

CULTURE AND CLASS IN CANADA¹

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Abstract. I apply Pierre Bourdieu's concept of relationally defined social spaces of capitals and classes that delimit highbrow and lowbrow cultural forms to Canadian society. I use categorical principal components analysis techniques and a nationally representative survey dataset from 1998 containing measures of economic capital, cultural capital, and a wide range of cultural practices to construct a visual representation of Canadian social space which is directly inspired by the social space for 1960s France crafted by Bourdieu in *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Bourdieu 1984). After identifying nascent class groupings and potentially highbrow and lowbrow cultural practices in my depiction of social space, I speculate on precisely how such cultural practices might factor into class dynamics in Canada, in particular examining the role played by "cultural omnivorism" in identifying and reinforcing class distinctions.

Keywords: Cultural practices, social space, economic capital, cultural capital, cultural omnivorism, Bourdieu

Résumé. Je mets en application la conception de Pierre Bourdieu sur l'espace social relationnel des capitaux et des classes délimitant les formes de haute intellectuelleté culturelle et de culture primaire dans la société canadienne. J'utilise des techniques d'analyse sectorielle en composantes principales et un ensemble de données d'un sondage représentatif sur le plan national de 1998, incluant des mesures de capital économique, de capital culturel ainsi qu'une grande gamme de pratiques culturelles pour bâtir une représentation visuelle de l'espace social canadien qui est directement inspiré de l'espace social que Bourdieu façonna pour la France des années 1960 dans *La Distinction : Critique sociale du jugement* (Bourdieu 1984). Après l'identification de groupements émergents de classes et des pratiques culturelles potentiellement de haute intellectuelleté ou de culture primaire dans ma description d'espace social, je conjecture sur la manière précise dont ces pratiques culturelles s'intègrent dans la dynamique des classes au Canada; j'examine tout particulièrement le rôle de « l'omnivorisisme culturel »

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dans l'identification et le renforcement des distinctions entre les classes.

Mots clés: pratiques culturelles, l'espace social, capital économique, capital culturel, l'omnivorisisme culturel, Bourdieu

INTRODUCTION

Pierre Bourdieu's magnum opus, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Bourdieu [1979] 1984), is a meticulous, relational investigation of the class bases of culture in France of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Bourdieu used correspondence analysis techniques applied to survey data to uncover a variety of highbrow and lowbrow cultural forms and ways of appreciating them that, he argued, served to delimit and sustain class boundaries. *Distinction* has since inspired social researchers to uncover much about the class bases of cultural tastes and practices in many different contexts. For example, Coulangeon and Lemel (2009) applied a relational statistical technique called cluster analysis to survey data from French metropolitan areas, collected in 2003–4. They found that clusters of lifestyle activities were differentiated from one another on an axis that was also structured by income and educational attainment, indicating that cultural practices are still associated with social class position in France. Le Roux et al. (2008) used multiple correspondence analysis applied to survey data from 2003 to conclude that social class is highly associated with patterns of lifestyles in the United Kingdom as well. These and many other studies (e.g., De Graaf 1991; DiMaggio and Mukhtar 2004; Katz-Gerro 2002, 2006; Kraaykamp and Nieuwbeerta 2000; Lopéz Sintas and Katz-Gerro 2005; Peterson and Simkus 1992) confirm that Bourdieu's depiction of how occupation, wealth, and educational credentials delineate class groupings and reflect groupings of cultural practices — and identify highbrow culture forms which inhere to elites — has applicability outside of 1960–70s France.

However, while Bourdieu's framework of class and culture may have also applied to the United States decades ago it does not seem to apply well there today. Higher status people in the US today “enjoy many different kinds of culture, some prestigious and some popular, and delight in variety for its own sake” (Erickson 2008:343), dissolving the straightforward connection between high status and specifically highbrow cultural forms. The cultural portfolios associated with elites in contemporary US society are complex, varied, and changeable. What matters is not that a high status person has mastered a few selected forms of highbrow culture, such as appreciation for fine wine or familiarity with ballet, but that s/he can move smoothly from one cultural form to another according

to the occasion. “Cultural omnivorism” has therefore supplanted possession of highbrow culture as a class-delimiting phenomenon (Peterson 2005). Erickson (2008) identifies a number of possible reasons for this change in the nature of the class bases of culture: increasingly specialized occupations and greater mobility between occupations has increased people’s cultural repertoires, since occupations tend to foster their own cultures and people who are required to communicate across occupations or move into a new occupation must be conversant with a wide range of cultural forms; growing income inequality has led to a growing inequality in the ability of people to participate in culture; educational inflation has led to more highly educated people in upper-end occupations who are conversant with a wider range of cultural forms garnered through their experiences with educational systems; and greater numbers of women in workplaces have introduced culture to the rather less-cultured men with whom they work, increasing cultural inequality overall in society.

To date, North American investigations of culture and class have largely been limited to the United States. In this paper I extend the investigation to Canada, applying relational analytical techniques consistent with Bourdieu’s scientific field theoretic framework to nationally representative survey data to replicate Bourdieu’s analysis of the class bases of culture in the Canadian setting. My investigation enables me to:

- i. examine associations between cultural practices and each of education, income, and occupation, in the context of educational inflation, growing income inequality, and increasingly specialized occupations in Canada,
- ii. determine whether traditionally highbrow forms of culture — such as the culture of the arts — continue to be highbrow today or whether other forms of culture have supplanted them, and
- iii. speculate about the degree to which the “cultural omnivore” thesis that currently holds sway in the United States also holds in its close neighbour to the north.

In the following sections I summarize Bourdieu’s theoretical framework and empirical findings regarding the culture of class in 1960–70s France, outline the specific research questions that motivate my investigation in Canada and then describe the survey dataset that allows me to address them.

