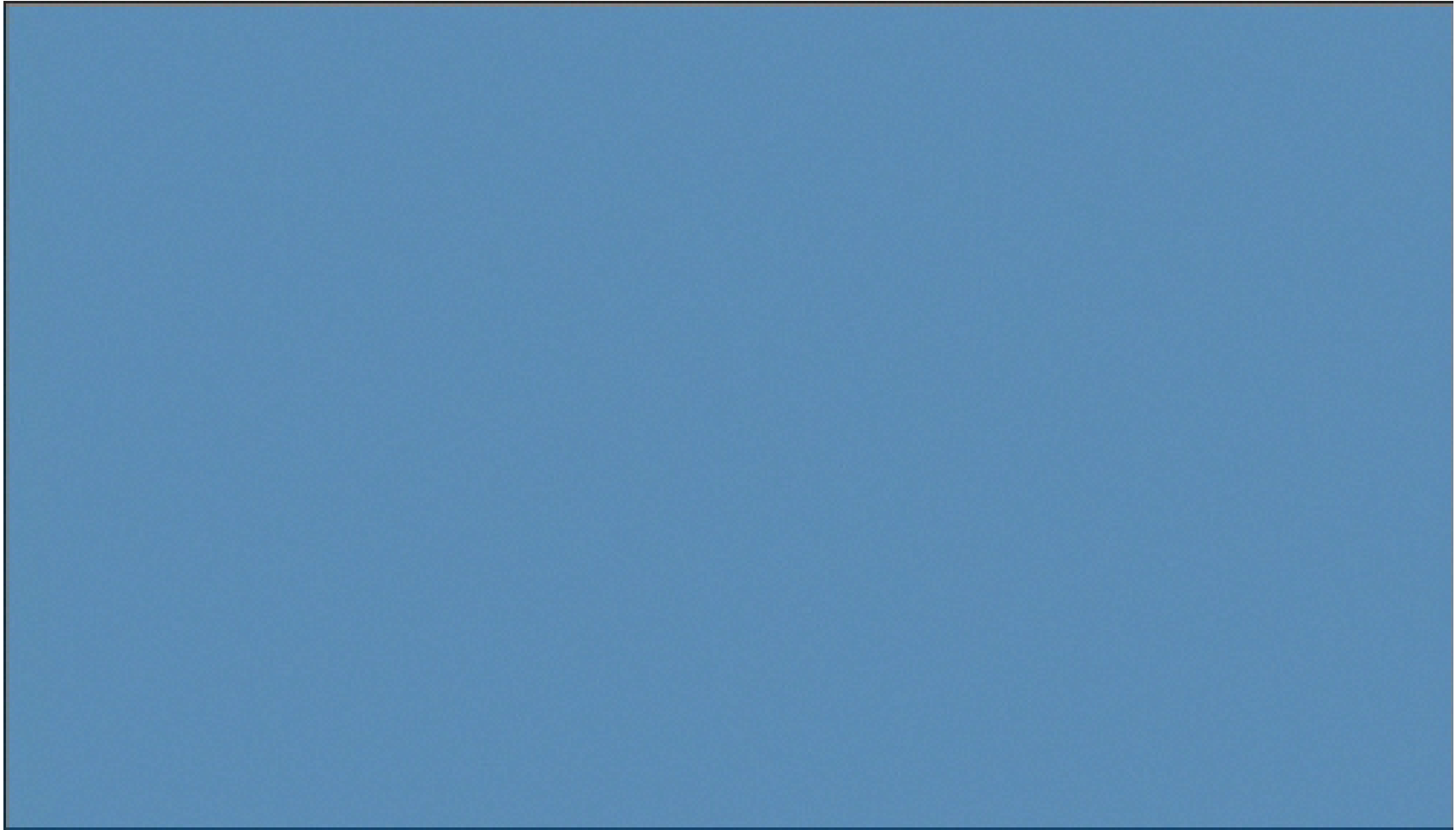
BY GARY SMITH

Photographs by Al Tielemans

POLO MEN From left: Kareem, Daymar and Jabari Ross, and Raymond Munson, Richard Tyler and John Fields, in their club jerseys, are finally threats to win chukkers.

Source: Smith, G. (2004, September 20). The ride of their lives. *Sports Illustrated*.

Creating and Converting Physical Capital?



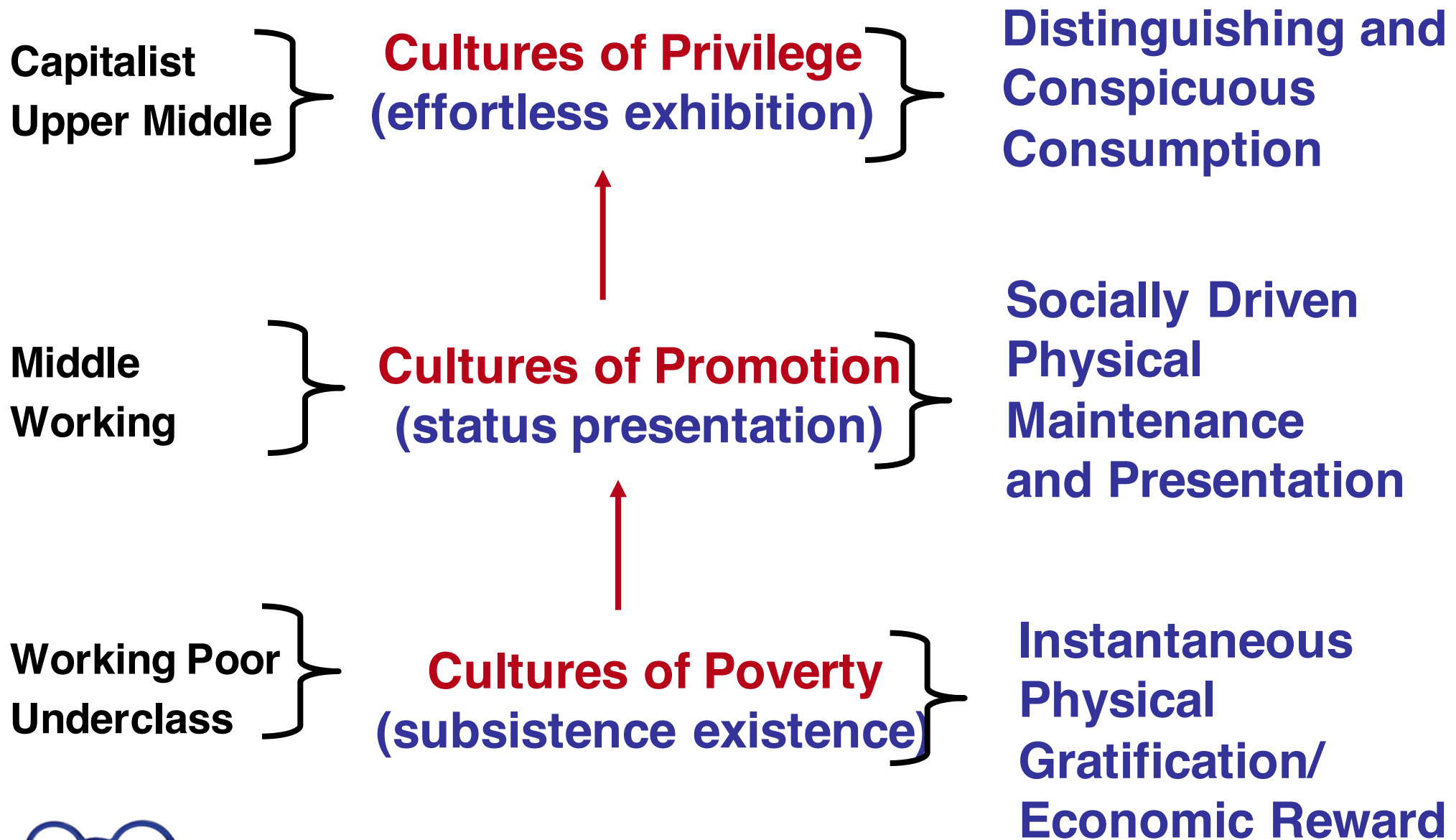
“Learning” the Middle Class Habitus?

See Video Clip 8

In Summary

The Sporting/Physically Active Body is a CLASSED BODY (it often speaks directly to a particular class position, status, and experience).