CULTURE AND CLASS IN 1960–70s FRANCE

In the culture and class literature inspired by Bourdieu, highbrow culture is not equated with “the best that has been thought and known in the

world” as it was for Matthew Arnold in 1889. It does not necessarily reside in the realms of philosophy, literature, or the arts (Lynch 2005) and does not possess universal or timeless qualities simply by definition (DiMaggio 1998). For Bourdieu, cultural tastes and practices are seldom intrinsically “sophisticated” (highbrow) or “common” (lowbrow), but rather adopt these qualities by virtue of their locations in relationally defined social spaces of capitals within which, he claims, social classes are potentially made manifest. The cultural tastes of the upper classes in social spaces become the highbrow tastes and the tastes of the lower classes become the lowbrow ones. There is movement in and out of these categories over time though: members of the middle class often seek to adopt upper class tastes, members of the upper class seek to “out-flank” the middle class by appropriating lowbrow tastes, and so forth. Not only do members of different classes tend to develop different tastes and engage in different practices, they also tend to confront common cultural forms with different modes of appreciation. For instance, Bourdieu (1984) discussed the inclination of French elites to adopt an “aesthetic gaze,” stressing appreciation for the form of a cultural object rather than its function and passing aesthetic rather than ethical judgements on it. For Bourdieu, cultural tastes and practices and modes of appreciating them serve to identify and even sustain class boundaries in society, operating in processes of class boundary-making in unremarkable rather than overt ways, as pursuits of (misrepresented) disinterested practices rather than as active, strategic practices of exclusion, as commonsense acceptance of doxa rather than as orthodoxy or heterodoxy (Holt 1997).

Social spaces are shaped, defined, and delimited by possession of, and access to, various forms of capital. For Bourdieu, capital acts as a social relation within a system of exchange and can be extended to “all the goods, material and symbolic, without distinction, that present themselves as rare and worthy of being sought after in a particular social formation” (Harker et al. 1990:1). Two fundamentally important forms of capital in modern societies are economic capital and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986; 1998). Economic capital is immediately and directly convertible into money, and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights. Free and flexible time are direct transformations of economic capital (Bourdieu 1978). Cultural capital also comes in several different forms. Educational credentials represent the “institutionalized” form of cultural capital. An educational credential provides a “certificate of cultural competence which confers on its holder a conventional, constant, legally guaranteed value with respect to culture” (Bourdieu 1986:248). Cultural tastes and inclinations, which Bourdieu called “embodied” cul-

tural capital, are lasting dispositions of mind and body. “Objectified” cultural capital comes in the form of possession of cultural goods.

Social spaces, delimited by possession of capitals such as these, are instances of social fields. For Bourdieu, a field is “a set of objective, historical relations between positions anchored in certain forms of power (or capital)” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:16) and “constituted by contested relations between social actors” (Giulianotti 2005:157). Social fields are inherently relational constructs wherein every element of the field has meaning only in reference to all other elements of the field. Society is filled with social fields of various kinds, but all are subsumed by the single overarching field of society that Bourdieu calls social space. For Bourdieu, possession of the primary forms of capital, economic and cultural, demarcate French social space. Social classes are located in the overarching field of French society that is French social space and so attain meaning only relationally:

Social class is not defined by a property (not even the most determinant one, such as the volume and composition of capital) nor by a collection of properties (of sex, age, social origin, ethnic origin — proportion of blacks and whites, for example, or natives and immigrants — income, educational level, etc.), nor even by a chain of properties strung out from a fundamental property (position in the relations of production) in a relation of cause and effect, conditioner and conditioned; but by the structure of relations between all of the pertinent properties which gives its specific value to each of them and to the effects they exert on practices. (Bourdieu 1984:106)

The field representing the social space of 1960–70s France, encompassing the economic field, the academic field, the legal field, etc. and depicted in full in Figures 5 and 6 of *Distinction* (pp. 128–129) and in summary form in Figure 1 of *Practical Reason* (Bourdieu 1998:5), was crafted by Bourdieu by applying correspondence analysis to survey data. Correspondence analysis is a relational statistical technique that assesses all relationships within a set of categorical variables simultaneously and then visually maps two or three primary dimensions that summarize a substantial portion of the interrelationships. The choice of variables to include in the analysis is made *a priori*; the spatial distributions of variable categories and the resultant character of the primary dimensions are derived inductively from the survey data and then interpreted by the researcher.

Applying correspondence analysis to data from various surveys conducted in France, Bourdieu interpreted the primary dimension of social space, the vertical axis, to represent total quantity of economic capital

and cultural capital. The horizontal axis represents the relative composition of these two forms of capital. The dominant class, located in the upper portion of social space, possesses large sums of both economic and cultural capital whereas the working class, located in the lower portion, possesses little capital of either form. The middle class in turn is located between the other two. Dominated and dominating sectors within a given class are dictated by the relative composition of economic and cultural capital, with greater wealth corresponding with advantage, especially in upper class space.

For Bourdieu, social positions in such a social space, anchored in possession of these most important forms of capital and organized into class sets, translate into position-takings (cultural choices, tastes, activities, practices) via class habitus. Habitus are “classificatory schemes, principles of classification, principles of vision and division” (Bourdieu 1998:8). Each class of positions in a social space therefore possesses a corresponding class of cultural sensibilities and tastes that enables a class-based “unity of style.” The wide variety of cultural tastes and practices assessed in Bourdieu’s questionnaire surveys are also located spatially within his depiction of French social space. Because closeness on the page represents relatedness in the data and thus probable relatedness in social space, drinking whiskey and enjoying chess, horse-riding, tennis, and golf (for example) can be deemed highbrow tastes by virtue of their location in the upper section of French social space and playing football and drinking ordinary red wine can be designated lowbrow tastes by virtue of being located near the bottom. Even more specifically, appreciation for chess apparently inheres to the “higher education teachers” portion of upper class space which is relatively rich in cultural capital whereas horse-riding belongs to the “commercial employers and industrialists” portion of upper space which is relatively rich in economic capital.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

My first research question pertains to the structure of Canadian social space, in particular to the forms of capital that provide the distances between people and practices within the space. *Total* composition of economic capital in the form of wealth and institutionalized cultural capital in the form of educational credentials appear to structure the primary dimension of social space, the dimension along which social classes are presumably arrayed, in France of the 1960–70s (Bourdieu 1984), France of 2003 (Coulangeon and Lemel 2009) and the United Kingdom of 2003 (Le Roux et al. 2008). *Relative* composition of wealth and educational

credentials also contributes to structuring the French social space of the 1960–70s but *not* the modern spaces of France and the UK. Here I attempt to understand how wealth, educational credentials, and occupation structure Canadian social space. Are education, wealth, and occupation all important for delineating difference in cultural practices? Is the relative composition of education and wealth an important structuring factor for cultural practices in modern Canada? Answers to these questions regarding the structure of Canadian social space have important implications for the manifestation of social classes in this country.