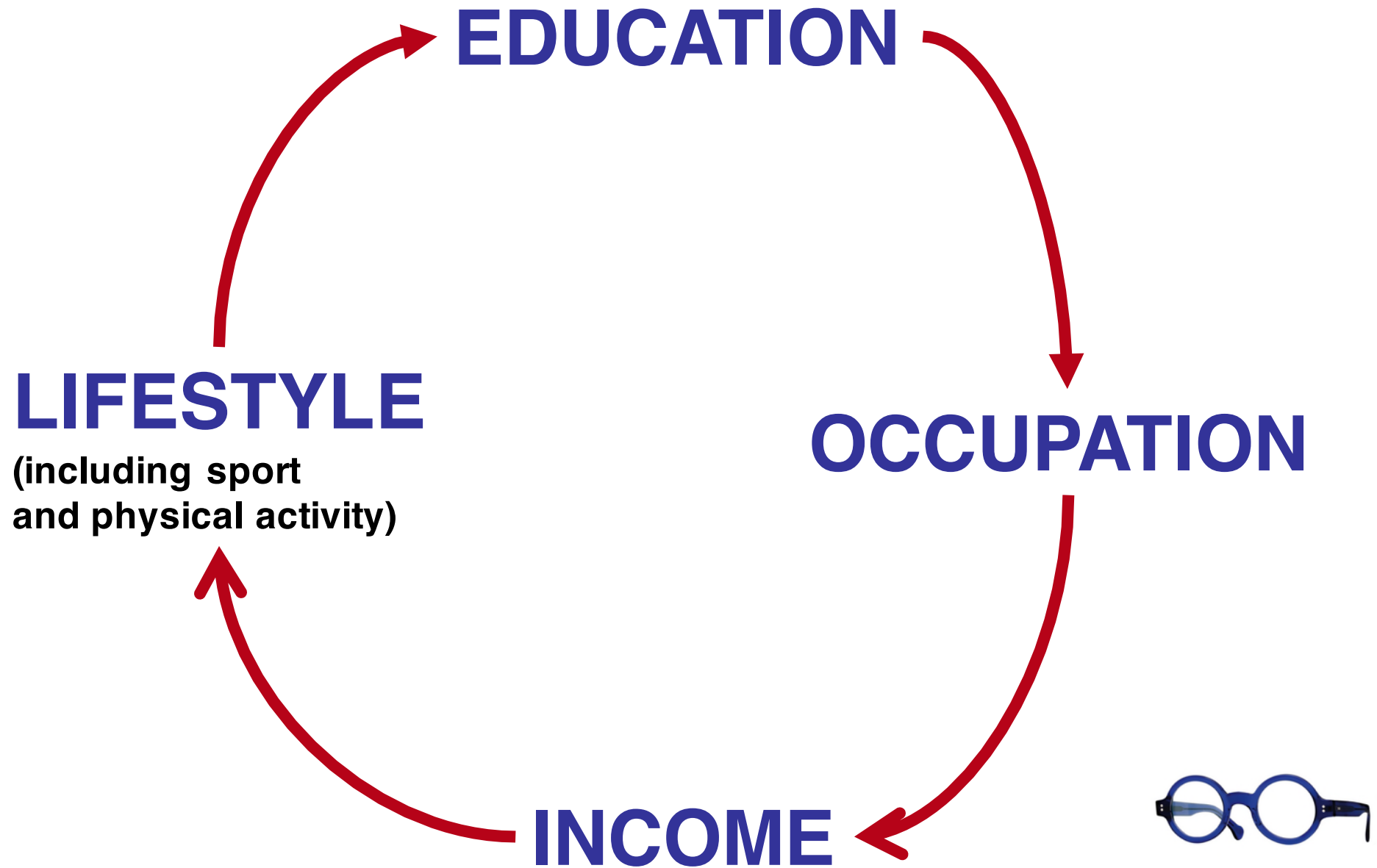
The Social Hierarchy and Sport Based Differentiation



**Social classes and class differences
tend to be reproductive:**

**SOCIAL CLASSES ARE
REPRODUCED IN THE
LIVES/LIFESTYLES OF THEIR
OFFSPRING, AND THEIR
OFFSPRING...**

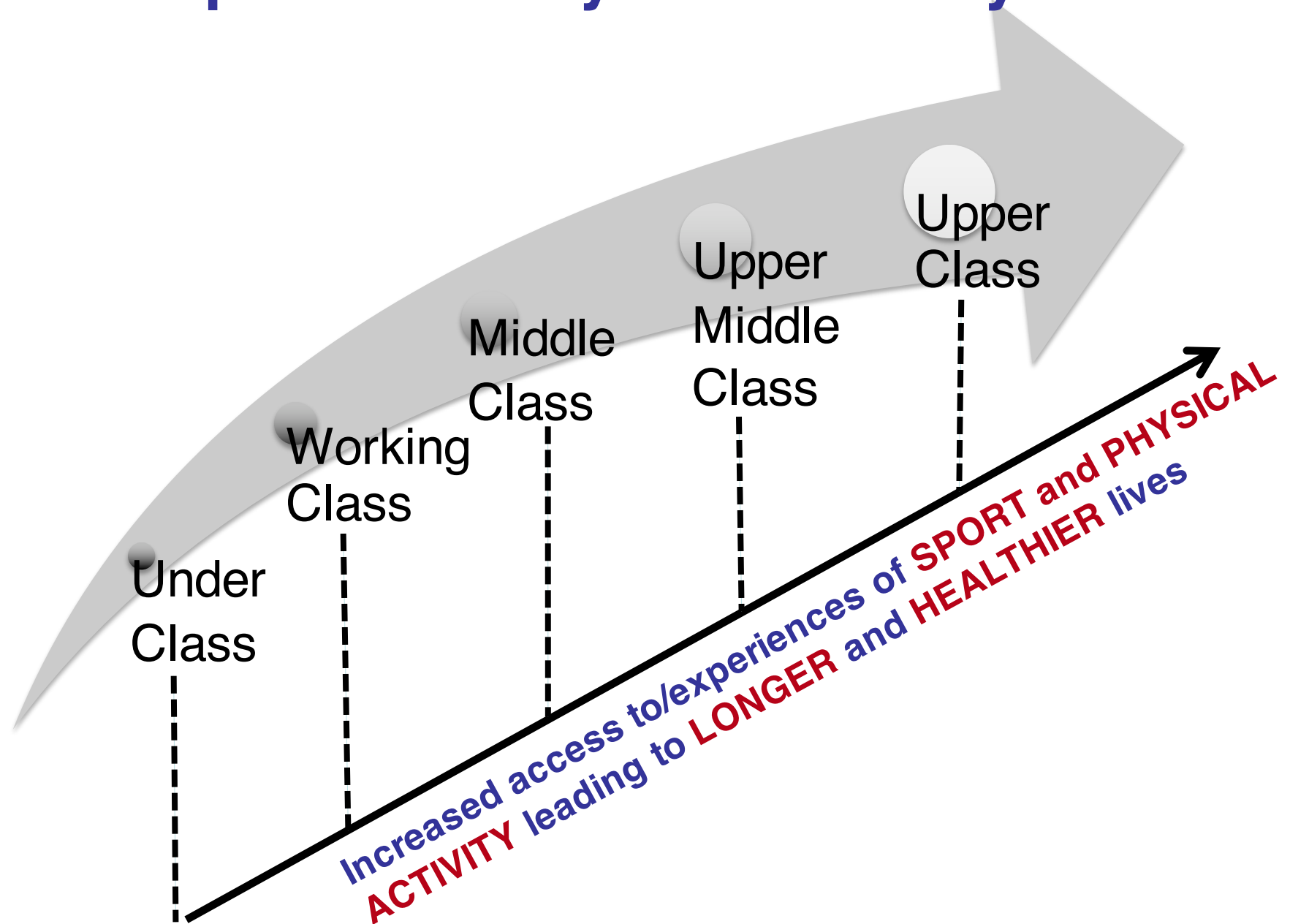
The Cycle of Class Reproduction



Physical Culture and Class Reproduction?



U.S.A.'s Sport and Physical Activity Gradient?



Source: Marmot, M. (2004). The status syndrome: How social standing affects our health and longevity. New York: Owl Books.

**See course website for
related required readings,
video clips, key concepts,
discussion questions, and
essay question.**