Second, I attempt to determine which cultural forms are highbrow and which are lowbrow within Canadian social space. Have traditionally highbrow forms of culture such as dance, opera, and classical music retained their highbrow status or have other forms of culture supplanted them? Identifying highbrow and lowbrow cultural forms will provide further insight into the processes and means by which class boundaries are identified and reinforced in Canadian society.

Third, I attempt to determine whether the nature of the distribution of cultural forms in a Canadian social space of culture and capitals supports or negates the cultural omnivore thesis that currently holds sway in the United States. That is, can an inherently Bourdieusian *relational* investigation — which can be contrasted with the linear-causal approach that currently dominates the culture and class literature — refute Bourdieu's own framework and support the omnivore thesis by failing to locate cultural forms in lower class space and locating all or most them in the territory of elites? Clarifying the relevance (or irrelevance) of cultural omnivorism for Canada from a Bourdieusian relational perspective can increase insight into processes by which class boundaries are constituted in this context.

All three research questions can be addressed by a thorough investigation of the qualities of a relationally defined Canadian social space of capitals, classes, and culture constructed from nationally representative survey data.

DATA

The data for this Canadian social space comes from the 1998 Statistics Canada *General Social Survey on Time Use*. The target population for this survey was all persons 15 years of age and older residing in Canada, excluding residents of the Yukon, Northwest Territories, Nunavut, and full-time residents of institutions. Table 1 provides distributions for demographic variables for the 5,119 survey respondents who were em-

Table 1. Sociodemographic Characteristics of Survey Respondents (Weighted Data)

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Variable Categories</i>	<i>Distribution (%)</i>
Gender	Female	42.3
	Male	57.7
Age	25–34	29.8
	35–44	34.1
	45–54	26.7
	55–64	9.3
Marital status	Common-law	11.5
	Married	61.7
	Widowed	1.0
	Divorced	5.8
	Separated	3.3
	Single	16.8
Place of birth	Canada	67.5
	US or Mexico	1.7
	South or Central America	2.7
	UK or Ireland	6.3
	Elsewhere in Europe	12.7
	Africa	1.3
	Asia	7.3
	Other	0.3
Religious affiliation	No religion	16.7
	Roman Catholic	45.4
	United Church	11.9
	Other Protestant	19.7
	Other	6.3
Dwelling type of respondent	Single detached house	66.9
	Apartment	16.5
	Other dwelling type	16.6
Is this dwelling owned by a member of this household?	Home owned	72.7
Total household income	Less than \$20,000	6.8
	\$20,000–\$39,999	20.2
	\$40,000–\$59,999	28.5
	\$60,000–\$79,999	18.1
	\$80,000–\$99,999	11.7
	\$100,000 or more	14.7
Highest level of education	Less than high school	15.2
	High school	34.0
	Trade/technical diploma	11.5
	Community college diploma	13.7
	Bachelor degree	18.9
	Graduate school	6.7

Table 1. cont.

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Variable Categories</i>	<i>Distribution (%)</i>
Pineo occupational prestige classification	Professional	15.2
	Semi-professional	25.6
	Supervisor/foreperson	5.4
	Skilled/farmer	18.7
	Semi-skilled employee	18.5
	Unskilled labourer	16.6
Standard Occupational Classification 1991	Management	11.6
	Business, finance, administration	19.2
	Natural and applied sciences	7.6
	Health	4.9
	Social sciences, education	8.8
	Artistic/culture/recreation/sport	3.1
	Sales and service	19.6
	Trades, transport, equipment	14.1
	Unique to primary industry	3.4
Unique to processing, manufacturing	7.7	
Standard Industrial Classification 1980	Agriculture	2.2
	Other primary industry	2.3
	Manufacturing nondurable	7.6
	Manufacturing durable	8.3
	Construction	5.8
	Transportation, communications, utilities	7.6
	Wholesale trade	4.8
	Retail trade	9.8
	Finance/insurance/real estate	5.7
	Community service	20.0
	Personal service	6.7
	Business & miscellaneous service	11.6
	Public administration	7.4

ployed or looking for work and were between 25–64 years of age at the time of the survey.

Economic capital is assessed here by household income and home ownership, indicators of regularly incoming and amassed financial equity. Cultural capital is measured by highest level of educational attainment (to assess institutionalized cultural capital) and by a variety of cultural practices (that influence or reflect embodied cultural capital). The cultural practices survey items are described in detail in the appendix and encompass volunteer activities; leisure activities; attendance at artistic and cultural performances; attendance at cultural events, artistic activities, and sporting practices. I included artistic activities (painting, sculpting, crafts, playing musical instruments, singing, dancing, writing, and photography) and attendance at artistic events (theatre, popular music, classical music, operas, choral music, and dance) because the

arts constitute one of the most broadly recognizable forms of prestigious culture in Europe and the Americas (DiMaggio 1982). Most researchers have used attendance at “high culture” artistic events such as these, and taste for such art forms in general, to measure highbrow culture and cultural capital (DiMaggio and Mukhtar 2004). I included sporting practices to determine whether the argument that sports knowledge serves an integrative function *across* classes (Erickson 1996) also holds true for sports-related activities. The Pineo Occupational Prestige Classification, Standard Occupational Classification of 1991, and Standard Industrial Classification of 1980 measures described in Table 1 were derived by Statistics Canada.

The obvious strengths of the dataset are that it is quite large, nationally representative, and includes a plethora of cultural practice indicators. It should be noted, however, that since Statistics Canada was not explicitly motivated to include a wide range of highbrow, middlebrow, and lowbrow cultural forms in the survey, the data may be biased, perhaps towards highbrow culture. Bourdieu argued that lower class sensibilities in France tended to run towards physical rather than intellectual pastimes, towards “manly” pursuits rather than feminine ones (Grenfell 2004), but few practices obviously reflecting Canadian manifestations of hegemonic masculinity or femininity are included in this dataset. Musical preferences have received attention in the American literature (e.g., Bryson 1996; 1997; Sonnett 2004) but are not directly considered here. Veenstra (2007) showed that familiarity with works of literature, magazines, visual artists and sporting figures, and leisure practices such as tai chi, aerobics, kayaking, smoking, and drinking may be associated with class in western Canada while Wilson (2002) identified lowbrow sporting practices such as attendance at automobile and motorcycle races in the United States, none of which are explored in the *Time Use* survey. In addition, the dataset lacks information on cultural practices characteristic of minority ethnic groups, people from different age cohorts, and people from different regions of the country and the occupational categorizations are broad and undoubtedly internally heterogeneous with respect to culture. These limitations of the dataset represent important limitations of this investigation of the culture of class in Canada.

Bivariate Associations between Capitals and Culture

My first analytical step involves exploration of bivariate associations between measures of economic capital and institutionalized cultural capital on the one hand and cultural practices on the other. I calculated Cramer’s V to assess the strength of the bivariate associations and Chi-square to

assess their statistical significance, presented in Table 2. This simple investigation provides a first indication of which cultural forms might be considered highbrow and which lowbrow.

Table 2. Bivariate Relationships between Capitals and Cultural Tastes and Practices

<i>Cultural practice variable</i>	<i>Educational Attainment</i>	<i>Household Income</i>	<i>Home Ownership</i>
Volunteer in group or organization	CV=.178***	CV=.119***	CV=.069***
Local sports participation	CV=.140***	CV=.118***	CV=.010
Newspaper reading	CV=.109***	CV=.147***	CV=.070***
Magazine reading	CV=.238***	CV=.165***	CV=.063***
Book reading	CV=.262***	CV=.107***	CV=.022
Library access	CV=.225***	CV=.055*	CV=.016
Attend movie/drive-in	CV=.236***	CV=.167***	CV=.012
Watch VHS video	CV=.137***	CV=.174***	CV=.007
Listen to cassettes, CDs or records	CV=.149***	CV=.135***	CV=.003
Listen to radio	CV=.044	CV=.094***	CV=.055***
Listen to CBC on radio	CV=.217***	CV=.051	CV=.018
Watch TV	CV=.090***	CV=.085***	CV=.051*
Watch CBC on television	CV=.042	CV=.088***	CV=.018
Leisure Internet access	CV=.317***	CV=.245***	CV=.023
Attend theatre performance	CV=.229***	CV=.214***	CV=.058***
Attend popular music performance	CV=.183***	CV=.145***	CV=.011
Attend classical performance	CV=.227***	CV=.145***	CV=.021
Attend opera performance	CV=.148***	CV=.081***	CV=.011
Attend choral music performance	CV=.151***	CV=.085***	CV=.042**
Attend dance performance	CV=.162***	CV=.137***	CV=.001
Attend cultural/artistic festival	CV=.214***	CV=.084***	CV=.030*
Attend cultural/heritage performance	CV=.139***	CV=.054*	CV=.017
Attend popular stage performance	CV=.073***	CV=.100***	CV=.001
Visit public art gallery	CV=.264***	CV=.179***	CV=.013
Visit commercial art gallery	CV=.201***	CV=.124***	CV=.014
Visit science museum	CV=.169***	CV=.128***	CV=.021
Visit history museum	CV=.154***	CV=.080***	CV=.018
Visit historic site	CV=.204***	CV=.172***	CV=.044**
Visit biological centre (zoo, aquarium)	CV=.181***	CV=.113***	CV<.001
Visit conservation area/park	CV=.196***	CV=.173***	CV=.033*
Participate in visual art activity	CV=.118***	CV=.027	CV=.047**
Participate in crafts	CV=.078***	CV=.056*	CV=.039**
Play a musical instrument	CV=.128***	CV=.069**	CV=.018
Sing for fun	CV=.067***	CV=.052	CV=.015
Dance for fun	CV=.052*	CV=.048	CV=.005
Theatre for fun	CV=.081***	CV=.048	CV=.010
Creative writing/poetry	CV=.115***	CV=.060*	CV=.096***
Artistic photography	CV=.144***	CV=.085***	CV=.038**
Spectator at amateur sporting event	CV=.095***	CV=.125***	CV=.059***
Participation in badminton	CV=.065**	CV=.038	CV=.008

Table 2. cont.

	<i>Educational Attainment</i>	<i>Household Income</i>	<i>Home Ownership</i>
<i>Cultural practice variable</i>			
Participation in baseball	CV=.051*	CV=.054*	CV=.024
Participation in basketball	CV=.035	CV=.047	CV=.037**
Participation in cycling	CV=.080***	CV=.052*	CV<.001
Participation in football	CV=.052*	CV=.042	CV=.060***
Participation in golf	CV=.097***	CV=.168***	CV=.081***
Participation in ice hockey	CV=.063*	CV=.094***	CV=.010
Participation in soccer	CV=.054*	CV=.060	CV=.020
Participation in softball	CV=.040	CV=.017	CV<.001
Participation in squash	CV=.075***	CV=.087***	CV=.020
Participation in swimming	CV=.086***	CV=.046	CV=.010
Participation in tennis	CV=.112***	CV=.066**	CV=.001
Participation in volleyball	CV=.085***	CV=.056*	CV=.001
Participation in weight-lifting	CV=.045	CV=.046	CV=.048**
Participation in downhill skiing	CV=.099***	CV=.134***	CV=.042**
Participation in cross-country skiing	CV=.069***	CV=.089***	CV=.038**
Participation in curling	CV=.037	CV=.058*	CV=.045**
Participation in bowling	CV=.064**	CV=.045	CV=.004
Educational attainment	—	CV=.161***	CV=.039
Household income		—	CV=.377***

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

Relationships in italics represent associations where less capital corresponds with more culture.

The italicized results in Table 2 represent those statistically significant bivariate relationships where more economic capital or education corresponds with a *lower* likelihood of engaging in the cultural practices (possible lowbrow practices). Very few of the significant relationships are of this ilk, and are uniformly weak: well-educated people are somewhat less likely to watch TV and to go bowling and wealthier people are somewhat less likely to watch CBC on television. Few significant relationships between cultural practices and home ownership emerge either, perhaps because home ownership differentiates well only at the lower end of the economic capital scale or because the home ownership survey item does not address mortgages or housing values. Finally, most of the statistically significant bivariate associations in Table 2 depict positive and sometimes fairly strong relationships between income and/or education and cultural practices. Almost without exception, better educated and wealthier people are more likely than less educated and poorer people to engage in a wide range of different cultural practices, from volunteering to playing sports, consuming various kinds of media to attending various kinds of performances, attending cultural sites to performing artistically oneself.

Creating a Canadian Social Space of Capitals and Culture

Next I use the Categorical Principle Components Analysis (CATPCA) routine in SPSS 14.0 to construct a visual representation of a relationally defined Canadian social space of capitals and culture. Bourdieu used correspondence analysis (CA) to create his depiction of social space in *Distinction*. CA is a form of optimal scaling for nominal variables that reduces the complexity of a large two-way contingency table to a few manageable dimensions (Agresti 2002; Beh 2004; Clausen 1998; Greenacre 1984). Because CA can only be applied to two-way tables, Bourdieu had to produce numerous CA analyses that he then combined (in manner unknown) into a single summary representation of all of the variables. Multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) is an extension of correspondence analysis that can be applied to n-way contingency tables, and CATPCA is a further extension of MCA that additionally incorporates ordinal variables (Meulman et al. 2004). These techniques can accommodate any number of variables simultaneously in their creation of summaries of associations within sets of variables; Bourdieu would have surely used one of them if they were available at the time.

For all three of these optimal scaling techniques, in creating summary dimensions, the variables and/or variable categories can be designated active, i.e., used to actually compute the dimensions, or supplementary, i.e., fitted to the solution afterwards (Meulman et al. 2004). For instance, Bourdieu designated the variables on tastes and cultural practices as active and demographic variables, such as gender and occupation, as supplementary (Lebaron 2009). As with principal components analysis techniques applied to interval/ratio variables, the contribution of specific variables to these dimensions is revealed in explained variance and component loadings. This allows the researcher to interpret the nature of the dimensions, although typically only the two or three dimensions that explain the most variability in the dataset are interpretable. For instance, Bourdieu, finding that economic capital and educational credentials loaded highly on the first dimension, interpreted the dimension to represent total possession of capital. Finally, mapping these two or three dimensions allows presentation of the variable categories spatially in two- or three-dimensional spaces, wherein variable categories that are spatially close in the mappings are deemed to be close in the dataset. These two- or three-dimensional “spaces” summarize much of the associational information present in a large set of variables. Bourdieu’s representation of social space comes from such correspondence mappings.

I applied CATPCA to the 49 capital and culture variables of Table 3, using the variable principal normalization option to maximize asso-

Table 3. CATPCA: Component Loadings and Variance Accounted for by Centroid Coordinates

	<i>Component Loadings</i>		<i>Variance Explained</i>	
	<i>D1</i>	<i>D2</i>	<i>D1</i>	<i>D2</i>
<i>Active variables</i>				
Educational attainment	—	—	0.280	0.142
Household income	-0.335	0.287	0.118	0.090
Home ownership	0.063	-0.205	0.004	0.042
Volunteer in group or organization	0.373	-0.151	0.139	0.023
Local sports participation	0.243	-0.272	0.059	0.074
Newspaper reading	0.202	-0.257	0.041	0.066
Magazine reading	0.368	-0.309	0.135	0.095
Book reading	0.389	-0.116	0.151	0.014
Library access	0.343	-0.036	0.117	0.001
Attend movie/drive-in	0.409	-0.228	0.167	0.052
Watch VHS video	0.248	-0.355	0.062	0.126
Listen to CBC on radio	0.320	0.250	0.103	0.064
Watch TV	0.118	0.254	0.021	0.066
Watch CBC on television	0.161	-0.002	0.026	0.003
Leisure Internet access	0.433	-0.184	0.187	0.034
Attend theatre performance	0.562	0.212	0.316	0.045
Attend popular music performance	0.506	0.045	0.256	0.002
Attend classical performance	0.511	0.418	0.261	0.175
Attend opera performance	0.310	0.399	0.096	0.159
Attend choral music performance	0.426	0.331	0.181	0.110
Attend dance performance	0.436	0.254	0.190	0.065
Attend cultural/artistic festival	0.508	0.074	0.258	0.006
Attend cultural/heritage performance	0.356	0.083	0.126	0.007
Attend popular stage performance	0.291	-0.129	0.085	0.017
Visit public art gallery	0.611	0.152	0.373	0.023
Visit commercial art gallery	0.469	0.251	0.220	0.063
Visit science museum	0.483	0.054	0.233	0.003
Visit history museum	0.436	0.113	0.190	0.013
Visit historic site	0.562	-0.160	0.316	0.026
Visit biological centre (zoo, aquarium)	0.412	-0.155	0.169	0.024
Visit conservation area/park	0.466	-0.273	0.217	0.074
Play a musical instrument	0.244	0.126	0.060	0.016
Spectator at amateur sporting event	0.258	-0.388	0.067	0.151
Participation in golf	0.119	-0.245	0.014	0.060
Participation in downhill skiing	0.201	-0.024	0.040	0.001
<i>Supplementary variables</i>				
Gender	-0.022	-0.073	0.001	0.005
Age	—	—	0.002	0.024
Nation of birth	—	—	0.016	0.009
Pineo occupational classification	—	—	0.148	0.015
Marital status	—	—	0.004	0.019
Household size	—	—	0.004	0.025
Province of residence	—	—	0.006	0.026
Standard Industrial Classification 1980	—	—	0.074	0.016

Table 3. cont.

	Component Loadings		Variance Explained	
	D1	D2	D1	D2
<i>Supplementary variables</i>				
Standard Occupational Classification 1991	—	—	0.167	0.021
Religion	—	—	0.012	0.008
Religious attendance	—	—	0.007	0.010
Self-rated health status	—	—	0.011	0.009
Long-term limiting illness	0.010	0.075	0.000	0.006
Dwelling type	—	—	0.000	0.029

ciations between variables and designating household income as ordinal and the remaining variables as nominal or multiple nominal. I designated the capital and culture variables as active and the remainder as supplementary, emphasizing income, home ownership, education and cultural practices and deemphasizing gender, age, occupation in the construction of Canadian social space. This is in keeping with Bourdieu's notion that social spaces are delineated by possession of economic and cultural capitals in particular. The routine used 2,866 valid active cases and 2,253 active cases with one or more missing values, with modes passively imputed for the missing values. As noted, typically only the first two or three dimensions from a CATPCA are interpretable: allowing three dimensions produced total eigenvalues of 5.274, 1.902, and 1.589; restricting the dimensions to two produced values of 5.267 and 1.915. I proceeded in this investigation with the two-dimensional CATPCA. The component loadings and variance explained statistics for Dimensions 1 and 2 from this CATPCA are described in Table 3.

Figure 1 plots variable categories by Dimensions 1 and 2 and therefore represents a two-dimensional mapping of Canadian social space which is analogous to Bourdieu's simplified two-dimensional representation of French social space depicted in *Practical Reason*. As in Bourdieu's mapping of social space, Dimension 1 is displayed vertically with higher values towards the top. Dimension 2 is displayed horizontally with higher values towards the right. The intersection of the axes represents (0,0) and variable categories are located spatially according to their placement along the dimensions.

Structuring Principles of Canadian Social Space

My first research question pertains to the play of capitals within the structure of Canadian social space. Figure 1 displays educational attainment and household income categories widely dispersed along Dimension 1, with higher amounts of these forms of capital located nearer the top and lesser amounts situated nearer the bottom. Table 3 shows that

educational attainment, various cultural practices (especially visiting art galleries and historic sites and theatre attendance), and household income were the strongest contributors to this dimension, with low values on Dimension 1 characterized by low scores on these variables. This “total economic and cultural capital” dimension is very similar to the primary “total capital” dimension of Bourdieu’s social space for 1960–70s France.

Regarding Dimension 2, Table 3 indicates that educational attainment, attending classical performances, attending choral concerts, attending opera, watching amateur sporting events, and watching VHS videos are the strongest predictors of placement along this axis. Household income is only a modest factor in this regard. Dimension 2 seems to manifest the relative composition of economic capital and institutionalized cultural capital that structured the second dimension of Bourdieu’s French social space: the highest income is on the right whereas the highest educational credential is on the far left of upper social space. To some extent, however, this pattern reflects the constraint that the income categories be arrayed along a vector — when defined as multiple nominal rather than ordinal the highest income category falls much closer to the y-axis (results not shown). Also, the lowest incomes and educational credentials are very closely situated to one another at the bottom of the space, although admittedly trade-off between these forms of capital can only be small when their sum is low. In addition, the figure manifests a modest arch effect, common in such mappings and likely representing a quadratic relationship between necessarily uncorrelated but not entirely independent dimensions (Hill and Gauch 1980). To the degree that the second dimension *is* distinct from the first one it appears to distinguish between economically *practical* educational credentials, such as diplomas and bachelor’s degrees, and less economically practical credentials such as graduate degrees and, of course, no academic credentials at all. These distinctions primarily occur in the middle and upper sections of social space. Bourdieu’s second dimension, comprising the relative composition of economic and cultural capitals, also appears to be manifested in Canadian social space, albeit perhaps not quite as obviously.

These interpretations of Dimensions 1 and 2 it make it likely that nascent social class groupings are arrayed along the diagonal from lower left to upper right than arrayed vertically along the y-axis. Starting from the bottom, employment in processing, manufacturing, and primary industry tends to inhere in the lower class grouping of social space and its members are the most likely to be classified as skilled or unskilled workers. Members of the upper class section of Canadian social space in turn are more likely than their counterparts in lower sections to be employed

in the social sciences, education, artistic, cultural, recreation, sports, natural sciences, applied sciences, and management industries and to be classified as professionals, semiprofessionals or high-level managers.

Comparing this social space with Bourdieu's, notable similarities are that the primary dimensions of both social spaces are dictated by the sum total of economic capital and cultural capital; professionals and executives are located in the upper portions and unskilled, skilled, and semiskilled workers are located in the lower portions of the spaces. The second dimension of Bourdieu's social space comprises relative composition of economic and cultural capital whereas the second dimension in Canadian social space is defined by possession of advanced learning credentials (or no educational credentials) versus economically practical credentials. These results can be contrasted with those of Coulangeon and Lemel (2009) and Le Roux et al. (2008) who found little evidence that cultural practices in modern France and the United Kingdom are influenced by relative composition of economic and cultural capitals. Canadian social space appears to be more similar to French social space of several decades ago than it does to the French social space of today.

Highbrow and Lowbrow Culture in Canada

My second research question pertains to the identification of highbrow and lowbrow culture in Canada and the roles they play in class distinctions. Cultural practices that are located in the upper part of Canadian social space, and thus might be considered highbrow, include visiting art galleries, historic sites, and museums; attending cultural/artistic festivals and performances, dance, opera, classical, choral, and theatrical performances. Other examples of highbrow practices are attending popular stage performances, playing a musical instrument, listening to CBC radio, library and Internet access, visiting conservation areas, and volunteering. Participation in some sports (especially downhill skiing and golf) and sports spectatorship also belong to this portion of social space and therefore might be called highbrow. The character of Dimension 2 suggests, however, that certain highbrow practices (such as attending theatrical performances and playing musical instruments) can be contrasted with others (such as attending amateur sports events and playing golf). That is, Dimension 2 seems to distinguish between *popular* highbrow cultural practices such as sports, going to the movies, going to conservation areas, and reading magazines and *traditionally* highbrow practices such as listening to CBC radio, attending classical music performances, and visiting art galleries.

Regarding lower class space, people who have consumed magazines, newspapers, movies, or books, visited or attended parks, historic sites, public art galleries, theatrical performances, festivals, or popular music performances in the past year can be contrasted with those who have not, with the latter located squarely in the lower section of social space. In fact, this part of social space is characterized by a paucity of cultural practices of any kind. The only “positive” practice that inheres to the lower half of the social space appears to be watching a great deal of television. In the UK, Le Roux et al. (2008) also found that professionals participate more in all practices than the working class, with the main exception being watching television.

My depiction of culture located in social space differs from Bourdieu’s in several important ways. His contains cultural tastes such as beer, mineral water, Kandinsky and Bach, *and* numerous cultural practices while mine contains only practices. His contains lowbrow cultural tastes and practices such as appreciation for and enjoyment of potatoes, bacon, football, and public dances; mine contains no explicitly lowbrow practices, except television viewing. In addition, tennis is highbrow only in France, visiting museums is highbrow only in Canada, and watching sports is lowbrow in France but highbrow in Canada. Attendance at or participation in opera, theatre, golf, art galleries, and skiing are highbrow in both social spaces.

The Canadian social space informs us about the culture of class in this country. The most straightforward interpretation for the spatial distribution of practices in social spaces focuses on specific capitals that directly facilitate the practices (Bourdieu 1978). With respect to sporting activities, for example, the hefty fees associated with golf — which requires clubs, green fees, and buckets of range balls — and downhill skiing — which requires ski equipment and lift tickets — are pertinent. Free time and flexible time, transformed versions of economic capital, are also undoubtedly relevant: it takes a lot of practice to become a proficient golfer and a ski trip usually requires most of the day, problematic pursuits for the person working prescribed hours or several jobs to make ends meet. Attending musical concerts, museums, opera, and theatrical performances requires money and free time, and educational experiences in colleges and universities can facilitate artistic knowledge and appreciation.

However, relationally defined class habitus can also shape cultural choices and tastes. Note that ice hockey, a sport that requires a sizeable financial investment, is only weakly associated with economic capital in Table 2. Competition for social distinction between members of class groupings and the class habitus, shaped by field capitals which

shape practices and facilitate success in the competition for distinction in everyday life, may be at play here as well. Some cultural practices may be socially distributed primarily by virtue of the roles they play in class dynamics, wherein facility with cultural forms is utilized by elites in practical strategies of social boundary-drawing. Erickson describes requisite characteristics of such a class-relevant highbrow cultural form:

It must be widely accepted as worthy but not widely possessed, so that those who have it gain esteem and those who lack it feel disadvantage. It must be apparently neutral and legitimate so that its role in class relations is not too obvious. At the same time, it must be rather strongly related to class so that it can in fact function as a means of excluding lower class people from higher class positions (Erickson 1991:256).

The survey data cannot directly address worthiness, esteem, neutrality, and legitimacy but can assess relationships and rarity. Spatial locations in Figure 1 describe relationships. Several of the cultural forms located in the upper class portion of social space are uncommon in Canadian society: e.g., attending opera (3% of survey respondents), choral performances (7%), commercial art galleries (11%), and history museums (12%). It seems that developing and exhibiting public appreciation for creative, artistic endeavours, forms of high culture in many Western nations during the 19th century, are also highbrow cultural practices in late 20th century Canada. Cultivation of this kind requires an investment of time and money and is directly facilitated by higher education, certainly, but it may also bring like-positioned people together in social situations that foster a common doxa. This doxa can be wielded to effect social exclusion in casual interactions, making it an effective way to regularly identify and perhaps maintain class boundaries.

Bourdieu (1978) argued that the dominant class's habitus tends to favour aesthetic, contemplative sports and is unlikely to involve strong bodily contact between players, whereas gambling with the body often arises in lower classes. Erickson (1996) has argued that sports knowledge is mostly classless in Canada, serving an integrative role across classes rather than distinguishing between them. Erickson's claim seems to be true of sports *participation* as well, with the vast majority of specific sporting practices — seventeen of nineteen — mostly unrelated to economic and educational capital in this investigation. Sports participation may foster ties that lead to the social bridging of classes rather than to social closure (DiMaggio 1987).

The wealthier contingent of the Canadian upper class favours downhill skiing (4% of respondents engaged in the practice) and golf (played by 10% of respondents). Varner and Knottnerus (2002) note that golf has

possessed class overtones from the turn of the 20th century, propagating upper class values such as self-restraint, courteousness, decorum, and honourable behaviour. Today, golf is more than just an enjoyable way to spend free and flexible time exercising self-restraint and honour (and lightening wallets), it is also a way of doing business. In the United States, over 90% of executives surveyed in 2002 agreed that golf is a good way to make new business contacts and more than 40% said that some of their biggest deals were made on golf courses (*Vancouver Sun* 2005). The University of Maryland offers a course entitled “Golf: For Business and Life” and workplace consultants can be hired by business executives to learn how to play golf in a business-savvy way. Golf and downhill skiing may be instruments of social exclusion in Canada rather than social bridging.

Cultural Omnivorism in Canada

The third research question refers to the relevance of “cultural omnivorism” in contemporary Canadian society. Cultural omnivores are thought to learn and practice multiple culture-speaks, from hip-hop to classical music; from grungy, muddy team sports like rugby to ascetic, individual pursuits of body and mind like yoga and tai chi. Omnivores are inclusive and tolerant in their tastes, in contrast with their counterparts, univores, who tend to be exclusivist and intolerant (Sonnnett 2004). Peterson and Kern (1996) first demonstrated a shift in American musical tastes over time from snob to omnivore. Other researchers (such as Gebesmair 1998; Lopéz Sintas and Garcia Alvarez 2002; Thrane 2001; Warde et al. 1999) have since produced evidence from a variety of national contexts substantiating the existence of people who consume many different forms of culture while evidently disdaining few.

The cultural omnivore thesis suggests that elites can be distinguished from members of lower classes by the breadth and variety of their preferred cultural tastes and practices rather than by possession of some specified set of highbrow tastes. A social space comprised of a multiplicity of cultural practices in upper class space and none in lower class space lends support for the omnivore thesis. If elites tend to engage in many different cultural practices and lower class people tend to engage in few, and if the cultural practices in question are neither intrinsically highbrow or lowbrow, then the variable category for any given cultural practice would more likely be located in upper class space than in lower class space, all else being equal. All but one of the cultural practices investigated here was located in the upper half of Canadian social space, indicating that cultural omnivorism may indeed be an important factor in class boundary-making processes in this country.

How so? Omnivores are thought to be concentrated among societal elites because cultural omnivorism can help people get ahead. “Those who have many cultural weapons can find one to suit the battle at hand, whether in the business company or in social company” (Erickson 1996:219). Omnivores can move easily amongst cultural realms (Emmison 2003) and in business might use whatever form of cultural knowledge is necessary to make a good impression in job interviews (Garnett et al. 2007) or build social networks to get a better job (Erickson 1996). Wielding highbrow culture may not work in business settings as it is often considered to be a waste of time by the private sector (Erickson 1996). It therefore appears that Canadians in lower class social space may not possess the economic resources, have insufficient free time and inflexible schedules, and as a result not develop the requisite skills enabling them to engage in, develop, and display familiarity with a wide breadth of different cultural tastes and practices. Through a lack of such a fluid and adaptable cultivation, these people may be disadvantaged in workplaces and other spaces of interaction and as a consequence may find it difficult to ascend the class structure.

CONCLUSION

Crafting a Canadian version of Bourdieu’s social space of capitals, culture, and class, the centrepiece of his most famous work, *Distinction*, was a useful exercise. I identified strong associations between a wide variety of cultural practices and both economic capital and educational attainment, failed to uncover uniquely lower class cultural practices, and demonstrated that “practical” and “impractical” educational credentials and “traditionally highbrow” and “popular” cultural practices distribute themselves differently in Canadian middle- and upper-class space. These discoveries will hopefully provide fodder for future investigation into culture and class in Canada and precisely how the class bases of culture here may differ from those of French and other societies.

Towards that end, survey research of this kind should include more precise measures of cultural capital, in particular with regard to academic credentials, as well as occupational histories. Hartmann (2007) identifies three models of elite formation in Europe: (i) the French model, where recruitment for high-level positions occurs at elite educational institutions such as the Grande Ecoles and elites tend to circulate among leading positions in multiple sectors, (ii) the British model, where recruitment occurs at elite institutions such as Oxbridge but elites tend to remain in a given sector throughout their careers, and (iii) the German model, where

people are recruited from a wide variety of educational institutions for elite positions and they tend to remain in one sector throughout their careers (Hjellbrekke and Korsnes 2009). My Canadian data does not allow me to determine whether elite academic credentials (from McGill, Western, or Queen's?) are important factors in the Canadian field of power and the degree to which elites rotate among sectors. My inclination is to suggest that educational systems are not as hierarchically arrayed and linked to high-level sectors of society as they are in France, Britain, or the United States, but this remains to be confirmed. Measures of cultural capital that are informed by qualitative investigations of upper- and lower-class settings are also needed in order to uncover lowbrow culture and better ascertain the relevance of cultural omnivorism for class dynamics in Canada. Statistically derived depictions of social space "always arrive after (or before) the battle" (Bourdieu 1984:245). Now we need to sift through the remains of the battle to discover what actually occurred in it, and precisely how the battle was fought.

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APPENDIX. CULTURAL PRACTICES SURVEY ITEMS*Volunteering activities*

- In the past 12 months, have you volunteered through a group or organization?
- Do you belong to a sport club, local community league or local/regional amateur sport organization?

Leisure activities

- During the past 12 months, as a leisure activity (not for paid work or studies) did you read a newspaper?
- During the past 12 months, as a leisure activity (not for paid work or studies) did you read a magazine?
- During the past 12 months, as a leisure activity (not for paid work or studies) did you read a book?
- During the past 12 months did you use library services as a leisure activity (including accessing a library's World Wide Web Internet site)?
- During the past 12 months did you go to a movie theatre or drive-in?
- During the past 12 months did you watch a video, rented or purchased, on VCR?
- During the past 12 months did you listen to cassettes, CDs or records?
- Last week, how many hours did you listen to the radio either at home, in a car, at work, or elsewhere?
- Were any of these hours spent listening to a CBC radio station - that is, either CBC Radio One, the mostly news and information station, or CBC Radio Two, the classical music station?
- Last week, how many hours did you watch television, even if you were doing something else at the same time?
- Were any of these hours spent watching a CBC television station - that is, either CBC TV or CBC *Newsworld*?
- During the past 12 months, did you access the Internet for reasons other than for paid work or studies?

Artistic and cultural performances

- During the past 12 months did you attend a concert or performance by professional artists of music, dance, theatre or opera, excluding

cultural festivals? This would include attendance at a rock concert, ballet, a musical, symphony orchestra concert. (If yes ...)

- Did you attend a theatrical performance such as a drama, musical theatre, dinner theatre, comedy?
- Did you attend a popular musical performance such as pop/rock, jazz, blues, folk, country and western?
- Did you attend a symphonic or classical music performance?
- Did you attend an opera?
- Did you attend a choral music performance?
- Did you attend a dance performance (ballet, contemporary or other)?

Cultural events

- During the past 12 months did you go to a cultural or artistic festival (such as film, fringe, dance, jazz, folk, rock, buskers or comedy)?
- During the past 12 months did you go to a performance of cultural / heritage music, theatre or dance (e.g. Aboriginal Peoples, Chinese, Ukrainian)?
- During the past 12 months did you go to another popular stage performance such as a circus, stand-up comedy, ice show, etc.?
- During the past 12 months did you go to a museum (including science centre) or art gallery?
- Did you go to a public art gallery or art museum (including attendance at special art exhibits)?
- Did you go to a commercial art gallery?
- Did you go to a science centre or science and technology museum, or a natural history or natural science museum?
- Did you go to a general, human history or community museum?
- During the past 12 months did you go to an historic site?
- During the past 12 months did you go to a zoo, aquarium, botanical garden, planetarium or observatory?
- During the past 12 months did you go to a conservation area or nature park?

Artistic activities

- During the past 12 months as a leisure activity including taking courses for pleasure, did you do any visual art activities such as painting or sculpting?

- During the past 12 months as a leisure activity including taking courses for pleasure, did you do any crafts such as woodworking, weaving, pottery, jewellery, etc.?
- During the past 12 months as a leisure activity including taking courses for pleasure, did you play a musical instrument?
- During the past 12 months as a leisure activity including taking courses for pleasure, did you sing as part of a group, choir or solo?
- During the past 12 months as a leisure activity including taking courses for pleasure, did you do any choreography or other dance-related activity?
- During the past 12 months as a leisure activity including taking courses for pleasure, did you do any acting or other theatrical activity?
- During the past 12 months as a leisure activity including taking courses for pleasure, did you write poetry, short stories, non-fiction, etc.?
- During the past 12 months as a leisure activity including taking courses for pleasure, did you take any photographs in order to create an artistic composition, rather than strictly to record a person, place or event?

Sporting activities

- During the past 12 months, have you been involved in amateur sport as a spectator at amateur sports competitions?
- Did you regularly participate in any sports during the past 12 months? Which sports did you participate in? badminton, baseball, basketball, cycling, football, golf, ice hockey, soccer, softball, squash, swimming, tennis, volleyball, weightlifting, skiing (down-hill/alpine), skiing (cross country/Nordic), curling, bowling.

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